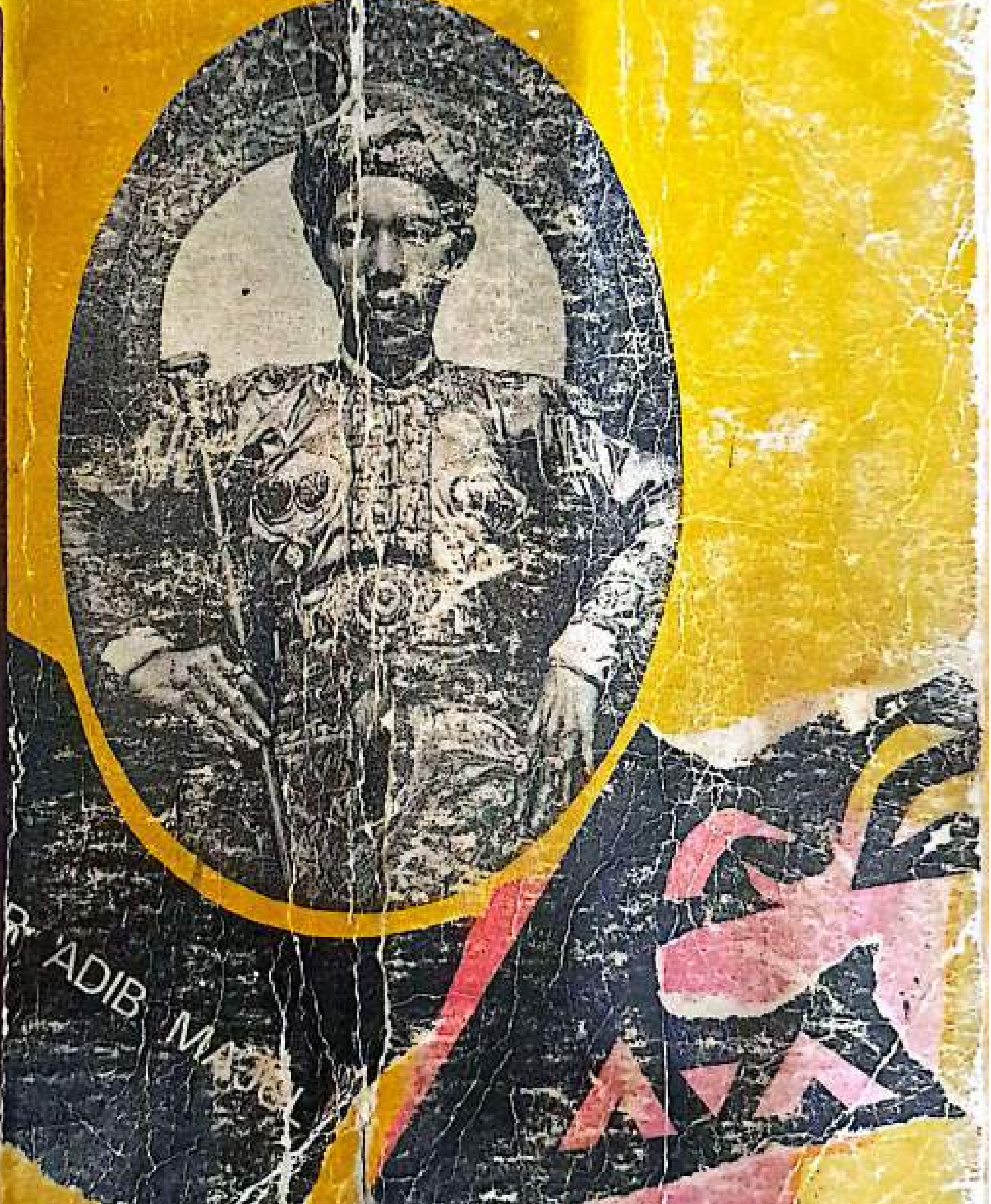
MUSLIMS IN THE PHILIPPINES



R ADIB MAJUL

MUSLIMS IN THE PHILIPPINES

بِسْمِ اللهِ الرَّحْمٰنِ الرَّحِيْمِ

اَلْحَمْدُ لِلّٰهِ وَحْدَهُ الْعَلِيْمِ الصَّمَدِ الْأَوَّلِ وَالْآخِرِ وَإِلَيْهِ
الْمَصِيْرُ. هُوَ يَذْكُرُ مَنْ يَذْكُرُهُ وَيَمْنَحُ نِعْمَتَهُ لِلْمُحْسِنِيْنَ
اَلْحَمْدُ وَالشُّكْرُ لِلّٰهِ وَبِرَحْمَتِهِ الَّتِيْ لَا نِهَايَةَ لَهَا
قَدْ أَذِنَ مَجِيْءَ الْإِيْمَانِ وَالْإِسْلَامِ إِلَى الْفِيْلِبِّيْنِ
نَتَضَرَّعُ إِلَيْهِ أَنْ يَحْفَظَ الْإِسْلَامَ فِي الْفِيْلِبِّيْنِ وَيُقَوِّيَهُ
فِيْ أَذْهَانِ الْمُؤْمِنِيْنَ وَفِيْ قُلُوْبِهِمْ وَنَدْعُوْهُ أَنْ يَزِيْدَ
حُدُوْدَ عُلُوْمِنَا فِي الْإِسْلَامِ اَللّٰهُمَّ أَبْعِدْ عَنَّا
الْخِبْرَاتِ الصَّغَائِرَ وَالْإِخْتِلَافَاتِ النَّفْسِيَّاتِ
لِيَحْمِلَ كُلٌّ مِنَّا الْأَكْثَرَ الْخَيْرَ وَالْإِتِّحَادَ لِطَائِفَةِ
الْمُسْلِمِيْنَ نَتَضَرَّعُ إِلَى اللهِ أَنْ يَأْكُدَ بَعَثَاتِ
الْإِسْلَامِ بَيْنَنَا وَيَنْشُرَهَا فِيْ بِلَادِنَا وَأَنْ يَحْمِيَنَا
مِنْ أَعْدَاءِ الْإِسْلَامِ إِنَّهُ هُوَ هَادِيْنَا وَمُرَبِّيْنَا
وَحَفِيْظُنَا وَصَلَّى اللهُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ الَّذِيْ حَمَلَ
الرِّسَالَةَ الْخَالِدَةَ رَحْمَةً مِنَ اللهِ لِلنَّاسِ كَافَّةً
وَعَلَى آلِهِ وَأَصْحَابِهِ أَجْمَعِيْنَ

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Cesar Adib Majul

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To the Muslim youth in the Philippines
this work is dedicated
in recollection of Allah's words in the Qur'an:

مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ
فَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ قَضَىٰ نَحْبَهُ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَنْتَظِرُ
وَمَا بَدَّلُوا تَبْدِيلًا ○ (سورة الأحزاب آية ٢٣).

فَاذْكُرُونِي أَذْكُرْكُمْ وَاشْكُرُوا لِي وَلَا تَكْفُرُونِ ○
(سورة البقرة آية ١٥٢).

A BOOK AND A NEW NATION *

by

ALEJANDRO MELCHOR

Circumstances are such that, in our present world, it is the academic community we look to for the writing of books: for the development of theories, for the explanation of phenomena, for the definition of the clues that give us the order and the stability we look for in our national life. It can hardly be otherwise. For not only is there already the inclination to put in writing the ideas that could well prove decisive at some future point in time; there is also the moral compulsion exerted by academic institutions themselves, so well put in the phrase "Publish or Perish."

For this reason perhaps, not too many books coming from academe can be considered socially relevant. There is a tendency, instead, to discuss too generally, often to the point of meaninglessness, to argue in relation to very little, to develop cosmological dimensions that play on words rather than on issues, events, decisions, and policies.

Having said this, it would be clearer now why Dr. Cesar Majul's book, *Muslims in the Philippines*, which we are launching this afternoon, is even more important than its very large and intrinsic merits may at first glance call for. For, first of all, this is a useful book and a timely one at that; one which has an operational focus, a specific application in the understanding of a specific problem, an approach that may well presage the changing of our own present approaches and the building of our New Society.

How, you may ask, can a book be of direct service in building a Society? A book, as we all know, is the product of intellectual effort; the output, therefore, belongs in the realm of ideas. A book's importance lies in the idea, or the collection of ideas, contained in it. In an important sense, a nation is built, a nation is founded, on an idea or a set of ideas.

Some of the ideas underlying the founding of the New Society, as President Marcos has said, lie in the awakening of the Filipino consciousness, the re-identification of self, and a rediscovery of the power and purpose of the Filipino people.

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* Remarks delivered by the Executive Secretary during the launching of the First Edition of "Muslims in the Philippines," May 25, 1973 at the Asian Center, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City.

I find such ideas implicit throughout this book; they are obviously back of the fervor by which it must have been written. Because the book strikes these chords, and relates them to the burning issue of national integration, and to our relations with the Asian world, no Filipino can ignore the message of this book. Dr. Majul speaks of "Islamic consciousness" as a force that binds together a conglomeration of diverse peoples, enables them to stand up to external aggression, and to relate themselves with pride and integrity to a larger international community. In the expanded and more inclusive context of a national society, Dr. Majul is telling us that some such consciousness, whose components could very well include Islam as it now includes Christianity and other faiths and creeds, may be necessary for the ultimate success of our common endeavor.

In this book, Dr. Majul has, to my mind, accomplished a number of things. It looks to me a prodigious effort of scholarship; on scholarly grounds alone I am sure it is a landmark in the rewriting of Philippine history. But here I would like to concentrate on what it does to relate to our current pre-occupation—that of building a nation anew. If you remember, our history books usually treat Philippine history as congruent with the story of Western colonialism in the Philippines; usually, they deal with our pre-European history in cavalier fashion, as if it can be glossed over. This work is among the first, if it is not the first, to correct this perspective; it links our cultural identity with the larger civilization of Southeast Asia, and it makes the Philippines an integral part of the cultural mainstream of Southeast Asian peoples. In doing so, it also brings forward the reconstruction of a neglected area of the region's past: the story of the sultanates and the datuships, in Sulu, Mindanao, and Borneo, through which our ancestors virtually lived as nation-states in themselves, in lively interaction with similar political entities throughout the Malaysian world.

This last point is important because the successor states to earlier societies now exist all around us; the New Society itself *is* emerging as an authentic successor state alongside the others. In a sense, we are resuming an interrupted process of political development in our region.

I have said earlier that the building of a nation is essentially a voyage of discovery of the collective self, in certain cases the rediscovery of self. President Marcos, in this connection, has reminded us that the establishing of the New Society is the occasion for gaining new perspective on ourselves—by reviewing and whenever necessary, revising our ways, habits, institutions and our concepts of democracy and of nationhood.

At the moment, we are trying very hard to get our people up here to develop a new outlook towards our cultural brothers, especially to the Muslims; at the same time we are trying to get the Muslim peoples to take a fresh look at themselves, at the national government, at the rest of us. The problem, as I see it, lies in the very concept of majority-minority relations, the chasm that has opened between people who fancy themselves to be closer to the seats of power, because they are the majority, and the people who think of themselves as deprived, neglected and exploited, because they are the minority. One reform that is needed is to erase the idea that the nation is made up of a majority and of minorities. We are all majorities, no one is a minority.

Reading this book will make it easier to effect such a reform in our thinking, for it will lay bare the roots of enmity between our peoples, and the sources of the gap that has grown between us. It reveals how this gap was deliberately fostered because it served the ends of an alien power. Indeed, the roots of unity and of a common identity are laid, in spite of this book's emphasis on the Islamic elements of our heritage.

From these basal origins we, both Christians and Muslims, have come a long way, but we have diverged far from each other. The divergence is a historical product; as Dr. Majul reminds us, the Spaniards, with their native allies, felt they were reenacting in these far-off isles the struggles that not so long ago they waged against the Muslim Moors on the Iberian peninsula. The question is asked,"Why do we, the Malays, Muslim or Christian, why do we always have to reenact the foreign wars of foreign peoples?" Can we not live in peace with each other? Can we not live side by side as Filipinos regardless of any dissimilarities among ourselves?

To me, the value of this book in the context of the present times lies in two things: first, in revealing to all Filipinos the manner and degree of their differences among themselves; and second, in bridging the gaps that have arisen as a partial result of these differences. These two may appear, to some, a paradox, but it is the function of the new concept of national integration to dissolve the paradox. From being a vice, cultural and religious differences become a virtue. When the time comes that Filipinos who are Christians, take pride and glory in the achievements of the Filipinos as Muslims, and conversely, when Filipinos as Muslims can take pride in the achievements of Filipinos as Christians, and when one can learn from the other—when we can do all these, without requiring that one lose his uniqueness, then surely we are one people.

The first step toward reform in this manner is, therefore, a change in outlook and perception among Filipinos. In the days to come, the whole nation will be busy pushing forward a development plan that in sheer physical terms, may very well change the face of Mindanao and Sulu, affecting the people there in a very profound and fundamental way. But development is not just infrastructure projects or a question of how much resources we can pour into Mindanao. Development has an even more important dimension—the human dimension—of getting people to think more rationally and to act more effectively. Unless we can effect this change of outlook and perception, everything will be meaningless. This is admittedly the toughest aspect of development. But it has to be done.

It must be done, because the problem in reconstituting society is in making a modern nation out of many tribalistic communities. One of the happy effects of martial law was to begin the process of breaking down the many tribalistic enclaves into which the Filipinos had come to enfold themselves, and merging all of them as so many co-operating units into one single, unitary society. It is a process which we have come to refer to as a matter of instilling discipline. But the demand for cooperation is specific and functional, it is not totalistic. This means, in effect, that one could be a worthy member of the New Society in terms of one's contribution to the welfare of the whole, to the goals of society which in turn is reciprocated in terms of the benefits of society that the New Society can confer upon one as a result of participation. But nothing more is really demanded of anyone beyond such loyalty and commitment.

President Marcos has made it quite plain: this new nation which we are now building requires the participation of all its citizens; it will draw upon the special abilities or characteristics of every one. As you know, an ability or characteristic may derive from one's training, or from one's membership in a group, class, or association, or it may derive from one's religion, or even from one's ideology. Thus, participation in the positive sense is premised on the existence of variety; on the other hand, it does not require the absence nor the erasing of a distinction or difference. In this concept of nationhood, following Dr. Majul's example, we are building a new nation in the Philippines which is based on the necessity for variety, but which renders the existence of variety irrelevant for the purpose of creating a single nation. I regard this as the operative message of this book.

In conclusion, I would like to congratulate the Asian Center for having published this book at this time and, I think I voice the sentiments of all Filipinos and all our friends who would wish us well, when I extend our grateful thanks to Dr. Majul for having written this book at such a timely period in our country's history.

Preface

A better understanding of the Muslim peoples in the Philippines requires a knowledge not only of the nature of the impact of Islam on their social transformation and early political development but also of the circumstances and manner by which their early history became part of that of a wider entity, the Malaysian world which was progressively becoming Islamized. The coming of Westerners with economic and religious motives caused the fragmentation of this world to the extent that not a few of its principalities began to develop histories of their own as a function of their relations with the colonizing powers. The history of the Muslims in the Philippine Archipelago shows how the arrival of the Spaniards hereabouts and that of other European powers in nearby areas so isolated them from other Muslims that they were forced to fully mobilize and depend more, at times almost solely, on their own resources to preserve their way of life. It is within this context that the so-called Moro Wars must be viewed.

Although, in general, the Moro Wars represented the Muslim response to colonialism, imperialism, and Christianization, they can and must be divided into distinct stages or phases, bearing in mind the priority of motives among the antagonists, the nature of power alignments, and the character of the results at each stage. Such a theory of periodization will also provide a better view and grasp of the problem of piracy whose significance will be reduced except in so far as it represents a rationalization for Spanish colonialization of the Muslim principalities as well as for British encroachment in nearby areas during the early part of the nineteenth century. In time, the political fortunes of the Muslims in the Archipelago came to be determined by the rivalries of European Powers in the Age of Imperialism. Ultimately, all these produced the situation in which the Muslims in the Philippines now find themselves. As a result of inevitable historical forces, they have become members of an independent Philippine state with emerging aspirations and new directions. Thrust into a partnership with countrymen of the same race with whom they share certain basic cultural traits though not the same historical experiences, the Muslims in the Philippines must now learn how they can contribute to the strengthening and cohesion of the national community of which they are a part for the benefit of all its members within the context of a free, democratic, and pluralistic society, a society in which they can keep and know more about the Faith.

The history of a conquered people who ultimately revolted has now merged with that of another who had remained unconquered. It is hoped that the young Muslims in the Philippines would know more of their past in order to direct their future better just as it is desirable for the other peoples of the Philippines to know more about a potential source of strength for the national community. This modest work is offered as a point of departure for the writing of a more comprehensive history of an enlarged Filipino people. However, the writing is left to the more competent hands of a rising generation who will undoubtedly have a fresher, bolder, and more tolerant approach to the struggle of a people for increasing freedom.

Needless to say, this work would not have been possible without the varied assistance, suggestions, and encouragement of so many friends. It is quite difficult to enumerate all those Muslim government officials, religious leaders, and friends who made my various trips to Mindanao and Sulu both fruitful and enjoyable. But I remember with gratitude Haji Malek Mamintal Tamano, Shaikh Muhammad Sadiq, Haji Makapaser Guintum, and Shaikh Pambaya Bayabao, all from Lanao. In Cotabato, my trip was facilitated by Bai Matabay Plang, Mr. Fred Maglangit, and the late generous Haji Ibrahim Datu Paglas who also made available a Buluan *tarsila*. Thanks are due to the *ʿalim* Hilal ud-Din Ballaho from Basilan for traditional data. In Jolo, Haji Saud Tan, Tuan Ebbah Ojaji, Imam Amsik from Bud Agad, and Haji ʿAbdul-Ghafar in various ways rendered assistance. Acknowledgment is due to the following of Tawi-Tawi: Mr. Badri Darwish and his mother the Sharifa Tayiba, and the late Haji Jalal ud-Din from Tubig Indangan for their hospitality; Haji Hanbali Galulat and Imam Haji Mahmud Shamoun from Tandu Banak; Shaikh 'Abd ul-Wahab, Datu Wagas Harun, Haji Ibrahim Tiago, and Haji Ibrahim Sula, all from Bongao; and Datu Sakilan Ganang, the caretaker of the *tampat* at Tubig Dakula. I attach grateful memories with the late kind Datu Sangkula Amir Husain of Dungun for some *tartib* information of Sulu royalty. But special thanks are reserved for Mr. Nurullaji Misuari and Mr. Sultan ʿAlam Usmani for facilitating contacts, accompanying me in various trips, and securing valuable data for my research.

Ustaj Ilyas Isma'il and Mr. Mukhtar Muallam helped in translating *tarsilas*, *khutbahs*, and Malay texts. My wife Wiene and Miss Betty Karreman of Leyden translated a great deal of Dutch archival material to help me gather additional data.

Mr. Ahmad 'Alawadin made available more than a dozen of traditional *khutbahs* from Zamboanga. A loan of some books from Professor Armando Malay as well as a gift of books from Mr. Abdulkarim Sidri accelerated the progress of my work. Professor Muhammad Hazairin of the University of Indonesia helped me gain valuable insights into the datu system especially in its relation to that of the sultan and *'ulama.* Raden Muhammad 'Ali of the Arsip Nasional of Indonesia was most cooperative.

Acknowledgments are due to the Netherlands Embassy in the Philippines for providing contacts with the General State Archives in the Hague and to Mrs. M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz and Mr. M.P.H. Roessingh for facilitating the use of Dutch documents; to Dr. Rodolfo Paras Perez for a gift of microfilms of documents from the Archivo de Indias (Sevilla); the British Council in London for making possible contacts and access to British libraries and archives; the Spanish Embassy in the Philippines for making it possible for me to use libraries and archives in Spain; and Cornell University and its officials in the Southeast Asia Program for valuable materials and recommendations on how to gain access to and/or contacts with other institutions and collections. Thanks are due to the University of the Philippines for a Rockefeller post doctoral grant which enabled me to work in foreign archives and libraries in the United States and Europe, and to the Social Science Research Center of the University for financial aid for research and various trips to the Philippine South. In this connection, the encouragement of Professor Ruben Santos Cuyugan has been most invaluable.

Gratitude is also due to Professor Donata Taylo and Professor Silvino V. Epistola for having read the whole manuscript and offered suggestions and corrections. Much is due to Mrs. Maria Hermoso and Miss Ruby Repulda for their patient typing of some drafts of the manuscript.

THE AUTHOR

February 1970

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MUSLIMS IN THE PHILIPPINES

I

Problems of Chronology

In the reconstruction of the history of the Sulu and Maguindanao sultanates, a main difficulty encountered in the organization of available historical data as well as in the analysis of their social institutions is the lack of a complete chronology of the accession of the rulers. A few scholarly-inclined eighteenth and nineteenth century English travellers and some Spanish officials of the last century had attempted to formulate a few date-reigns. Depending mainly on oral reports, they were at least able to present a generally fair enumeration of rulers. By consulting the works of Najeeb Saleeby on the histories of Maguindanao and Sulu published in 1905 and 1908, respectively, as well as early European sources, modern scholars were able to make further contributions to fill the gap.

However, at present, accessibility to archival materials in different countries, availability of additional local written sources, and a more careful reinterpretation of published materials as well as increased knowledge of some social institutions of the sultanates have enabled the modern scholar to present a relatively more accurate, albeit still modest, formulation of date-reigns and successions. The Sulu Chronology for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can now be said to be almost complete. Relative to older formulations, a little can be added to the seventeenth century, although not much to the sixteenth century.

NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF TARSILAS

In the attempt to establish a chronology, the first indispensable documents to be consulted and studied are the *tarsilas* or *salsilas*.[1] These are primarily written genealogical accounts. They may be lineal or multilineal and may sometimes be accompanied by an introductory legendary or traditional account. Since attempts were always made to update *tarsilas,* the age of the materials on which they had been written cannot be an index to the age or authenticity of their earlier portions. According to Saleeby, the use of Malay is a criterion for judging the relatively older age of certain parts of a *tarsila.* In an elaborate *tarsila,* the name of the last person enumerated, if enough is known about him, can serve as an index to the date the particular document was written. Sometimes, when older data are transferred to new paper or when a *tarsila* is being brought up to date, well-meaning attempts to correct apparent errors can provide the occasion for others.

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[1] From the Arabic *silsilah*, for chain or link.

Most, if not all, of the oral reports concerning succession of rulers revealed to European visitors during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been based on *tarsilas* with the native informant claiming that he had seen one or at least that his information was based on them.[2] But oral reports, although helpful, are generally unreliable. In some of these reports, information from *tarsilas* are sometimes interwoven with oral tradition or folklore. Consequently, two or more distinct events have been fused into a single one. An example is found in Alexander Dalrymple's report where the well-known legend of the Badjao dispersion from Johore and the *tarsila* account of the coming of Rajah Baguinda to Sulu, two possibly unrelated events, are joined together by the marriage of Rajah Baguinda to the Badjao princess of the legend.[3] Another example is the information of Thomas Forrest in which the marriage of the Maguindanao datu Gugu Salikula to a sister of a Sulu sultan is confused with the marriage of the Buayan datu Balatamay to a sister of another Sulu sultan, thus identifying two events that must have been separated by at least fifty years.[4]

A confusion in oral reports can arise when personalities are designated not by proper names but by titles, a practice which unfortunately is not entirely unknown in *tarsilas* and traditions. More frustrating are those oral reports where information from Sulu and Maguindanao *tarsilas* are confused with one another or where relatives of Sulu and Maguindanao sultans are identified with great grandchildren of the Prophet Muhammad as enumerated in other locally written accounts.[5]

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[2] For examples see: Alexander Dalrymple, "Essay towards an Account of Sulu," *The Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, Vol. III, p. 565; and Benito Francia y Ponce de Leon and Julian Gonzales Parrado, *Las Islas Filipinas: Mindanao* (Habana: 1898), Vol. II, pp. 193-194.

[3] Compare the account of Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, p. 564, with various versions concerning the dispersion of the Badjaos as found in Daniel E. Sopher, *The Sea Nomads: A Study based on the literature of the Maritime Boat People of Southeast Asia* (Singapore: 1965), pp. 141-142. One version speaks of a Badjao princess coming from the Malay Peninsula while others narrate that the princess was a daughter of a Johore sultan who was being escorted by Badjaos to Sulu.

[4] Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas from Balambangan* (London: 1779), pp. 202-203 and Plate XXII. Here Salikula is reported as married to a sister of Sultan Bakhtiar. Actually, he married a sister of an earlier sultan while it was Balatamay who married a sister of Bakhtiar.

[5] For example, see "Carta del P. Juan Quintana al R.P. Juan Ricart (January 12, 1887)," *Cartas de los P. de la Compania de la Mision de Filipinas,*

If *tarsilas*, at least in their introductory or earlier portions, tend to telescope events or condense various events into a single one, a more exaggerated tendency can reasonably be attributed to oral reports.

The sultans and all leading datus possessed *tarsilas* which were jealously guarded and formerly protected from prying eyes. Sometimes, for reasons to be explained later, they were even withheld from persons claiming relationship to the royal family. Such royal *tarsilas* are distinguishable from other *tarsilas* where descent is traced to a prominent Muslim who is claimed to have been one of the first to introduce Islam to the area. Such a *tarsila* confers prestige on its owners, a situation, however, not entirely devoid of possible political implications.

Royal *tarsilas*, to which this discussion is confined, usually have at least two things in common. The first is a genealogical account where sometimes the sultans who reigned are specified as such. The other is an assertion that the descent is from the Prophet Muhammad through a *sharif* who had come to the Philippines and established a dynasty.[6] But some *tarsilas* go further than these: they attempt to establish relations between the local dynasty and empires which had earlier flourished in other parts of the Malaysian world.[7]

Consequently, earlier portions of *tarsilas* treat, albeit briefly, of the introduction of Islam and of relations with neighbouring countries, e.g., Sumatra, Java, and Johore. Clearly then, *tarsilas* represent proofs *par excellence* of legitimacy not only for a family or elite to rule a people but also for them to serve as religious leaders of the community. At the very least, *tarsilas* serve as a sanction enabling a person to assume a relatively high political or religious position in the realm.

The preference for a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad to serve as a sultan among the Sulus and Maguindanaos rather than someone else, is ultimately traceable to a Sunni (orthodox) doctrine that the *khalif* (successor of the Prophet) or the *imam* (religious leader) of the Islamic community must belong to the *Quraish*, that is, the fa-

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1889 (*Cartas de Mindanao*), p. 64. The oral report taken down by the Jesuit is actually a combination of at least three different genealogies: that of the Prophet, that of Sharif Kabungsuwan of Maguindanao, and that of Sultan Muwallil Wasit (Rajah Bongsu) of Sulu. Compare this report with paragraph 2 of the Literal Translation of Manuscript No. III on p. 26 and paragraphs 1 and 2 of the Literal Translation of Manuscript No. II on p. 23 in Najeeb Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion* (Manila: 1905).

[6] In some Muslim lands, a *sharif* is a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad through his grandson Hasan while a *sayyid* is a descendant through his other grandson Husain. In the Philippines, these terms were used interchangeably and in some cases simultaneously.

[7] "Malaysian world" here refers to the Malay Peninsula, and the Indonesian and Philippine Archipelagos.

mily of the Prophet. This doctrine, claimed to be based on a *hadith* (Prophetic tradition), found its first systematic exposition as early as the fifth century of the Islamic era in the discussions of the qualifications of the *khalif* by the jurist Mawardi (974-1058 C.E.).[8] With the progressive decline of the khalifal institution in Baghdad and the rise of various sultanates by the twelfth century of the Christian Era, there appeared a tendency to confine the duties of the *khalif* solely to religious functions while increasing the political pretensions of the sultans. Not long after, with the destruction of the Baghdad Khalifate in 1258, some sultans began, in effect, to exercise a few religious functions in accordance with social expectations and the practical needs of the time. There were already some doubts concerning the principle of having a single *khalif* for the entire Islamic world. In fact there was a time when there were two *khalifs*, one in Baghdad and another at Cordoba. However, the sultans of Sulu and Maguindanao never proclaimed themselves to be so. But some, especially those of Sulu, had their names included in the *khutbah* (sermon) prayers after the enumeration of the first four *khalifs* who ruled in Medina. Moreover, some Sulu sultans took over the title of, and were referred to, as *amir ul-mu'minin* (Arabic for commander of the faithful), originally reserved for *khalifs*.

The criteria for the choice of a sultan as well as the procedure or protocol that should govern the relations between the ruler, the governing class, and the subjects are best expressed in the *tartib* (Plural, *taratib*).[9] This is not necessarily written but generally well known. That a sultan must belong to the family of the Prophet or at least be of Arab descent is well exemplified in the following Maranao *tartib*:

> The following is the history of the Mohammedan religion: The first Mohammedans were Arabs; later Mohammedanism extended to all the other nations who live in Arabia, the Malay countries and Mindanao. All these nations are descended from Adam.
>
> These Mohammedan nations divided into five divisions: Arabs, the people of Kureish, the descendants of Hashim, the descendants of Kinana and the

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[8] Such a doctrine, however, was not accepted universally in Islam, having been questioned as early as the seventh century C.E., by the Kharajites (Arabic *Khawaridj*) who maintained that a non-Arab or even a slave could serve as *imam* as long as he was a Muslim and a pious believer. The jurist Ibn-Taimiya (1263-1328) asserted that the above orthodox doctrine was "entirely incompatible with the egalitarian tendencies of Islam." His view was supported by another *hadith* which stated in effect that a black slave who was elected ruler had to be obeyed in accordance with Qur'anic prescriptions. For details on the subject of the Khalifate, cf. H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers, *Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam,* and Thomas Patrick Hughes, *A Dictionary of Islam*. On Ibn-Taimiya's opinion, cf. Haroon Khan Sherwani, *Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration* (Lahore, Fourth edition: 1963), p. 177.

[9] From the Arabic word for order, arrangement, or sequence.

> Ajams. The first four divisions are mentioned first and have the preference on account of their relations to the Prophet Mohammed. All the rest are Ajams (foreigners) and are all alike, equal in rank and descent and have the same constitution being made alike of four elements. They have neither sultans nor slaves. Those who are called sultans are so in name not in reality.
>
> These five divisions are grouped into two general classes or divisions—Arabs and Ajams. The Arabs inhabit all the countries which extend from Hadramout (Southern Arabia) to Constantinople. The land of the Ajams extend from Malacca to Bruney.
>
> The four divisions of the Arabs can be grouped into two greater divisions: the first includes the Arabs and the Kureish; the second includes those of Hashim and Kinana. They only inhabit Mecca, Medinat, Yaman, Egypt, Esh-Shams and Baghdad.
>
> An Adam who is not descended from the Arabs cannot become a sultan at all because all rights of the sultanate are derived from Arabian descent. All Arabs have equal rights in this respect. Any person who is descended from the Arabs or Kureish can become a sultan over his own people or any other Mohammedan race or community. Any person who therefore comes from Mecca or Medinat is eligible to the sultanate and shall have preference over the natives in Ajam.[10]

Besides the Islamic elements that might enter into the *tarsilas*, what is further accomplished is the establishment of a connection between the sultanates in the Philippines and the Islamic world extending from Northwest Africa to Southeast Asia, making the former, in effect, part of *dar ul-Islam*. But of added importance and interest is the fact that the royal *tarsilas* assert intimate connection, genealogical or otherwise, of the Sulu and Maguindanao sultanates to other sultanates or empires in other parts of Southeast Asia. Consequently, another element has been added to strengthen the claim of legitimacy.

To moderate these "foreign" elements, *tarsilas* balance them with a reference to a pre-Islamic past. Besides presenting the sultanates as having a continuity with the local past, this technique establishes their right to territory. That is why the Muslim who comes to establish a dynasty usually marries a local girl, preferably a princess belonging to the older aristocracy. In this manner, the succeeding sultans can claim as much right to own land as the chieftains belonging to the older aristocracy.[11]

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[10] Quoted in Saleeby, "The Moros: A General Account," *Moro Paper No. 8*, Volume II (Beyer Collection). Clearly, the above four divisions of the Arabs overlap one another: Hashim was a great grandfather of the Prophet and the Hashemites were a family of the tribe of Quraish. Kinanah, the founder of the Banu Kinanah, was a great grandfather of Fihr, surnamed Quraish, and who was the founder of the tribe of Quraish. The family of Hashim to which the Prophet was most closely related would therefore be the most important branch of the Quraish. This is evident in the following *hadith* of which there are many versions: "Allah chose Isma^cil [the ancestor of all the northern Arabs] from the sons of Ibrahim and from the sons of Isma^cil the Banu Kinanah and from the Banu Kinanah the Quraish and from the Quraish the Banu Hashim." It is from the Banu Hashim that the sultans of Sulu, Maguindanao, and Brunei claim descent.

Consequently, the introductory section of *tarsilas* might contain some mythological elements accompanied by some symbolism; but in no sense must they be considered as fiction. On the contrary, *tarsilas* intend to deal with historical events and are devoid of prophecies. References to such events and terse accounts about the actions of important personalities are intended to accomplish something—the explanation of and justification for certain institutions. However, the lack of precise chronological data presents difficulties to the scholar intending to use *tarsilas* for purely historical purposes.

THE SULU TARSILA

The best publicized Sulu *tarsila* is the one reported by Saleeby, which was made available to him by Haji Buto ʿAbdul Baqi, one time prime minister to Jamal ul-Kiram II, the last sultan who wielded political power in Sulu.[12] This *tarsila,* or rather, collection of *tarsilas,* collectively designated by Saleeby as the "Genealogy of Sulu," contains a short chapter on the original and later settlers of Sulu; and the last paragraph of this chapter enumerates seventeen rulers or sultans from the first Sultan to Muhammad ʿAzim ud-Din III, who ascended the throne in 1808 and died in the same year. It is in the preceding paragraphs that at least two principles of legitimacy, viz., descent from a *sharif,* and connections with the royalty of a neighbouring country, are found.

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[11] A good example of a *tarsila* which has references to a pre-Islamic past, the introduction of Islam, and great neighbouring empires is the *Selesilah* of Brunei. It begins with a narration of how Brunei while still *kafir* (infidel) was a dependency of Madjapahit and how this political relation ended. The first ruler who becomes a Muslim then acquires the symbols of royalty from the kingdom of Johore. An officer of the Emperor of China marries his daughter and in time succeeds as ruler of Brunei with a Muslim title and name. His daughter, in turn, marries the Sharif ʿAli, a descendant of the Prophet through Hasan. The sovereignty of the kingdom is then given to the Sharif who assumes the name of Sultan Berkat. From this Sharif is descended all the sultans of Brunei. Thus a continuity with the pre-Islamic past, descent from the Prophet Muhammad, genealogical connections with a high Chinese official, and investment as sultan of the first Muslim ruler by Johore, all constitute an elaborate sanction for the Brunei sultans to rule. For details, see Hugh Low, "Selesilah (Book of the Descent) of the Rajahs of Bruni," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* No. 5, June 1880, pp. 1-5.

[12] Najeeb Saleeby, *The History of Sulu* (Manila: 1908), pp. 39-45.

Regarding the first principle, the *tarsila* narrates how a certain Sayyid Abu Bakr arrived at Buansa and then became the ruler with the title of Sultan Sharif. The second principle appears in an earlier narration of how Rajah Baguinda, a prince hailing from Sumatra, was accepted as ruler. As it were, the history of Sulu is now related to a country with an older history of empire. The two principles are joined by the marriage of Sayyid Abu Bakr and a daughter of Rajah Baguinda—considered a princess as judged by her title of "Paramisuli." It is important to note, however, that the claim of Sayyid Abu Bakr to rule or its equivalent, the establishment of a sultanate, was made possible when Sulu society had been Islamized to a certain degree. The Sulu Genealogy clearly states that the sultanate was established after the missionary activities of a certain Karim ul-Makhdum, followed a few years by the arrival of Rajah Baguinda who was accompanied by courtiers who were all presumably Muslims. Judging by their names, most of the Sulu chiefs and leaders who were led to accept Rajah Baguinda as their ruler must have been Muslims. In brief, the establishment of the sultanate was based on the consent given to it by a generally Islamized people. Thus when the *tarsila* says that the first Sultan "established a religion for Sulu" and that the people "accepted the new religion and declared their faith in it," it only means that their political structure was now based on Islam and not that the first Sultan originally introduced the Faith.

The Sulu Genealogy is not specific about the marriage of Rajah Baguinda to a local girl. It does not state whether the Rajah had brought a wife with him or had married after his arrival. However, it is clearly stated that Sayyid Abu Bakr married the Rajah's daughter.[13] It can be presumed, nevertheless, that Rajah Baguinda had married in Sulu and this is supported by the terse remark in the Sulu Historical Notes that "He married there [in Buansa]."[14] This was enough to establish the claims of the sultans of Sulu that their descent was not purely "foreign," and that they therefore had rights to the land.[15] In any case, as will be made clearer in a later chapter, the sultan's claim to the control or ownership of land would be based on jurisprudential aspects of the institution of the sultanate.

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[13] In some traditions still found in Sulu, it is the widow of Rajah Baguinda who married the Sharif. This is also the version reported by Dalrymple. Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 564.

[14] The version reported by Dalrymple on the origins of the Sulu sultanate has Rajah Baguinda as one from Java who married the daughter of a Badjao who had left Johore for Sulu. The Javanese "continued at Sulu till his death, which happened soon after, leaving his beautiful widow: some time after a Serif, driven hither by stress of weather, was compelled by the natives, to an agreeable penance, in the enjoyment of beauty and a crown; and from this descendant of Mahomet, the present Sultan is sprung." *Op. cit.*, p. 564. This version, in any case, accomplishes both the principle of descent from the Prophet and connections with neighbouring countries.

The Iskandar (Alexander the Great) legend which figures prominently in the *Sejarah Melayu* (Malay Annals) is not found in the Sulu Genealogy. However, Alexander the Great is found in various oral traditions in Sulu either as having come to Sulu or to have sent there some of the first inhabitants.[16] There has been no serious attempts to link Alexander the Great to any of the Sulu sultans. As it is, with the elaborate ancestry claimed for the Sulu sultans, one more Greek on the list would have been superfluous.

THE CHRONOLOGY AND SUCCESSION OF THE SULU SULTANS

The Sulu Genealogy lists seventeen sultans from the first to Sultan ᶜAzim ud-Din III who mounted the throne in 1808 and died in the same year. Dalrymple's list which he obtained while in Sulu in 1761 ends with his contemporary Sultan Muhammad ᶜAzim ud-Din I whom he helped restore to the throne in 1764. Both lists[17] are as follows:

Dalrymple's List	Sulu Genealogy
1. Sultan Serif	1. Sultan Sharif
2. Kam-al-Odin	2. Sultan Kamalud Din
3. Maharaja Upu	3. Maharaja Upu
4. Pangeran Boddiman	4. Pangiran Buddiman
5. Marahom Tang-a	5. Sultan Tanga
6. Marahom Bongso	6. Sultan Bungsu
7. Jal Alodin Marahom Karamat	7. Sultan Nasirud Din
	8. Sultan Karamat
8. Sitecabil Ampy	9. Sultan Shahabud Din
9. Sahabodin	10. Sultan Shapiud Din
10. Sapheodin	11. Sultan Nasarud Din
11. Mahomud Badorodin	12. Sultan Alimud Din I
12. Mahomed Nassarodin	13. Sultan Muᶜizzid Din
13. Mahomed Allimodin I	14. Sultan Isra'il

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[15] The Sulu Genealogy mentions that ᶜAla ud-Din, one of the sons of the first sultan, married the daughter of one of the leading chiefs during the time of arrival of Rajah Baguinda. This data is significant in relation to some of the prayers for the sultans, where it is asserted that the descendants of ᶜAla ud-Din "became the kings of the Sulu country" or are "proper heirs to the throne."

[16] Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, p. 48, and Haji Buto, "Traditions, Customs and Commerce of the Sulu Moros," *The Mindanao Herald*, February 3, 1909, p. 21.

[17] Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, pp. 564-565, and Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, p. 43.

14. Mahomud Mo-i-Jodin	15. Sultan Alimud Din II
15. Mahomud Allimodin II	16. Sultan Sarapud Din
16. Mahomed Allimodin I (restored 1764)	17. Sultan Alimud Din III (reigned 1808)

It will be noted that in the above lists up to Sultan Alimud Din I (No. 13 in Dalrymple's list and No. 12 in the Sulu Genealogy), there are some discrepancies. Sitecabil and Badorodin in Dalrymple's list are not found in the Sulu Genealogy, while Sultan Nasirud Din (No. 7 of the Sulu Genealogy) is not found in Dalrymple's list. These discrepancies can and must be explained, considering that there is enough historical evidence to support the view that some of those skipped in both lists have actually reigned. Clearly, the omissions were intentional. Dalrymple was indeed aware of this when he stated that "co-temporaries" and "usurpers" were excluded from his list. That Nasirud Din is not on Dalrymple's list can be explained by the fact that he ruled during the lifetime of Sultan Bongsu. That Sultan Badorodin is not found in the Sulu Genealogy has to do not only with his rivalry with Sultan Nasarud Din but to the fact that there was some opposition to his election; thus, to some, he might have been considered a "usurper" although he did in fact rule for more than fifteen years and was a skilled diplomat and brave warrior. That Sitecabil is not listed in the Sulu Genealogy can be explained by the simple fact that she was a woman and that therefore the absence of her name was based on negative opinions regarding the qualifications of a woman to hold office—opinions which might have been adopted later. Moreover, she married an Iranun datu and it might have been politically expedient to neglect this fact to prevent the Iranuns from having a hand in the Sulu royal succession.

The Sulu Genealogy does not mention anything specific about dynastic rivalries or conflicts. The closest that it ever comes to suggesting this is when it says that ʿAla ud-Din did not succeed Sultan Sharif. But the fact that it omits some persons who have certainly ruled reveals that it had also assumed a criteria for valid succession. Therefore, if a relatively more complete list of sultans who have ruled in Sulu is desired, it must be discovered somewhere else.

"KHUTBAHS" AND "KITABS"

One way of supplementing the list of sultans in the Sulu Genealogy is by resorting to some local sources consisting of certain specific *khutbahs* and *kitabs*. In Islam, a *khutbah* is a sermon or oration delivered during Friday congregational prayers (*salat ul-jumʿah*) and during the two great festivals of *ʿId ul-Fitr* and *ʿId ul-Adha*. All *khutbahs* must include prayers for the Prophet, and it was customary to include prayers for his Companions including the first four *khalifs* as well as the reigning Muslim ruler. The particular structure of the prayers is usually left to the discretion of the deliverer or composer. The subject matter of *khutbahs* are accommodated to religious needs and changing social situations; however, some *khutbahs* in the Philippines, on account of their eloquent and timely character, are repeated.

In Sulu, there are certain specially prepared *khutbahs* which are often repeated on special occasions. All are written in Arabic. Besides prayers for each of the sultans who are believed to have ruled, these contain brief descriptions of their character or achievements. For the same historical period, these *khutbahs* contain more names than the Sulu Genealogy or Dalrymple's list. This probably demonstrates a conscious effort to mention any person in the realm who had exercised, in fact, coercive power in Sulu. It can be assumed that while a man ruled as sultan, his name would be included in the *khutbah*. Whether he was a usurper or not is irrelevant. In general, Islam has always propounded obedience to authority as long as no danger to the Faith exists. The problem of dynastic rivalries was left to contending members of related families while the ʿulama[18], generally stood aloof. But once a name was inserted in the *khutbah*, it remained there. It would have been a bold *imam* or *ʿalim* who would dare take it out. Not only does a well-thought-out *khutbah* of the above character acquire a generally sacrosanct character but it becomes of public knowledge, and it is often repeated. Consequently, any tampering with the text would generate doubts, inquiries and possible discussions. Such *khutbahs* were kept up to date, but again, like *tarsilas*, it would be difficult to know when their earliest parts were written. However, in one *khutbah*, one of the early eighteenth century sultans is prayed for as if he were still alive and reigning. In such a case, one can conclude that the latter portions were composed some years later.

One peculiarity of *khutbahs* is that since they are written in the Arabic language and by the relatively most learned men in Sulu society, only the Arab titles and names of the sultans are mentioned, regardless of the possibility that such a sultan might have in fact only used the local title. For example, what appears as Maharajah Dirajah in some *tarsilas* (not in the Sulu Genealogy) appears as Amir ul-ʿUmara[19] in the *khutbahs*. The meanings of both titles are more or less equivalent. Also, Pangiran Buddiman of the Sulu Genealogy appears as Halim in the *khutbahs*.[20]

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[18] Plural of *ʿalim* (Arabic for learned man).

[19] Arabic for "prince of princes" and therefore a translation of the local term.

[20] The Sanskrit Buddiman means wise while the Arabic Halim signifies kind or gentle.

Saleeby in his *History of Sulu* did not depend entirely on the list of sultans of the Genealogy of Sulu. He had to refer to alternative *tarsilas* and to at least one *khutbah* designated as "The Sulu Oration for the Feast of Ramadan."[21] Actually, he adhered completely to the list of this *khutbah* except for one ᶜAli Shah, for reason or reasons left unexplained.

A *khutbah* from Patikul has two names besides those of the Sulu Ramadan Oration. It is interesting to note that Patikul has been at various times in the past a center of resistance to the sultans belonging to the Kiram family, having at times supported rival claimants to the throne. What follows is the list of sultans from the *Patikul Khutbah:*

1. Sharif ul-Hashim
2. Kamal ud-Din
3. ᶜAla ud-Din
4. Amir ul-ᶜUmara
5. Muᶜizz ul-Mutawadiᶜin
6. Shah Nasir ud-Din Ula
7. Shah Muhammad ul-Halim
8. Batara Shah
9. Muwallil Wasit
10. Nasir ud-Din Akhir
11. Salah ud-Din
12. ᶜAli Thani
13. ᶜAzam
14. Al Haqunu Ibn Wali ul-Ahad
15. Shahab ud-Din
16. Shafi ud-Din
17. Badar ud-Din
18. Nasar ud-Din
19. ᶜAzim ud-Din I
20. Muᶜizz ud-Din
21. Muhammad Isra'il
22. ᶜAzim ud-Din II
23. Sharaf ud-Din
24. ᶜAzim ud-Din III
25. ᶜAli ud-Din
26. Shakirullah
27. Jamal ul-Kiram

This is the most comprehensive list known to the writer. It will therefore be heavily relied upon. Aside from *khutbahs*, other lists of sultans can be gathered from so-called *kitabs*. Used here in the sense of a booklet or notes, a *kitab*[22] represents an attempt not only to present a list of sultans who have reigned but also some salient features of their character and exploits. If dates are not mentioned, the number of years a sultan reigned are stated. The data for the *kitabs*, except for the dates or years reigned, appear to be based mainly on the *khutbahs* and are all of relatively recent formulations. When dates appear, they are mostly inaccurate except for the latter part of the last century. One of the earliest *kitab* was that written by Haji Buto in 1904. It was an attempt to present a "history" of the Sulu sultanate and its value is that it contains important data about events in the last century written from the Sulu point of view. But the dates it contains for the sultans before the nineteenth century are thoroughly unreliable and appear to be Haji Buto's estimates in his efforts to formulate a consistent chronology. However, Haji Buto was a learned man and his connections with the Sulu royal family enabled him to gain access to a great deal of their manuscripts and archival materials. His *kitab* became therefore the source for other succeeding *kitabs*. They all have to be used with some caution, especially regarding dates.

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[21] Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion*, pp. 101-105.

[22] From the Arabic (Plural, *kutub*) meaning book. In Sulu the term is used sometimes to refer to the Qur'an. At other times it was used to refer to a collection of Hadith (Traditions) or to the laws of the realm. In a loose sense it is used to refer to any book or collection of historical notes.

PROBLEMS OF CHRONOLOGY

Neither the Sulu Genealogy nor the *khutbahs* contain any date about the coming or rule of Abu Bakr, the first Sultan. However, the *kitab* of Haji Buto states that Sharif ul-Hashim ruled from 808 to 823 Anno Hegira (1405-1420 C.E.). Another *tarsila* from Basilan asserts that the Sharif arrived in Buansa in 804 A.H. (1401 C.E.).[23] These dates are probably calculations made at the beginning of this century. In an unpublished essay, Saleeby maintained that the rule of the first Sultan could have begun somewhere between 1407 and 1436 C.E., if each generation of sultan is rated as 28½ years.[24] However, taking six years as a minimum and twenty years as a maximum for Abu Bakr's stay in Malacca and travels in Palembang and Borneo, Saleeby concluded in the same essay that Abu Bakr "should have reached Sulu before 1450 A.D. and after 1436 A.D." In his *History of Sulu,* he wrote that the Sultan reached Sulu about 1450 C.E.[25] The reason for this latter date is that Saleeby identified the Sharif ul-Hashim with the Abu Bakr who was a learned man who went to Malacca during the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah as narrated in the *Sejarah Melayu*.[26] Saleeby had further assumed that Mansur Shah began to rule about 1400 C.E. and that it was during his reign in 1430 C.E. that Abu Bakr came to his court.

Not much, however, was known about the dates of the reigns of the Malacca sultans when Saleeby wrote the above. With the later discovery of some tombs as well as additional sources, a more accurate statement had been made possible. It is now known that Sultan Mansur Shah ruled from 1458 to 1477 C.E. Therefore, if the Abu Bakr of the *Sejarah Melayu* is identified as the first sultan of Sulu, he could not have arrived in Sulu before 1450 C.E. The fact is that so far there is no strong evidence to justify the assumption that the Abu Bakr who went to Malacca and the first Sultan of Sulu were one and the same man. "Abu Bakr" is a common name among Arabs and Muslims. Be that as it may, Saleeby's date of 1450 for the arrival of the Sharif ul-Hashim can be taken as a plausible estimate. Spanish sources have on various occasions referred to Rajah Bongsu by name and he is the ninth sultan on the list of the Patikul *khutbah* with the Arab name of Muwallil Wasit. Rajah Bongsu began his reign as a young man around 1610. Estimating 20 to 25 years for an average rule for the Sulu sultans, the Sharif ul-Hashim could have well begun his rule around 1450.

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[23] Kindly made available by Hilal ud-Din "Hilario" Ballaho.

[24] "The Earliest Mohammedan Missionaries in Mindanao and Sulu," *Moro Ethnography*, Vol. II (Beyer Collection). This essay was written in 1906. Calculating that the sixth sultan of Sulu was the one who fought the Spaniards in 1578, and that eleven generations followed him till the time of his writing in 1906 (a total of 328 years), Saleeby concluded that the first Sultan could have arrived between 1407 and 1436.

[25] p.54.

[26] See *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. 25, Pts. 2 & 3, October 1952, No. 159, for an English translation of a version of the *Sejarah Melayu*.

There is no valid reason to question the existence of the Sharif ul-Hashim. All *tarsilas*, *khutbahs*, and traditions affirm his coming and his establishment of the sultanate. However, not all of these explicitly indicate that his proper name before assuming the sultanate was Abu Bakr. His exquisite tomb and monument still exists in Mount Tumantangis and bears his clearly inscribed lengthy titles. Unfortunately, no date is found on it.

The most accurate source to determine and establish the date reign of a sultan is his seal, and fortunately some documents bearing this had been found. However, none of the documents seen are earlier than the eighteenth century. European sources, mainly Spanish and Dutch, are therefore indispensable for the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For the eighteenth century, there are useful Chinese references. For the sixteenth century, the only European sources are Spanish, but these give no proper names. Chinese references for the early part of the fifteenth century appear to refer to Sulu rulers before the foundation of the sultanate. Two Brunei *tarsilas* have references to Sulu but the rulers of Sulu are referred to only by their titles.

A difficulty, though not insurmountable, regarding references to sultans in European sources is that sultans are sometimes designated by their local and not Arab names. Some sultans are also named by their places of death on account of a conscious effort to avoid calling them by their Arab names or local proper names before becoming sultans. The correspondence can nevertheless be made. What follows will be a list of all the sultans who are believed to have ruled in Sulu with some of their most salient characteristics as revealed by the *khutbahs*. When possible the dates of their accession and the bases for these will be stated. In the absence of their exact date-reigns, the years they were known to have ruled will be mentioned and some sources indicated.

THE SULU SULTANS

1. *Sultan Sharif ul-Hashim.* This is the title assumed by the first Sultan whose proper name was, according to the Sulu Genealogy, Abu Bakr. His titles as inscribed in his tomb are: Paduka Mahasari Maulana al-Sultan Sharif ul-Hashim. Clearly non-Islamic, the first title was found among Sulu rulers as early as the first quarter of the fifteenth century as reported in the *Ming Annals*.[27] The term *"maulana"* (Arabic for protector) is used in the sense of a respected teacher or learned man. The Sharif is reported to have lived about thirty years in Buansa, the first seat of the sultanate, and his tomb is located in one of the slopes of nearby Mount Tumantangis. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* describe him as wise, intelligent, learned in *fiqh* (jurisprudence), master of his age and time (*sayyid ul-ʿAsr*) and "kindled light of Allah." It is speculated that he began his reign in 1450 and died around 1480.

2. *Sultan Kamal ud-Din.* The Sulu Genealogy states that he was a son of the Sharif ul-Hashim and that he succeeded his father as sultan. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* characterize him as having been kind, considerate and full of pity. An unmarked tomb near that of his father is pointed to as his.

3. *Sultan ʿAla ud-Din.* The Sulu Genealogy suggests that he was a brother of Kamal ud-Din and states explicitly that he did not become a sultan. Whether this means that he did not become sultan immediately after his father's death or that he did not become sultan at all remains problematical. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* mention him with the intriguing assertion that his offsprings "became rulers of Sulu" or "are proper heirs to the throne." He is characterized as having been kind, generous, and having governed along Islamic principles.

4. *Sultan Amir ul-ʿUmara.* This title is evidently the Arabic translation of Maharajah-di-rajah found as the fourth sultan in some *tarsilas*. Both the Sulu Genealogy and Dalrymple do not mention him. Therefore, he might have ruled while some other Sulu sultan was still alive or he was considered, from a certain point of view, either a usurper or an outsider. A *kitab* mentions him to have been a grandson of the first sultan; but this appears to be more of an inference that is not warranted by any *khutbah*. What the *khutbahs* say is that he was a champion of the Islamic faith, a ruler of large territories, and a leader with many

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[27] *Ming shih*, Volume 325, pp. 13-14. "Paduka" is a Hindu title referring to a royal footwear. Both male and female members of the royal family sported it in Sulu. "Mahasari," interpreted by Spanish officials to mean a clean heart, is actually an equivalent term for "highness." The Sulu Genealogy narrates how, before the coming of Islamic elements in Sulu, there were already at least two rulers or chiefs entitled Sipad the Elder and Sipad the Younger. "Sipad" is clearly a variant of "Sri-Paduka."

followers. Moreover, he was one who refused to heed complaints of revenge.[28]

5. *Sultan Mu'izz ul-Mutawadi'in.* He is the Maharajah Upo of the Dalrymple list and Sulu Genealogy. "*Upo*" was a princely title. The Sulu Genealogy specifically states that he succeeded to the sultanate upon the death of Kamal ud-Din. The *khutbahs* describe him as a helper of the poor, to whom Allah had given strength to rule. Another version is that Allah strengthened his kingdom. One can speculate that there was some trouble in the reign that was overcome by this ruler.

6. *Sultan Nasir ud-Din I.* He was surnamed Digunung or Hábud, suggesting that he grew up in or ruled from the interior of Sulu island. He is not mentioned in the Sulu Genealogy or in Dalrymple's list. Again, whether he ruled during the time of No. 5 or No. 7, or that he was a "usurper", remains a problem. But he must have had exercised some political power on the island. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* call him generous, firm, powerful and victorious. This last word might simply be an equivalent of his Arabic name; or possibly his name might have been given to him after his death on account of such a characteristic.

7. *Sultan Muhammad ul-Halim.* His other name was Pangiran Buddiman which was the name by which he was probably known in life. "Halim" would be a more appropriate term to be found in a *khutbah.* The Sulu Genealogy states that Pangiran Buddiman succeeded to the sultanate upon the death of Maharajah Upo. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* claim that he was crafty, wise in matters both temporal and spiritual, and a conqueror.

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[28] A tradition in Sulu, interesting but whose reliability needs to be further tested, is that Amir ul-ᶜUmara was also called Nakhoda Ragam and was the Sultan Bulkeiah who conquered Brunei. But according to the Brunei *Selesilah*, it was Bulkeiah, the fifth sultan of Brunei, who "conquered the kingdom of Soolook and made a dependency of the country of Selurong. . . ." Moreover, he had married Laila Men Chanei, a daughter of the ruler (*batara*) of Sulu. Hugh Low, "Selesilah," *op. cit.*, p. 3, p. 7, and pp. 24-25.

Sultan Bulkeiah was probably the sultan Pigafetta met in Brunei in 1521 since he wrote that the Sultan had taken to wife a daughter of the ruler of Sufu and that one night, with five hundred *praus*, he attacked Sulu and captured the Sulu ruler and two of his sons and brought them to Brunei, promising them freedom should the Sulu ruler surrender two extraordinary large pearls he was known to possess. Antonio Pigafetta, "First Voyage Around the World," Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 235.

If the Sultan known by Pigafetta is the Sultan Bulkeiah of the *Selesilah*, and if it is true that for some time he held Sulu under his sway, it is understandable why his name would be found in the *khutbah* but not in the Sulu Genealogy. If Sultan Bulkeiah is furthermore identified with Amir ul-ᶜUmara, one can speculate that the third sultan mentioned in the Sulu *khutbahs* reigned in the first two decades of the sixteenth century.

In 1775 Thomas Forrest got information from members of the Maguindanao royal family from their *tarsilas* that Pangiran Buddiman was related to the Brunei royal family. Saleeby identified Pangiran Buddiman with the Rajah Iro (or Ylo), Pangiran of Brunei, who in 1578 fought Spanish troops when the latter attacked Brunei. According to the Spanish Governor Francisco de Sande, he received information that "the chief who calls himself lord of Xolo is a Bornean, and owns houses in this city of Borney; that he fought against us in the naval battle, and that he fled to Xolo, where he is now." [29] Another report of Sande gave the information that Rajah Iro was married to a sister of Seif ur-Rijal, the Brunei sultan in 1578.[30]

8. *Sultan Batara Shah Tengah.* This again is a title. "*Batara*" was a title used by Sulu rulers as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, and Brunei annals always referred to Sulu rulers by this term. "*Tengah*" suggests that there was an older brother before and a younger brother after him. The ***khutbahs*** and *kitabs* inform us that this Sultan was intelligent, had knowledge of the *Sharī'ah* (Holy Law), was honored by the community, and, added to all these, had a fondness for cleanliness.

Batara Shah Tengah was probably the Paguian Tindig mentioned by Francisco Combes. The more correct form would be Pangiran Tengah. Combes reported that Pangiran Tengah, on account of dissensions with his brothers, left his country with some followers, landed in Basilan where he stayed for some time, and finally settled in Jolo after subjugating the natives. One of his relatives, a cousin, who originally followed him but stayed behind in Basilan, eventually contested his rule and after a pitched battle killed him. This cousin, Adasaolan by name, had acquired a marriage alliance with the Maguindanao royal family and in his struggle with his cousin, so the story goes, was supported by Buisan the ruler of Maguindanao. After his death, Pangiran Tengah was succeeded by Rajah Bongsu, a younger relative.[31]

The above tale is quite credible, and the identification of Batara Shah Tengah with Paguian Tindig is reasonable. Rajah Bongsu began his rule as a young man around 1610, and according to the *tarsilas* he succeeded Batara Shah Tengah. Now, according to Spanish authors, the sultan of Sulu in 1608 had an offspring (or offsprings) of marriage-able age.[32] He could not have therefore been Rajah Bongsu. Combes claimed that Pangiran Tengah paid tribute to the Spanish government and, since the Sulu ruler once paid tribute in 1596, it can be reasonably argued that Batara Shah Tengah had ruled at least between 1596 to 1608. This span of time coincides with Buisan's hegemony in Maguindanao and Buisan is supposed, according to Combes, to have helped defeat Pangiran Tengah.[33]

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[29] "Expeditions to Borneo, Jolo and Mindanao. Francisco de Sande and others; Manila, April 19, 1578 to June 10, 1579." Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, Volume IV, p. 175 and p. 218.

[30] From a letter of Francisco de Sande to Licenciado Antolinez on July 28, 1578. Found in Ventura del Arco, *Documentos, datos y relaciones para la historia de Filipinas, hasta hora inéditos fielmente copiados de los originales existentes en archivos y bibliotecas.* Vol. II.

[31] Francisco Combes, *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo.* Retana Edition (Madrid: 1897), pp. 41-44.

9. *Sultan Muwallil Wasit.* He was known to Spaniards as Rajah Bongsu. He started his rule as a young man and was probably the Sulu ruler in 1614 who was described by Dutch officials who saw him as "a young man." One of his daughters married Sultan Qudarat of Maguindanao;[34] while another daughter married Balatamay (Baratamay), ruler of Buayan in 1657.[35] Around 1650, his son Pangiran Bakhtiar (Bactial) took over the affairs of the sultanate.[36] He was probably still alive in 1662, since Combes writing around this time referred to him as "the old king" in such a manner suggesting that he was still alive. The rule of Rajah Bongsu can thus be established to have taken place from around 1610 to 1650. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* characterize him as having been noble and knowledgeable in affairs of state, and furthermore note that he had a long and glorious reign. The *kitabs* also mention that he had fought hard and long against the white men on land and sea.

10. *Sultan Nasir ud-Din II.* Although mentioned in the Sulu Genealogy, his name does not appear in Dalrymple's list. This omission is probably due to the fact that he reigned during the life-time of Rajah Bongsu.

Around the 1640's Rajah Bongsu had two warrior sons; viz., Pangiran Katchil and Pangiran Sarikula (Salicala) who gave a great deal of trouble to the Spaniards. There is evidence that the former once tried to get the throne for himself after one of his father's defeats by the Spaniards. However, Spanish auhorities are agreed that Sarikula did act as a sultan, for sometime at least, during his father's lifetime. Combes made the brief remark that on the death of Pangiran Sarikula, the throne reverted to his father Rajah Bongsu.[37] Joint rule might be more accurate for the relations of Pangiran Sarikula with Rajah Bongsu rather than succession. Sarikula died around 1648. His rule may have been sometime from 1645 to 1648. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* consider him to have been kind, ascetic and victorious in land and sea.

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[32] For this dynastic detail cf. Horacio de la Costa, "A Spanish Jesuit among the Magindanaus," *Proceedings of the International Conference of Scholars* (Nov. *25-30, 1960, Manila*). *The Philippine Historical Association*, p. 95.

[33] Combes' account that Pangiran Tengah originated from Butuan is doubtful. Tawi-tawi tradition suggests that he had stopped at Bulungan, on the eastern coast of Borneo, before going to Basilan.

[34] This is based on information gathered from Maguindanao *tarsilas* and a Dutch report that Rajah Bongsu was a father-in-law of Qudarat. Cf. L.C.D. Van Dijk, *Neerland's Vroegste Betrekkingen met Borneo, Den Solo-Archipel, Cambodia, Siam en Cochin-China* (Amsterdam: 1862), p. 256.

[35] This information is based on Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, p. 565 and at least two *tarsilas* which mention that Balatamay had gone to Sulu and married a Sulu princess. (See Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion*, p. 25 and p. 27). The date is based on an inference regarding a report that Balatamay was going to Sulu to get married. Cf. Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philippinas de la Compania de Jesus, Segunda Parte, que comprende los progresos de esta provincia desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716* (Manila: 1749), p. 236.

[36] Combes, *op. cit.*, p. 479.

However, it is entirely plausible that Nasir ud-Din refers to no less than Sultan Qudarat of Maguindanao. Qudarat was also entitled Nasir ud-Din and around the 1650's had become the most powerful Muslim ruler in the Philippine Archipelago. His declaration of the *jihad* (holy war) around this time could have endeared him so much to the *ᶜulama* of the different Muslim sultanates, including the Moluccas, that they could have included him in their prayers. After all, there was a heightened consciousness of Islam during this time that transcended regional and dynastic loyalties. Sultan Qudarat appeared to have been the Muslim ruler who was best able to hold his own against the Spaniards; and his prestige was such that even in Sulu he was respected to the extent of actually influencing its internal affairs. Sultan Qudarat, whose reign covered about fifty years, was a contemporary of both Rajah Bongsu and his son Sultan Salah ud-Din Bakhtiar.

11. *Sultan Salah ud-Din Bakhtiar.* He was known to Spanish authorities as Pangiran Bactial and to Dutch officials as Pangiran Batticale. After his death he was called Marhum Karamat.[38] He contested his father's rule after the death of Pangiran Sarikula. By virtue of his father's old age as well as the number of his followers, he did in effect become sultan around 1650, if not a year earlier. He was certainly alive on March 15, 1666 as evidenced by his letter to Dutch officials in Batavia.[39] The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* call him just and ascetic and as one having fought Spaniards, infidels, wrong doers and enemies of religion—a veritable protector of Islam and Muslims. Since tradition states that he had a long rule, it may be fair to estimate that he governed from 1650 to around 1680.

12. *Sultan ᶜAli Shah.* He is not mentioned either in the Sulu Genealogy or Dalrymple's list; but *khutbahs* and *kitabs* list him. The

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[37] *Ibid.*, pp. 478-479.

[38] Deceased sultans are generally denominated as "*marhum*," the Arabic term for "one who had found mercy (with Allah)."

[39] *Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia* (Anno 1666-1667) (The Hague), pp. 93-94.

Sulu Ramadan Oration call him ever victorious, great and superior sultan, and sultan of the land and sea, specifying furthermore that his heir was Shahab ud-Din (No. 15). However, other *khutbahs* and *kitabs* give the information that his reign was quite short and peaceful. He is characterized to have been unselfish and not having used his office for personal gain.

13. *Sultana Nur ul-ᶜAzam.* The Sulu Genealogy and the Sulu Ramadan Oration do not mention her, but her name is found in Dalrymple's list with a few details. The omission of her name might be due to her having been a female. The Patikul *khutbah* mentions her only as ᶜAzam (ᶜAlam). "Nur" which should be part of her name was apparently dropped on account of later disbelief that a woman ruled; but "ᶜAzam" was retained since it can be the name of a male. But certainly "Nur ul-ᶜAzam" is the name of a woman. Zakiat ud-Din Shah, the Sultana of Acheh in Sumatra, who ruled in the 1660's and died in 1678, was also called Nur ul-ᶜAlam; while a daughter of Sultan Hasan, an early seventeenth century ruler of Brunei, was also called Sitti Nur ᶜAlam.[40]

Dalrymple, who, incidentally did not call her by her Sultana title but as Pangyan Ampay (since she was a Sulu royal princess) or Sitti Kabil (Arabic, Sitti Kabira, meaning grand mistress), wrote that she ruled for four or five years. Also that she was a daughter of a sister of Salah ud-Din who had married the Buayan datu Balatamay. Nur ul-ᶜAzam married an Iranun datu.[41] The Patikul *khutbah* briefly and revealingly states that she "did not like proud people." Apparently, some Sulus did not look with favor on her regime, it being under a woman.

14. *Sultan Al Haqunu Ibn Wali ul-Ahad.* This name is found in the Patikul *khutbah* and at least one other known *tarsila* but not in the Sulu Genealogy, the Sulu Ramadan Oration, or Dalrymple's list. Since "Ibn Wali ul-Ahad" is Arabic for "son of the *rajah muda* (Heir apparent)", it probably refers to a pretender who must have had some following.[42] To be speculated is that he could have been the son of Sarikula (who was once the Rajah Muda to Rajah Bongsu) and who as early as 1666 became the Rajah Bendahara and helped govern the realm with his cousin Sultan Salah ud-Din.

15. *Sultan Shahab ud-Din.* He was a son of Salah ud-Din. Whereas the Sulu Genealogy puts him as an immediate successor to his father, the Sulu Ramadan Oration has him as the heir and successor of ᶜAli Shah.

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[40] Hugh Low, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[41] Dalrymple, *op. cit.*, pp. 564-565.

[42] Since Shahab ud-Din (No. 15) is known to have ruled at least beginning 1690, and on the assumption that Salah ud-Din (No. 11) ended his reign around 1680, Nos. 13 and 14 must have reigned or pretended to reign within the time span of 1680 to 1685.

According to Dalrymple, Shahab ud-Din was quite young when his cousin Sitti Kabira reigned. There is a reference to Shahab ud-Din to the effect that he had begun to collect tribute from the North Borneo territories as early as 1105 A.H. (1693 C.E.).[43] It was he who killed Sultan Kahar ud-Din Kuda of Maguindanao in 1702 and "ceded" Palawan to the Spanish government in 1705. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* agree in the information that he was well versed in both the *Shariʿah* and *fiqh*. He reigned from around 1685 to 1710.

16. *Sultan Mustafa Shafi ud-Din.* A younger brother of Shahab ud-Din he was also known as Juhan Pahalawan. *Khutbahs* and *kitabs* consider him as one knowledgeable in the law, a good judge, and considerate. It appears that instead of holding on to his post till he died, he abdicated in favor of his younger brother Badar ud-Din to avoid future dynastic troubles.

17. *Sultan Badar ud-Din I.* A younger brother of the two previous sultans, he was known to different Spanish authors as "*Bigotillos*" or "*Barbillas,*" or as "*el Rey viejo de Tawi-Tawi.*" He was known after his death as Marhum Dungun, for he died and was buried in Dungun, Tawi-Tawi. According to Dalrymple, Sultan Badar ud-Din I's mother was a Tirun lady from the North East coast of Borneo.[44] Concerning his reign, this must have begun around 1718 or 1719 since a letter of his to Dutch officials in Batavia written in 1719 gives the impression that he had just ascended the throne.[45] In 1732, a nephew (or grand nephew) contested his rule which led to his forced retirement to Tawi-Tawi where he was then known as Sultan Dungun. He died around 1740 during the reign of his son ʿAzim ud-Din I. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* describe him as a victor on land and sea, brave, manly and just. These also assert that his reign was guided by the Qur'an and witnessed the introduction of additional religious institutions. His rule lasted from about 1718 to 1732.

18. *Sultan Nasar ud-Din.* He was either a son or grandson (by a daughter) of Shahab ud-Din and was known to the Spaniards as Datu Sabdula (Arabic, ʿAbdullah). In 1731 he challenged the rule of Badar ud-Din, forcing the latter to take leave and retire to Tawi-Tawi in 1732. The intrigues of Badar ud-Din led to the proclamation of ʿAzim ud-Din (a son of Badar ud-Din) as sultan in 1735. After a series of desultory skirmishes between the factions of Nasar ud-Din and ʿAzim ud-Din,

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[43] Jose Montero y Vidal, *Historia de la Pirateria Malayo-Mahometana en Mindanao, Jolo y Borneo* (Madrid: 1888), Vol. II, p. 586.

[44] *Op. cit.*, p. 564.

[45] "Copy of a letter of Paduka Sri Sultan Badar ud-Din to the Governor General at Batavia. Received on June 6, 1720," 1722 XII Ternate pp. 1-9. *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.* General State Archives, the Hague, Netherlands. The date of the letter is 1132 A.H. (1719 C.E.).

the former left for Maimbung where he generally remained till he died around 1753. He was also referred to as Dipatuan. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* describe him as one who was gentle and always in consultation with the people. He reigned sometime between 1732 and 1735, although it must be noted that even after 1735 he must have had some following, enabling him to attempt at various times to regain the throne, though quite unsuccessfully.

19. *Sultan ʿAzim ud-Din I.* He was known to the Spaniards and many Sulus as Alimudin. His mother was reported to have been a Bugis lady from Soopeng, Celebes, and that before becoming sultan, his name was Datu Lagasan. His father Badar ud-Din proclaimed him ruler in Tawi-Tawi in 1735. In 1736, after a few intrigues had paved the way, a number of datus asked ʿAzim ud-Din to transfer his court from Dungun to Bauang (Jolo). But a political struggle in 1748 forced him to leave Jolo for Basilan and then Zamboanga. His younger brother, Datu Bantilan, was then proclaimed sultan. In the meantime, he went to Manila where he remained for sometime, including a few years of imprisonment. He returned an old man to Jolo in 1764. In the same year, on June 8, he was formally reinstated to the throne. In 1774, tired of affairs of state, he formally handed over the sultanate to his son Muhammad Isra'il. After his return from Manila, he was referred to by the khalifal title "Amir ul-Mu'minin." One of his seals carries the date 1148 A.H. (1735 C.E.), his claimed date as sultan. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* call him kind, learned, just, wise, the seeker of Allah's justice and obedient to His will. These also state that he had "left the country but with the help of Allah, he was able to return well." The two periods of his reign are 1735-1748 and 1764-1774.

20. *Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din.* He was known to Spanish officials and priests as Datu or Pangiran Bantilan. He was a younger brother of ʿAzim ud-Din. His seal bears the date of 1161 A.H. (1748 C.E.), the year his brother left the kingdom to go eventually to Manila. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* characterize him as patient, truthful, and a disbeliever of ill reports about others. The Patikul *khutbah,* probably to further distinguish him from his older brother who had gone to Manila, specifically report that he "was patient and never left the country." Muʿizz ud-Din reigned from 1748 to about the middle of 1763.

21. *Sultan Muhammad Isra'il.* He was one of the sons of ʿAzim ud-Din I who, according to Saleeby, abdicated his powers to his son in November 1773. But he must have formally assumed the reign early the next year since his seal carries the year 1188 A.H. (1774 C.E.). He was believed to have been poisoned by either the partisans of his cousin or the cousin, himself, ʿAzim ud-Din (a son of Muʿizz ud-Din), in 1778. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* attribute to him popularity, patience,

peacefulness, and success. He reigned from the beginning of 1774 to 1778.

22. *Sultan ʿAzim ud-Din II.* He was a son of Muʿizz ud-Din and, for some time, governed Sulu with his brothers after the death of their father around the middle of 1763. By the end of that year, he had become, for all practical purposes, the Sultan. With the arrival of his uncle ʿAzim ud-Din I from Manila in 1764, whom he received well, ʿAzim ud-Din II left with his followers for Parang. In 1778, he succeeded Muhammed Isra'il. He reigned up to his death in 1791. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* state that he was peaceful, polite, powerful, and a helper of the poor. Passing over his brief rule from the end of 1763 to June 1764, ʿAzim ud-Din II ruled from 1778 to 1791.

23. *Sultan Sharaf ud-Din.* He was another son of ʿAzim ud-Din I and lived to a venerable old age. He came to the throne in 1791 as evidenced by his seal which bears the date 1206 A.H. He died in 1808, although ten years earlier the Spaniards were expecting him to die anytime and were thus worried that a successor antagonistic to them might ascend the throne. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* report that he knew a great deal about religion, loved the poor and afflicted, that he was merciful, that he closely watched the actions of the datus and kept close contact with the people.

24. *Sultan ʿAzim ud-Din III.* He was a son of Sharaf ud-Din and died the same year as his father. According to a report, he reigned only for 40 days[46] and this is confirmed by a cryptic remark in the Patikul *khutbah* calling him "Sayyid ul-ʿAsr," that is, master of [some] days. Spanish authorities agree with the *khutbahs* and *kitabs* that he was a very good and fine person. He ruled and died in 1808, probably from the smallpox epidemic that raged fiercely in Jolo that year.

25. *Sultan ʿAli ud-Din.* He was a younger brother of ʿAzim ud-Din III who occupied the throne in the absence of the *rajah muda* in Jolo. This *rajah muda* was a son of ʿAzim ud-Din II and was called Datu Bantilan. Failing to dislodge ʿAli ud-Din, Datu Bantilan retired to Parang where he was for some time called "sultan." ʿAli ud-Din reigned at least up to August, 1821, as evidenced by one of his letters to an English Captain.[47] The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* assert that he was a stern ruler, that he governed according to the Qur'an, and that he was great and victorious. He ruled from 1808 to 1821.

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[46] From an information taken by Gregorio Tenorio from Vicente Narciso, Secretary of the Sultan Jamal ul-ʿAzam, dated December 20, 1863, Legajo 2959, *Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs*, Madrid, Spain. A copy is also found in the *Bureau of Records Management*, Manila

[47] From an "Extract" from the Bengal Public Consultation, dated April 10, 1822, *India Office Records*: *Commonwealth Relations Office*, London.

26. *Sultan Shakirullah.* He was a brother of ʿAli ud-Din and was popularly known as Datu Sakilan. He started his rule at the end of 1821. His coins bear the year 1237 A.H. He died in 1823, and a Sulu report says that he ruled only for two years.[48] The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* claim that he was an uncompromising monotheist, learned in Islam, very pious, a helper of the poor, and that he was always in close touch with the people.

27. *Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram I.* He was a son of ʿAzim ud-Din III, and his seal bears the year 1239 A.H. (1823 C.E.) which can be assumed to have been the year he started his reign. He died in 1842. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* inform that he was kind, wise, a good administrator, beloved by the people, that he encouraged learning, and that he desired to be a *haji* but Allah designed otherwise. The facts demonstrate that he was a good merchant.

28. *Sultan Muhammad Fadl.* He was a son of Jamal ul-Kiram I and was popularly known as Pulalun. He must have ascended the throne in 1842 since his seal carries the year 1258 A.H. He died on September 24, 1862. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* state that he was just, that he was a good governor, that he was brave, that he was a fighter of the white men though he was forced to retire to the interior, and that he was careful of all his actions to avoid wronging his subjects.

29. *Sultan Jamal ul-ʿAzam.* He was a son of Muhammad Fadl and he ascended the throne in 1862. His seal carries the year 1279 A.H. He died on April 7, 1881. He was known to the Spaniards and Sulus as Jamalul Alam. The *khutbahs* and *kitabs* assert that he was well known (probably in the sense that he had dealings with various European powers), that he fought the white men, that he helped orphans, that he aided the *ʿulama* financially, and that he introduced the *hadd* law concerning theft.[49]

30. *Sultan Badar ud-Din II.* He was a son of Jamal ul-ʿAzam and became sultan in 1881. He died a relatively young man on February 22, 1884. All the *khutbahs* seen by the author were finalized not later than the reign of this sultan; consequently, no information can be given about those characteristics about him that were considered admirable or significant to the Sulus. However, a *kitab* gives the information that he was kind and performed the *hajj.*

31. *Sultan Harun ar-Rashid.* He was a descendant of ʿAzim ud-Din I, through Datu Putong, a son. Spanish intrigues led to his proclamation as sultan by a few datus in 1886, although earlier in 1884,

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[48] From an information taken by Gregorio Tenorio from Vicente Narciso, Secretary of the Sultan Jamal ul-ʿAzam. *Op. cit.*

[49] This refers to the cutting of the right hand as a punishment for theft in accordance with a strict interpretation of the *Shariʿah.*

Amirul Kiram, a younger brother of Badar ud-Din II, had already been proclaimed sultan. On September 24, 1886, Harun ar-Rashid went to Manila where he was sworn in as sultan before the highest Spanish officials. He never really had the support of the majority of the Sulus who generally considered Amirul Kiram as sultan especially when the latter was able to overthrow Datu ʿAli ud-Din, a pretender to the throne. When it became apparent that he no longer served any purpose to Spanish officials, Harun ar-Rashid was persuaded to abdicate in 1894. This was a tacit admission on the part of Spanish authorities that Amirul Kiram was the real sultan of Sulu. Harun ar-Rashid retired to Palawan where he died in April 1899.

32. *Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram II.* He was a younger brother of Badar ud-Din II. He was proclaimed sultan by his followers in 1884, not long after the death of his older brother. While *rajah muda,* he was called Amirul Kiram. His proclamation as sultan was contested by the datu ʿAli ud-Din, a grandson of Sultan Shakirullah, but to no avail. ʿAli ud-Din was forced to flee to Basilan. It was Harun ar-Rashid who tried to mediate between Amirul Kiram and ʿAli ud-Din until the Spaniards thought it expedient to have Harun ar-Rashid as sultan himself. The Spaniards were led eventually to deal with Jamal ul-Kiram II as the sultan of Sulu in spite of his repeated refusal to go to Manila on a state visit. Jamal ul-Kiram II died on June 7, 1936. He can be considered to have been sultan from 1884 to 1936, despite the fact that in 1915, he virtually surrendered his political powers to the United States government under the so-called Carpenter's Agreement.

Although in retrospect the Sulu Genealogy, the *khutbahs,* and *kitabs,* call all the rulers of Sulu "sultan", there is, so far, no conclusive evidence that all of them assumed this title. The tomb of the first ruler, the Sharif ul-Hashim, however, mentions this title. But certainly, by the seventeenth century, the Sulu rulers had already called themselves "sultans".

In the *khutbahs,* the majority of the sultans are called Muhammad and also entitled "Shah". The significance of the fact that a few do not carry this latter title is unknown to the author.

Some genealogical accounts of the sultans do not mention them by name but only by the name of the place where they died, prefixed by the appelative *Marhum.* This in some way reflects respect for a departed ruler although other factors like the fear of the dead or *lese majeste* might be involved. Other genealogical accounts only carry the names of rulers as datus and carry no regnal Arabic names or titles.

The first sultans of Sulu ruled in Buansa while a few others held their court in Dungun. The majority of them held court in various settlements, all of which lay in the site of present day Jolo town. For some time, a few of the last sultans lived in Maimbung, which incidentally is supposed to have been the capital of the earliest non-Islamic rulers of the island.

THE MAGUINDANAO TARSILAS

The Maguindanao *tarsilas* are more specific than the Sulu Genealogy in establishing relations between a local dynasty and a relatively older and better known dynasty as that of Malacca. Besides claiming descent from a *sharif*, the royal datus of Maguindanao also claim descent from a pagan or pre-Islamic ruling family and are more detailed in their genealogical accounts. Thus a triple function of the *tarsila* regarding legitimacy or sanction to rule is relatively more elaborate among the Maguindanao *tarsilas* than that of the Sulu Genealogy.

With some minor differences or variations, the Maguindanao *tarsilas* narrate how the Sharif Muhammad Kabungsuwan arrived on the shores of Mindanao with a sea-faring people, the Samals, after a long voyage from Johore. It is claimed that he was a son of the Sharif ᶜAli Zein ul-ᶜAbidin, an Arab hailing from Mecca (or Hadhramout) who settled in Johore where he married a daughter (or sister, in other accounts) of the Sultan Iskandar Julkarnain.[50] Clearly, what is meant here is that the Sharif married a princess of the royal family of Johore that was descended from the dynasty founded by Iskandar Julkarnain, the first Malacca sultan. In the list of Malacca sultans, only one, the first, bears this name; while in the list of the early Johore sultans, none bears it. For good chronological reasons, Muhammad Kabungsuwan could not have been a grandson of the first sultan of Malacca whose rule began around 1400. Consequently it would have been more accurate to have stated that the Sharif ᶜAli Zein ul-ᶜAbidin married into the Johore family that descended from Sultan Iskandar Julkarnain.

It is interesting to note that there are supplementary sections in the *tarsilas* regarding the genealogy of the Sharif ᶜAli Zein ul-ᶜAbidin from the Prophet Muhammad. This is unlike the Sulu Genealogy which does not contain a genealogy of the Sharif ul-Hashim but merely asserts that he was a descendant of the Prophet.

But the Maguindanao royal line is not entirely of "foreign" descent for, as the *tarsilas* assert, Muhammad Kabungsuwan married a few daughters of local chieftains, thus giving his descendants a claim to hold land, over and above a right to rule over Muslims. His daughters, too, later on, married local chiefs. In this light, it is evident why the rulers of Buayan, the Iranun datus, and minor sultans among the Maranaos, have all claimed descent from Muhammad Kabungsuwan. It is also understandable why other chiefs (*dumatas*) who were not able to claim direct descent from Muhammad Kabungsuwan made the allegation that they were descended, too, from another *sharif*. This refers to a certain Sharif Maraja (whose coming to Mindanao is supposed to have antedated that of Muhammad Kabungsuwan) who married a local girl. He is believed to have returned to his land of origin, but not before having left a few descendants—the *dumatas*. An effort is also made by these chiefs to show that the Sharif Maraja was an uncle or relative of Muhammad Kabungsuwan.[51] However, in spite of the assertion that other Muslims have preceded Muhammad Kabungsuwan, it is to the latter that the effective introduction and spread of Islam in the western part of Mindanao is attributed.

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[50] For a study of these *tarsilas* see Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion*, Manuscripts II-VI, pp. 23-41.

Since the kingdom of Johore was not established before 1511, the year of Malacca's fall to the Portuguese, the coming of Muhammad Kabungsuwan must have taken place after this event. The *tarsilas* mention how he had left Johore with many followers who were eventually separated from each other after having been scattered by strong winds. Tradition reveals that these followers were sea folk of the same stock and place of origin as the present Samals and Badjaos. It is now believed that the fall of Malacca brought about a dispersion of members of the old Malacca royal family with their followers and that their migration to other parts were facilitated by such sea-faring people. According to David Sopher:

> Following the Portuguese conquest of Malacca, and its harassment of Johore, there was a considerable exodus of Moslem Malay nobles and merchants to Brunei, which was then a well-established and busy port; probably some of the Johore boat people drifted along with this later migration.[52]

The coming of Muhammad Kabungsuwan to the present site of Malabang in the western coast of Mindanao after passing through Brunei might have been an incident of the above-mentioned exodus. The sea-faring people from Johore who accompanied Muhammad Kabungsuwan were called "Samals" by Saleeby. "Orang Selat" might be another term since it denotes sea-faring peoples living along the straits of Singapore and Batam. Another term might be "Orang Laut" or "Lautan" (the "Lutaos" of Francisco Combes). Although the Orang Selat were vassals of the Malaccan and later on of the Johore nobility, there were some intermarriages between them and their lords. A time would come when Muslim Malays of high standing would claim Orang Selat descent.[53] It can be conjectured that Muhammad Kabungsuwan had kinship ties with the followers who remained with him and aided him in the establishment of a principality. However, in time, the support of Muhammad Kabungsuwan would be based more on local marriage alliances and new converts to Islam.

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[51] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

[52] *Op. cit.*, p. 313.

THE MAGUINDANAO RULERS AND SULTANS

1. *Sharif Muhammad Kabungsuwan.* According to the Maguindanao *tarsilas*, his father was the Sharif ʿAli Zein ul-ʿAbidin from Arabia, and his mother belonged to the royal family of Johore. It may be speculated that he arrived on the shores of Mindanao around 1515.

2. *Sharif Maka-alang.* He was a son of Muhammad Kabungsuwan and surnamed "saripada." His mother Angintabu was a daughter of an Iranun chief from the area now known as Malabang.

In 1543, during the Villalobos expedition, some Spaniards were able to go to the mouth of a big river (Pulangi) where they were informed by the inhabitants that their chief was called "Sarriparra."[54] This being a variation of "Salipada" or "Saripada," it can be surmised that the chief was the Sharif Maka-alang; especially if it is considered that not only does a *tarsila* explicitly state that the Sharif had such a title but that such a title was not found among his immediate successors.

3. *Datu Bangkaya.* He was a son of Sharif Maka-alang. In 1574, Guido de Lavezaris wrote to the Spanish King that the chief of the Mindanao River wanted to become a friend of the Spaniards.[55] In another Spanish report, dated 1579, this chief is referred to as "Asulutan" (Arabic, As-sultan) with the information that he was a father of Dimansankay and that he had already died.[56] This refers probably to Datu Bangkaya who by 1574 must have been reigning for some time, since in 1579, his son, Dimansankay, was considered by the Spaniards to have been "an old man." Datu Bangkaya could also have been the ruler in the Pulangi who was reported to have died in 1578.

4. *Datu Dimansankay.* He was a son of Bangkaya. Spanish reports say that he was ruling in 1579 and that he was an old man.[57] The leading datus of the Iranuns and Maranaos all claim descent from him.

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[53] *Ibid.*, p. 327 and pp. 332-333.

[54] Luis Torres de Mendoza, *Coleccion de documentos ineditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organizaciones de los antiguas posesiones españoles en America y Oceania,* (Madrid: 1886), Volume V, p. 125.

[55] "Letter to Philip II dated July 17, 1574," Blair and Robertson, *The Philippines,* Vol. III, p. 275.

[56] "Account of Expeditions to Borneo, Jolo and Mindanao. Francisco de Sande and others; Manila, April 19, 1578 to June 10, 1579," *ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 241, and p. 292.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 229 and pp. 240-241.

5. *Datu Salikula.* He was a half brother of Dimansankay and also known as Gugu Salikula. Up to early 1597, he appeared to be a leading chief of Maguindanao, Dimansankay being dead at that time. According to *tarsilas*, he married a Sulu princess, and therefore he might have been the Maguindanao chief seen in Jolo in 1597 where he was supposed to have been banished for being "restless and rebellious" and who was further described as a brother-in-law of the Sulu ruler and an uncle of the Maguindanao *rajah muda* (erroneously called "king") by the Spaniards.[58] He was chief around 1585 to 1597.

6. *Kapitan Laut Buisan.* He was a younger half-brother of both Dimansankay and Salikula; he was sometimes called by the title "Katchil." His rule began around 1597 when he displaced Salikula; he controlled his nephew, the *rajah muda,* a son of Dimansankay. He must have been chief at least up to 1619, since Dutch sources mention relations with the immediate predecessor of Qudarat at this date.[59]

7. *Sultan Qudarat.* A son of Buisan, he was known to the Spaniards as Corralat and to some Dutch writers as Guserat.

In 1619-1621, there was war between Buayan and Maguindanao, probably dynastic or a contest for primacy in the Pulangi.[60] Qudarat must have been involved in this war for not long after a temporary reversal he appears as exercising some political power over Buayan. Furthermore, he must have consolidated his power well enough after this to enable him to attack Sarangani in 1625.[61] He died about the end of 1671 after having ruled for about half a century.[62] His rule, with varying fortunes and at different capitals, can, therefore, be fairly estimated to have taken place from 1619 to 1671. By 1645, he was already using the title of "sultan." As a young man he was entitled "Katchil." His great grandchildren referred to him as Nasir ud-Din.

8. *Sultan Dundang Tidulay.* He was a son of Qudarat and there is a report that he died before his father. If he ruled at all, it must have been for a very short time. He was referred to as Saif ud-Din by his grandchildren.

9. *Sultan Barahaman* (Arabic, ʻAbd ur-Rahman). He was a son of Sultan Tidulay. He was also known as Minulu sa rahmatullah. His sons referred to him as Muhammad Shah. He was the Almo Sobat (Arabic, Al Mu-Thabbat) to William Dampier or the Almo al Lasab Bra-

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[58] "Letter of 1599," *ibid.*, Vol. X, p. 224.

[59] Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 249.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 254. Also cf. 1630 II, 97-116, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*

[62] Casimiro Diaz, *Conquistas de las Islas Filipinas* (Valladolid: 1890), Second Part, pp. 566-567.

haman to the Spaniards. The name of his grandfather Qudarat was also used by him. He was heard of as sultan as early as 1678. Information given to Dutch officials at Ternate was that he died on July 6, 1699.[63]

10. *Sultan Kabar ud-Din Kuda.* He was a younger brother of Barahaman and was sometimes known as Jamal ul-ᶜAzam. He also assumed the title of Amir ul-ᶜUmara as well as that of Maulana. His reign was contested by two of his nephews, the sons of Barahaman. To make more secure his authority, he asked the aid of the Sulu Sultan Shahab ud-Din who came over to Simuay where Kuda held court. A misunderstanding as well as bitterness due to a long standing feud brought about a pitched battle between the Sulus and Maguindanaos. In the struggle, the Sulu Sultan personally slew Kuda. This event took place on August 10, 1702.[64]

11. *Sultan Bayan ul-Anwar.* His other regal name was Jalal ud-Din. Entitled "Dipatuan" during his lifetime, he was known after his death as Mupat Batua. He was a son of Sultan Barahaman. In 1701 he was already intriguing against his uncle the Sultan. He succeeded to the throne in 1702 and held court in Slangan but was often in Sibugay. His younger brother Jaᶜfar Sadiq, the *rajah muda,* revolted against him but he managed to keep the throne. In 1736, Anwar "abdicated" in favor of his son Tahir ud-Din Malinug (No. 13).[65] He died around 1745.

12. *Sultan Muhammad Jaᶜfar Sadiq Manamir.* He was a younger brother of Sultan Bayan ul-Anwar. He was sometimes referred to as Amir ud-Din. Referred to as Maulana while alive, he was known after his death as Shahid Mupat. He contested the reign of his older brother, but he was forced to flee to Tamontaka in 1710. Dutch officials referred to him as "the young king" to distinguish him from Sultan Bayan ul-Anwar. By 1725 he had assumed the title of Paduka Sri Sultan. In March 1733, his brother and nephew Malinug attacked his forces in Tamontaka. The latter caused his death in the ensuing struggle.[66] While his brother had power along the coast, Manamir held sway over the

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[63] 1680 VI, pp. 309-310 and 1701 X, pp. 87-93, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*

[64] 1706 XIV, pp. 2-4 and 1704 VIII, pp. 394-401, *ibid.* Also cf. testimonies accompanying the letter of Governor Zabalburu to the Spanish King, dated June 3, 1703, Legajo 127, *Audiencia de Filipinas, Archivo General de Indias,* Sevilla.

[65] For details cf. 1703 XII, Ternate, pp. 175-176; 1713 XII, Ternate, pp. 229-235; and 1739 XIX, Ternate, p. 377, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*

[66] For details cf. Letter to Valdez Tamon dated March 30, 1733. Letter of Juan Antonio de la Torre dated April 23, 1733, and Letter of the Rajah Muda Amir ul-Mu'minin Hamza dated April 14, 1733, Legajo 705, *Audiencia de Filipinas, Archivo General de Indias,* Sevilla.

interior. His power was recognized in Tamontaka from about 1710 to his death in March 1733.

13. *Sultan Muhammad Tahir ud-Din.* A son of Sultan Bayan ul-Anwar (No. 11), he was commonly known to the Spaniards as Dipatuan Malinug. He was also known as Muhammad Shah Amir ud-Din In a battle in 1733, he killed his uncle Jaʿfar Sadiq Manamir. In 1736, his father started sharing with him the responsibilities of government.[67] His authority was however contested by two of his cousins, sons of Manamir, forcing him to retire to the interior where he died in Buayan around 1748.

14. *Sultan Muhammad Khair ud-Din.* He was a son of Sultan Jaʿfar Sadiq and was better known to Europeans as Pakir Maulana Kamsa (Arabic, Faqir Maulana Hamzah) or Amir ud-Din Hamza. He also used the name ʿAzim ud-Din and assumed the title Amir ul-Mu'minin. In 1733, after his father was slain, he began to consider himself heir to the throne and thereupon called himself "*rajah muda.*" The next year, he was formally invested with the duties of a sultan in the presence of Spanish officials from Zamboanga. With some Spanish aid, he was able to consolidate his position in Tamontaka and contest the rule of his uncle Bayan ul-Anwar and later that of his cousin Malinug. But upon the latter's death around 1748, the struggle for the sultanate ceased. Pakir Maulana Kamsa emerged as paramount chief of Maguindanao. Around 1755, he started to relinquish some of his powers to his younger brother with the condition that his son, Kibad Sahriyal, would be the *rajah muda.*[68]

15. *Sultan Pahar ud-Din.* He was a younger brother of Pakir Maulana Kamsa and was known as Datu Pongloc or Panglu. He began to exercise the powers of sultan around 1755 and was in the sultan's seat in that same year when Captain Thomas Forrest paid a visit to Maguindanao. After his death he was known as Mupat Hidayat.

16. *Sultan Kibad Sahriyal.* His more regal title was Muhammad ʿAzim ud-Din Amir ul-ʿUmara. He was a son of Pakir Maulana Kamsa (No. 14). Even before the death of his uncle the Sultan, he was already being addressed as "sultan." He was friendly towards the Spaniards and at least twice entered into peaceful negotiations with them, namely, in 1789 and 1794. He probably governed from 1780 to 1805.

17. *Sultan Kawasa Anwar ud-Din.* He was a son of Kibad Sahriyal and like his father was also entitled Amir ul-ʿUmara. He entered into a peace treaty with the Spaniards in 1805. One of his seals carried

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[67] 1739 XIX, Ternate, pp. 375-377, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*

[68] Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

the title of Iskandar Julkarnain. He possibly reigned from 1805 to 1830.

18. *Sultan Iskandar Qudratullah Muhammad Jamal ul-'Azam.* He was more popularly known as Sultan Untong. He was a great grandson of Kibad Sahriyal (No. 16) and a nephew of Sultan Kawasa (No. 17). Some Spanish documents carry his name as Iskandar Qudarat Pahar-ud-Din. In 1837 and 1845, he entered into friendly treaties with the Spaniards. He died either in 1853 or 1854.

19. *Sultan Muhammad Makakwa.* He was a grandson of Sultan Kawasa Anwar ud-Din (No. 17). His rule can be estimated to have lasted from about 1854 to 1884. He died in Nuling (in the site of the old settlement of Maguindanao).

20. *Sultan Muhammad Jalal ud-Din Pablu.* Also known as Sultan Wata, he was a son of Sultan Makakwa. His capital was at Banubu, just opposite the town of Cotabato across the Pulangi. His death took place in 1888.[69]

21. *Sultan Mangigin.* He was a grandson of the famous Datu Dakula of Sibugay, who, in turn, was a grandson of Kibad Sahriyal (No. 16). He began his rule in 1896. From 1888 to 1896, the sultanate was vacant.[70] This was probably due to the fact that Datu Utto (Sultan Anwar ud-Din of Buayan) wanted his brother-in-law Datu Mamaku (a son of Sultan Qudrat-ullah Untung) to become the Sultan. The Spaniards, however, wanted the sultanate to go to one of the Sibugay datus. Around the end of 1900, Sultan Mangigin transferred his residence from Cotabato to Sibugay. In 1906, he married Rajah Putri, the widow of Datu Utto and sister of Datu Mamaku.

MAGUINDANAO AND BUAYAN

In its widest sense, the term "maguindanao" refers to all the Islamized peoples living in the valley of the Pulangi and its immediate area. It includes, therefore, the inhabitants around the northern and southern (Tamontaka) branches of the Pulangi as well as those in the upper valley where Buayan (16 miles southeast from the fork where the Pulangi divides into its two branches) was to be found. But in a more restricted and accurate sense, the term refers to a particular family or dynasty that was Iranun in origin and must therefore be distinguished from the family that ruled in Buayan.

The seats of some of the first Iranun rulers of the Maguindanao dynasty were in Slangan and Maguindanao, settlements adjoining each other and situated about five miles away from the mouth of the northern branch of the Pulangi. They lay approximately around the area now occupied by Nuling, at present a few minutes drive from the city of Cotabato. Qudarat, a member of this dynasty, who assumed the title of sultan, located his capital twice in Iranun territory, viz., Lamitan and old Simuay. A few succeeding Maguindanao rulers held court for sometime at old Simuay; but by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the seat of the sultanate returned to the Pulangi valley. Although the seat of the Buayan sultanate had shifted various times, it had always been constantly close to the present Dulawan.

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[69] Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion*, p. 61.

[70] *Ibid.*

Both sultanates claimed descent from Muhammad Kabungsuwan with the difference that while the Buayan rulers traced their descent to a daughter of the Sharif, the first rulers of Maguindanao were, in a linear direction, male descendants of the Sharif. The ruling family of Buayan claimed to have been ruling for a few generations before one of its rajahs came to marry a daughter of the Sharif. This would make it older as a ruling family than that of the Maguindanao dynasty whose first ruler was, strictly speaking, the son of the Sharif.

In general, the Buayan rulers controlled the datus and territories in the upper valley of the Pulangi and collected tribute from the non-Muslim peoples in the vicinity. The Maguindanao sultans came to control the lower valley but their real strength lay on the Iranun coastal areas up to Sibugay. Actually, the first members of the Maguindanao dynasty were, through the female line, of Iranun ancestry. It was through marriages with ladies from Slangan or its nearby areas and because their capital was called Maguindanao, that the male descendants of the Sharif Kabungsuwan became a Maguindanao dynasty and came to be called so. However, the title "Maguindanao Sultan" was later on used, in effect, to substantiate the claim of the Maguindanao sultans that they were the rulers of all Mindanao, including Buayan.

Besides the claim that both the rulers of Buayan and Maguindanao shared a common descent from the Sharif Muhammad Kabungsuwan, marriages between both families were common. Nevertheless, their rulers were perennial rivals for the control of the entire valley. To the advantage of the Maguindanao rulers, they came to control the mouths of the two branches of the Pulangi, enabling them to intercept all boats going to or from Buayan. Moreover, being related to and accepted as suzerains by the Iranun datus, they had constant aid from sea-faring Iranun warriors. The strength of the Buayan datus, on the other hand, derived from the number of their followers and settlements as well as support from non-Muslim tributary neighbors. While the Iranuns were a primarily sea-faring people, the people of Buayan were mainly agricultural.

In the last two decades of the sixteenth century as well as close to the first quarter of the next century, the rajah of Buayan appeared to have recovered some primacy over the whole Pulangi valley. After the dynastic wars of 1619-1621, Buayan was temporarily able to block the pretensions of the Maguindanao family. However, by 1625, Qudarat, the Maguindanao ruler, was able to exercise some influence over the newly-ascended but much younger Buayan rajah, although it was only by the middle of the seventeenth century that the supremacy of Maguindanao over Buayan was well effected. By the early eighteenth century, a number of Maguindanao sultans were also considered rajahs of Buayan.

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, on account of Spanish pressures, dynastic quarrels in the family and other equally important factors, the Maguindanao sultanate loosened its hold upon Buayan. Through various treaties as well as by the use of force, some datus were subjugated, enabling the Spaniards to successfully and progressively encroach upon Iranun territories where the Maguindanao sultans held traditional sway. In 1861, the Spanish flag, with the Sultan's acquiescence, flew over the present site of Nuling. With the Spaniards occupying part of the lower valley of the Pulangi and nearby coastal areas, and with the increasing ineffectiveness of the Maguindanao sultan, the datus in the areas concerned began to deal separately with Spanish authorities in the manner it best suited them, independently of the Maguindanao sultan. However, during this time the sultanate of Buayan began to consolidate its forces and territories in the upper valley of the Pulangi. Under the leadership of Sultan Anwar ud-Din Utto, Buayan contested and resisted Spanish attempts to overrun the whole valley. This redoubtable warrior became sultan around 1865, and by 1875 he was considered the greatest chief on the Pulangi River. His power extended from Buluan down to Tamontaka, a former territory of the Maguindanao sultan. He married a daughter of the Maguindanao Sultan Qudarat Untong, and he was influential enough to interfere in Maguindanao elections for a sultan. Although defeated at various times by Spanish troops and, once in 1887, compelled to accept Spanish sovereignty, he remained unconquered. In 1899, he turned over his powers and followers to his first cousin, the famous and fearless warrior Datu ʿAli, the *rajah muda* at Tinunkup, who then became the Rajah Buayan. Earlier, concomitant with the weakening of the Maguindanao sultanate, there arose innumerable "sultanates" under the control of datus with varying power and influence but generally unable to subdue each other. In 1900, the most powerful datu of Cotabato was Datu Piang, a Chinese-mestizo and former minister of Sultan Utto, whose capital was right in Dulawan, the site of the old Buayan. By this time the Sultan of Maguindanao had transferred his capital away from its traditional seat around the Pulangi to somewhere else in Iranun territory—a mere shadow of its former power and grandeur.

II

Islam in the Philippines

As a field of inquiry, the introduction and spread of Islam in the Philippines has received scant attention from scholars. One reason, among many others, is the lack of archeological data and contemporary accounts of the period before the advent of Europeans in the area. The pioneering works of Najeeb Saleeby still remain authoritative and most Filipino historians and writers of history books have remained content to repeat uncritically most of what he had written on the subject. That they should be heavily relied upon or at least used as a point of departure, was unavoidable for the simple reason that Saleeby was himself the first scholar who studied and first published the relatively most authoritative *tarsilas* that have a bearing on the subject. However, his works contain certain limitations which fortunately can be overcome.

One limitation springs from Saleeby's failure to view Islam's advent in the Philippines as a function of the general expansion of Islam in Malaysia.[1] This is crucial; not to see this is to relegate the inquiry into Islam in the Philippines to a relatively unintelligible isolated phenomenon. In the absence of much needed or desirable historical data in the Philippines, it is precisely from a knowledge of when and how Islam became entrenched in other parts of Malaysia that vital additional insights into Islam's coming to the Philippines can be gained. Conversely, an increased knowledge on this aspect, will, in turn, render the spread of Islam in other parts of Malaysia more significant and intelligible. As it were, the general Islamization of the whole Philippine Archipelago would have constituted, provided that no major external obstacle would present itself, the end process of the Islamization of Malaysia.

Another limitation is that, although by birth an Arab, Saleeby did not appear quite knowledgeable about Islamic institutions, more specifically jurisprudence (*fiqh*). This prevented him from fully appreciating certain subtle political and social transformations in the gradual Islamization of the peoples of the Philippine South. But Saleeby's heavy reliance on a well-selected number of *tarsilas* still remains his greatest strength. Fortunately, from the time he wrote his two major works at the beginning of this century, a few more *tarsilas* have become available. These have since been augmented by local archeological data, albeit very modest, by documents originating from foreign libraries and archives, and by *tarsilas* from neighboring countries. Moreover, valuable researches on the subject of the coming and expansion of Islam in Malaysia and Southeast Asia have appeared over the last few decades.

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[1] The term "Malaysia" here is taken in a purely geographical sense to include the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian and Philippine Archipelagos.

The phrase "coming of Islam" is indeed capable of various meanings. It could mean the coming of Muslim traders or the arrival of Muslim missionaries, or even the advent of Muslim chiefs or adventurers with the intention of founding a principality. Clearly, none of these alternatives necessarily imply the Islamization of a people. Muslim traders, or even settlers, might decide to return to their places of origin while missionaries might fail in their endeavors. Muslim adventurers might succeed in carving out principalities for themselves but might fail in inducing their subjects to embrace the Faith; some might have had no such intention or interest. The "expansion of Islam," however, could refer either to the conversion of the native rulers and thus suggest some receptivity on the part of his followers to accept the Faith, or to the overt practice of all or part of the well known Pillars of Islam among a noticeably increasing part of the population. These two alternatives may be and have usually been, in fact, inclusive. It is evident however that in the above definitions no expansion is possible without the coming. When rulers become Muslims or when part of the people begin to practice the rituals of the Faith openly, then the nature of the coming of Islam becomes one of the important elements to explain its spread. Consequently, Islamization means the expansion of Islam as well as the particular manner of its introduction.

When Legazpi arrived in Philippine waters in 1565, the process of Islamization was already manifested in varying degrees, in both extent and kind in the various parts of the country. For while it can be asserted that Islam had acquired a firm hold among the rulers and held sway in Sulu and Maguindanao, it still had a tenuous hold on other islands. For example, in Manila, where the ruling family was identified as Muslim, there is not much evidence of widespread Islamic practices among the inhabitants. In Balayan, Batangas, where Bornean preachers had once been at work, no tangible result of their efforts is evident. It is reported that dietary Muslim practices inspired by Bornean traders were found in Cagayan del Norte, but their existence might not imply the acceptance of the Faith but rather simply the adoption of cultural traits. In the Visayas and in some northern parts of Mindanao, in spite of the commercial intercourse with Borneans, and, therefore, presumably Muslim traders, the evidence points to the fact that for all practical purposes Islam was unheard of. With regards to the time element, Manila, at the arrival of Legazpi, was still at a stage which Maguindanao and Buayan had already passed more than half of a century before.

Although a general theory of the Islamization of Malaysia can be formulated, it is necessary, for methodological purposes, to know the dates and the particular nature of the expansion of Islam in the different regions of the Philippines. From these, in spite of variations, certain general observations and conclusions can be propounded relative to the general theory. The introduction and expansion of Islam in Malaysia was a complex phenomenon involving interrelated political, economic, cultural, psychological and other social factors. Many scholars have emphasized the foreign role in the Islamization of Malaysia; what has been neglected is a study of the role of the local peoples themselves and the factors that made them receptive to the Faith. When it is conceded that in general Islam came unaccompanied by coercion in Malaysia, the problem can also be raised regarding its ideological worth.

ISLAM COMES TO MALAYSIA

The first contacts of the Malaysians with Islam came over the trade routes. There is evidence that even before their Islamization, Arab and Persian traders were living in some of the southern ports of China; and there certainly was, at this time, some trade between Arabia and Malaysia. With the rise of Islam, the Arab lands became a center of empire, wealth, population and culture. They became an important commercial center for the products of India, China and Southeast Asia. To a great extent, Arabs became the intermediaries between European merchants and other Asian traders. It has been generally argued that by the beginning of the ninth century, Arab merchants and sailors (and other Muslims) had begun to dominate the Nanhai or Southeast Asia Trade.[2] The earliest known Arab accounts of this trade belong to this century.

However, in the last two decades of the T'ang Dynasty (618-907), for reasons to be briefly touched on later, Arab trade with China fell off. But during the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) foreign traders were once more encouraged to return. "It has been said that the foreign traders in Chinese seaports during Sung times were mainly Arabs, and that they were the richest foreigners."[3]

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[2] Wang Gungwu, "The Nanhai Trade: A Study of the Early History of Chinese Trade in the South China Sea," *JMBRAS*, Vol. XXXI, Part 2, No. 182, p. 107.

[3] G. R. Tibbetts, "Early Muslim Traders in South-East Asia," *JMBRAS*, Vol. XXX, Part 1, No. 177, 1957, p. 2.

It was in 878 C.E., that an important event involving foreign merchants took place in Khanfu (Canton). The rebel leader Huang Ch'ao sacked Khanfu and massacred, according to reports of Muslims, thousands of foreign merchants. On account of this as well as a general deterioration of the political situation and increased piracy in the area, thousands of these foreign merchants (mostly Muslims) left China and flocked to Kalah in the Malay Peninsula. This sea port then became the major entrepot of the Arab trade and possibly for some time their farthest eastern stop. From Kalah some traders went to settle for trade purposes to nearby places like Palembang in the eastern part of Sumatra. It was not long after this time that Arab commerce with Southeast Asia became more noticeable and organized. Although the traders were welcomed once more to China by the second half of the tenth century, Kalah retained its importance as a trading colony of Arabs and other Muslim merchants.[4] A summary of the Arab trade with China is as follows:

> The Chinese sources...show a continued increase in Arab trade with China from very early Muslim times. It had reached large proportions by the middle of the eighth century and remained at this level until the riots which accompanied the fall of the T'ang dynasty at the end of the ninth century. Then for a period of almost a century there is no record, but from 970 onwards, and especially after the rise of the Southern Sung, trade was revived and continued uninterrupted throughout the Sung and Yuan dynasties into Ming times.[5]

It is tempting to believe that it was from the establishment of a Muslim settlement at Kalah, from which more settlements would be set up in nearby areas, that more intimate contacts between foreign Muslims and the native populations would ensue. But what is important to note as an aftermath of the mass flight from Khanfu is that with the establishment of such settlements the local trade began to flourish. According to Tibbetts:

> The inhabitants of these settlements, besides acting as agents for traders at home, must have interested themselves in local trade, particularly in the trade between China and various ports in South-East Asia . . . . This local trade was the cause of a slow but steady penetration of South-East Asia, reaching as far as eastern Java by the eleventh century.[6]

It was probably due to this local trade that Borneo came to be known to Muslim traders. Information has it that in 977, Pu-Ni[7] sent an embassy to China headed by a certain P'u Ali (Abu ʿAli). Earlier, in the same year, a merchant named P'u Lu-hsieh arrived in the mouth of the river of Pu-Ni from China.[8] It appears from these data, according to Hirth and Rockhill, that "It is to the enterprising Arab traders of Canton or *Tsuan-Chou* that belongs the credit of opening relations between China and Borneo."[9] If this is about the earliest time that the Muslim traders became acquainted with Borneo, it can be presumed that it would not be long after that they would come to know about or even pass by Sulu. According to Chinese sources, in the year 982 a ship with valuable merchandise from Ma-i (or Mo-yi) arrived in Canton.[10] It is now generally agreed that Ma-i is an island in the Philippines, probably Mindoro. If, as Professor Otley Beyer asserted, the ship from Ma-i was an Arab ship or owned or captained by one, then this commercial venture represented an instance of the local trade then carried on by Muslim traders. For future reference, what is important to note here was the finding of an alternative trade route from Borneo and the Philippines going directly to South China without passing along the coast of Champa in Indo-China. The letter of the Pu-Ni king to the Chinese emperor clearly suggests the existence of this second route now known to Muslim traders, as distinguished from what may be called the first route, that is, that from the Malacca Straits to China passing along the coast of Indochina. Regarding these two routes, Beyer wrote:

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[4] *Ibid.*, p. 21. Whereas most scholars have identified Kalah with the present Kedah, Professor S. Q. Fatemi identifies it with Klang.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 31.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[7] Identified as Brunei, or Borneo, or the west coast of Borneo opposite the Karimata islands.

> From the late tenth century onward the Arab ships pursued both routes and the first actual recorded mention of the Philippines, in Chinese written history (as so far available), is the arrival of an Arab ship at Canton with a load of native goods from Mindoro (Ma-i), in the year 982 A.D.[11]

Although the increase and relative permanency of Muslim trader settlements, a better organization of local trade in Southeast Asia, and the use of additional trade routes in the area begin to be more noticeable after the 878 event; this does not mean that there were no similar settlements or colonies of Muslims in China and Southeast Asia before this time. On the basis of archeological data and historical accounts, both Chinese and Muslim, it can now be maintained that aside from Chinese ports, there was already a colony of foreign Muslims in the west coast of Sumatra as early as 674 C.E.[12]

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[8] Cf. Tibbetts, *op. cit.*, p. 36, and S. Q. Fatemi, *Islam Comes to Malaysia* (Singapore: 1963), pp. 67-68. P'u Lu-hsieh has been taken to stand for Abu ʿAli or Abu Lais. Abu Rashid is another possibility.

[9] Quoted in Footnote 79 in Fatemi, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[10] For details see Wu Ching-hong, *A Study of References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources from Earliest Times to the Ming Dynasty* (Quezon City: 1959) pp. 75-80.

[11] Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 76.

But after 878 or thereabouts, an acceleration of clearly defined settlements began to appear—a flourishing colony of Muslims in Kalah and not long after in the west coast of Sumatra; in Champa in the late tenth century; in Leran (Eastern Java) in 1082 C.E.; and at Trengganu in 1303 C.E. All these settlements mean that some Muslims had come to stay; however, they do not necessarily imply Islamization of the area. This is not to deny intermarriages with the native population or possible minor conversions. The precipitating factor or factors have yet to come. But the existence of such generally permanent settlements provided the basis for closer contacts with the native populations. It is to be emphasized that these Muslim settlers stood as representatives of a highly developed culture, that they had economic prestige, that they were associated with powerful kingdoms, and that they had in their midst scions of noble families who may have been deeply influenced in their lives by religious motives. These factors suggest that it would be unavoidable for the local populations to become predisposed to accept those cultural elements from their guests especially when such an acceptance satisfied deeply felt aspirations and needs. Since, later on, some of these settlements would be a few centuries old, communication with the people would in time become more intimate. This element as well as the existence of the pre-disposition would prepare the local inhabitants for later conversion.

By the second half of the thirteenth century, Islam had obviously begun to gain political power in the sense that rulers of Malaysian principalities were of the Faith or had recently been converted to it. One of the first principalities claiming to have entered Islam was Samudra-Pasai where its first Muslim ruler, Malik as-Salih, died in 1297. Tradition adds that Malik as-Salih had married a princess of nearby Perlak. While some accounts agree that this ruler was not a native of Sumatra, and others maintain that he was a Persian, the probability is that he was a Bengali, as Professor Fatemi had very convincingly proven.[13] Marco Polo, who was in Perlak in 1292, wrote that in this kingdom of Perlak the natives had been converted to Islam by Muslim merchants. Earlier in 1282, two envoys from Samudra, Hasan and Sulayman, who were evidently Muslims, went to China. This suggests that the Muslim settlement or community in Samudra was influential enough to have two of their people sent to China as envoys on an important mission.[14] It further suggests that a Muslim ruler had been acceptable on the basis of the existence of such a community. Clearly, having a Muslim as ruler not only helped to guarantee the preservation of the Faith but accelerated the conversion process, if this was already underway.

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[12] Cf. W. P. Groeneveldt, *Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca* (Batavia: 1877), footnote 4, p. 14.

[13] Fatemi, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

At about the same time, Trengganu, on the eastern coast of Malaya, appears not only to have had a Muslim settlement but also a ruler, or at least a high minister of state, who had embraced Islam as early as 702 A.H. (1303 C.E.) as evidenced by the so-called Trengganu stone containing inscriptions in the Malay language but using the Arabic script.[15]

A dramatic chapter in the Islamization of Malaysia was the foundation of Malacca around 1400 and the conversion of its ruler around 1414. The founder of this kingdom, Parameswara, who was of Palembang origin, had previously married a Madjapahit princess. After a series of adventures he finally settled in a small fishing village which soon expanded into a great emporium. With Muslim traders patronizing it and using it as a *pied a terre* or as their headquarters there, it soon began to eclipse neighboring sea ports. Carried along by the persuasions of Muslim traders as well as by a marriage alliance with a Muslim princess of Pasai, he embraced Islam and adopted the name of Sultan Iskandar Shah. In time, Malacca became a center of Muslim studies. The expansion of the Faith accompanied its increasing influence in the area. During the reign of Mansur Shah (1458-1477), Islam started to spread into other parts of the Malay Peninsula. Missionaries departed for other Malaysian islands, particularly, Java.

The traditional accounts of the conversion of Java, usually suffused with piety, try to show how the process was generally accomplished by the love and labours of the Nine Saints (*aulia*). These are all historical personalities and were all probably Sufis with missionary directions. The earliest two were Maulana Malik Ibrahim (Sunan Gresik) who died in Gresik in 1419 and Raden Rahmat who died in 1470. The others flourished during the sixteenth century. It does seem, therefore, that the conversion of Java was the result of a long process. A reason for this was that Java was the center of the Hindu empire of Madjapahit which tried to obstruct the progress of Islam in every way. Nevertheless, by the beginning of the fifteenth century, some of the coastal principalities of Java had become Islamized and generally independent of Madjapahit which, by then, had started to fade into a mere shadow of its former self. By the sixteenth century, other parts in the interior of Java had also become more receptive to Islam.

The ruler of Brunei must have embraced Islam after the founding of Malacca, since the Brunei *Selesilah* states that the first Muslim ruler of Brunei received some of the symbols of royalty from Malacca.[16] Brunei itself probably became Islamized by the middle of the fifteenth century, if not earlier; at any rate, some time before the establishment of the Sulu sultanate. Ternate, in the Moluccas, became Islamized around the time of Madjapahit's fall in 1478.

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[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

From the above discussion it clearly appears that one of the starting points in the slow but steady expansion of Islam in Malaysia is to be found in the northern part of Sumatra—aptly called later on "the gate to the Holy Land (Mecca)." Paraphrasing some students on this subject, it was in the north of Sumatra that the seeds for both the conversion of Malacca and the destruction of Madjapahit were first sown. But this is only part of the picture.

Parallel with Islam's expansion, with northern Sumatra as starting point, was another movement that took place either earlier or simultaneously with it on the eastern part of Malaya. As noted above, the Trengganu stone dated 1303 C.E. suggests that if the ruler of the principality of Trengganu was not yet a Muslim, it had, at least, a Muslim settlement or important trading colony. What is significant about this is that at nearby Patane, Islamization had already commenced before the conversion of Malacca, that is before the beginning of the fifteenth century.[17] Now, facing these two coastal principalities of Patane and Trengganu, across the China Sea, is nearby Phan Rang, in the south of ancient Champa in Indochina. Here, two stones, one dated 1039 C.E. and the other estimated to have been inscribed between 1025 and 1035 C.E., were found, testifying to the existence of Muslim settlements where social and religious life were well organized.[18] These three points, Phan Rang, Patane, and Trengganu, lay in the trade route from the south of China and Hainan to the southern tip of Malaya. As is well known, before the events of 878, there were large Muslim colonies of rich merchants in Canton and Hainan, with many Persians residing in the latter. After 878, many of the traders and their families understandably fled to and settled in areas in Southeast Asia close to the scene of their former opulence. However, on account of the encouragement by the Sung Dynasty, Muslim traders once more began to flock to China by the second half of the tenth century. Their chief port now became Chuan-chou (the Arab Zaitun) instead of Canton. And worthy to note at this point is that the traders engaged not only in trade with the Arab lands but also in the relatively more localized Southeast Asian trade.

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[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 2. Although the *Selesilah* mentions Johore and not Malacca, it is evident that Malacca is referred to. The *Selesilah* was written after the fall of Malacca, and Johore was always looked upon as the continuation or successor of Malacca.

[17] This is the opinion of Emmanuel Godinho de Eredia. Fatemi, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 42-53.

It is reasonable then to assume that a process of Islamization had already commenced in the Malayan eastern coast as early as the thirteenth century if not before, that is, contemporaneously with or even before that process which started from the northern part of Sumatra. One may not fully agree with Professor Fatemi that "the dawn of Malaysian Islam definitely broke on the eastern horizons of Malaysia" and that here the Islamization "line runs all through the eastern coast facing the China Sea: Phan-rang, Patane, Trengganu, Pahang, and Leran [Java]"[19]; but it cannot be denied that there was an Eastern line separate from, but complementary to, a Western line which ran from Sumatra to Malacca and western Java. Further investigation on the matter might possibly demonstrate how these two lines, two separate but related tides, one eastern and another western, eventually met and fused in Java and Borneo.

But to this generally peaceful and what might have appeared to some as the inexorable expansion of Islam in Malaysia, an unexpected turn of events was to intervene. In 1511, Malacca, which had become a Muslim theological center, fell to the Portuguese. Blocked by the land mass of Islam that extended from Morocco to points in the Balkans, the Portuguese, in their search for commercial products, especially spices, were able to arrive in Arabian waters by going round the Cape of Good Hope. Capturing a few Muslim strongholds in Asia, defeating a Muslim fleet at Dui in 1509, and finally capturing Malacca, they finally succeeded in destroying the centuries-old Muslim, principally Arab, trade primacy from the Red Sea to the China Sea.

The Portuguese expected that with Malacca in their hands they would become the owners of a trade monopoly as well as be able to strike a mortal blow against Islam in Malaysia, an expectation that failed to materialize. The Muslim traders now began to patronize nearby Pasai. This was due not only to commercial discrimination against them coupled with Portuguese encouragement of Hindu traders to come to Malacca but also to the fact that Pasai was a Muslim center of learning. It was natural for Muslim traders to patronize and look up to it as a haven. The

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[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67. This explanation of the Islamization line in Eastern Malaysia is based on the researches of Fatemi. Its existence is further reinforced by traditions in Kelantan that its history of Islam is older than that of Malacca. According to Anker Rentse: "It is not known when Islam came to Kelantan .... Local tradition claims, that Islam came from the East before it came to Malacca, brought by traders from Yunan." "History of Kelantan," *JMBRAS*, Vol. XII, Part ii, August 1934, p. 55. That this eastern line is distinct from the western one is evident, but whether it is earlier as Fatemi maintains still appears to be problematical.

Portuguese were apprehensive about this state of affairs and tried to exert some political influence on Pasai. However, in 1524, the neighbouring and rising Muslim principality of Acheh annexed Pasai. The lease for the continued coming of Muslim traders and theologians was thus extended to Islam's benefit.

> Achin, then, was during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries one of the main channels through which spiritual life on Java was given nourishment from Muslim India and the Holy Land, thus strengthening Muslim inclinations there. As the center of religious study it owed its influence to its position as a crossroads of Muslim trade.[20]

The arrival of the Portuguese, though primarily economic in purpose, was not unaccompanied by a religious motive which provided a potent rationale for the looting or destruction of Muslim vessels and "subjecting kingdoms in the heart of Moorish dominions." This fusion of religious motives and economic interests was best expounded by Tome Pires who was fairly well acquainted with contemporary events in Malaysia. Writing around 1515, he said:

> Malacca is a city that was made for merchandise, fitter than any other in the world . . . . Wherefore a thing of such magnitude and of such great wealth, which never in the world could decline, if it were modestly governed and favoured, should be supplied, looked after, praised and favoured, and not neglected; for Malacca is surrounded by Mahommedans who cannot be friends with us unless Malacca is strong, and the Moors will not be faithful to us except by force, because they are always on the lookout, and when they see any part exposed they will shoot at it. And since it is known how profitable Malacca is in temporal affairs, how much the more it is in spiritual (affairs) as Mohammed is cornered and cannot go farther, and flees as much as he can. And let people favor one side, while merchandise favours our faith; and the truth is that Mohammed will be destroyed, and destroyed he cannot help but be.[21]

But neither the wish nor the prediction was fulfilled. Not long after, additional principalities in Malaysia became Islamized. In less than a decade after Malacca's fall, Sukadana, Banjarmasin, and Ambon became Islamized. Bantam and Mataram, in Java, followed in a few years. In 1521, Brunei demonstrated determined efforts to convert its nearby neighbors, while in 1539, the Achenese sultan 'Ala ud-Din Riayat Shah waged a war against the still pagan Bataks. In 1575, Sultan Bab-ullah of Ternate completed the work of his father, Sultan Harun, in destroying the labors of the Portuguese missionaries in the Moluccas. Bornean missionary activities in Luzon, although of a limited character, appeared around the 1570's. The beginning of the seventeenth century witnessed Muslim rulers at Sambas, Bima, and Makassar. It was the occurrence of the above events within a century after the coming of the Portuguese, and later on, the Spaniards, that led the scholar Bertram Schrieke to conclude that the coming of Christians with a missionary zeal has a causal connection with Islam's accelerated expansion in the sixteenth century. His view, in brief, is that the proselytizing activities of Western Christians provoked an intense counter-missionary activity from Malaysian Muslims.

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[20] Bertram Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm in Early Java," *Indonesian Sociological Studies* (The Hague: 1957), Part 2, pp. 248-249.

[21] *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires: An Account of the East from the Red Sea to Japan, written in Malacca and India in* 1512-1515 (London: 1944), Volume II, p. 286.

> From the conquest of Malacca in 1511 onwards, one finds the Portuguese including the archipelago in their struggle against Islam and Islamic trade. Their conquests were accompanied by vigorous missionary activities, and these stirred their opponents to action in their turn.[22]

What is significant about Muslim missionary activities in the sixteenth century was that they were effected mostly by Malaysians. The conversion of the Moluccas had earlier been the result of Javanese missionaries who had combined trade with religious propaganda; but what is important to note here is that about a hundred years later, Ternatans from the Moluccas would be asked to come and serve as both teachers and military men to help reinforce Islam in Maguindanao and Buayan. Although in some of these missionary enterprises, the preachers were accompanied by ubiquitous Arab or Indian Muslim traders, what is important to consider is that the whole effort was now primarily a Malaysian affair. While it is true that Islam's northward expansion in the Philippines was later on not only checked but also compelled to retreat in some places and that various principalities in Malaysia which had been Islamized were later on transformed into Christian communities and colonies of Western powers, it is nevertheless equally true that in some areas where both religions competed, Islam did triumph. Without disregarding the function of easier communication between Malaysian Muslims and indigenous non-Muslims, it might be emphasized that Islam came to be regarded not only as something less foreign than Christianity but also as an ideology with pre-nationalistic overtones. Moreover, according to Crawford:

> The brave, active, and numerous inhabitants of the large island of Celebes, were offered at the same moment the religions of Mahomed and of Christ, and they gave the preference to that which did not endanger their national

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[22] Schrieke, "Ruler and Realm in Early Java," *op. cit.*, Part 2, p. 235.

> independence. Since then deprived of their rich commerce and their independence by the Christians, they had at least no temporal motive to repent of their choice [of Islam].[23]

The fact is that the Muslim traders, whether Arabs, Persians, Gujeratis, Bengalis, etc., did not come to found colonies for their mother countries or as invaders with imperialistic designs. What they originally founded were trading communities, and the maritime technology at that time could not decree otherwise. The traders had to remain in the trading settlements for some time, since the movement of their ships was determined by the nature of the monsoons. And many of such traders remained and died far away from their countries of origin. It was the existence of Muslim trader colonies widely scattered along the trade routes that made possible the expansion of Islam, for it was to these places during the thirteenth century that missionaries would come, not only to reinforce Islam among the Muslim settlers there but also to use the settlements as bases before fanning out into neighbouring areas. The personal and social relations of the Muslim settlers and the missionaries with, as well as their attitudes towards, the native inhabitants must have been important factors which also deserve consideration. Again, according to Crawford:

> The success of the *Mahomedan* missionaries, contrasted with the failures of the *Christian;* it is not difficult to trace to the true cause. The Arabs and the other Mahomedan missionaries conciliated the natives of the country,—acquired their language,—followed their manners,—intermarried with them,—and, melting into the mass of the people, did not, on the one hand, give rise to a privileged race. Their superiority of intelligence and civilization was employed only for the instruction and conversion of a people, the current of whose religious opinions was ready to be directed to any channel into which it was skillfully directed. They were merchants as well as the Europeans, but never dreamt of having recourse to the iniquitous measure of plundering *the people* of the produce of their soil and industry.[24]

THEORIES ON HOW ISLAM CAME TO MALAYSIA

It has been noted that as early as the seventh century there were a few trader colonies scattered along the trade routes and that there was a decided increase in their number during the ninth and tenth centuries in Malaysia. Yet it was only by the end of the thirteenth century, continuing to the next century, that Islamic influences became more pronounced, and this was followed by an acceleration of Islamization in the

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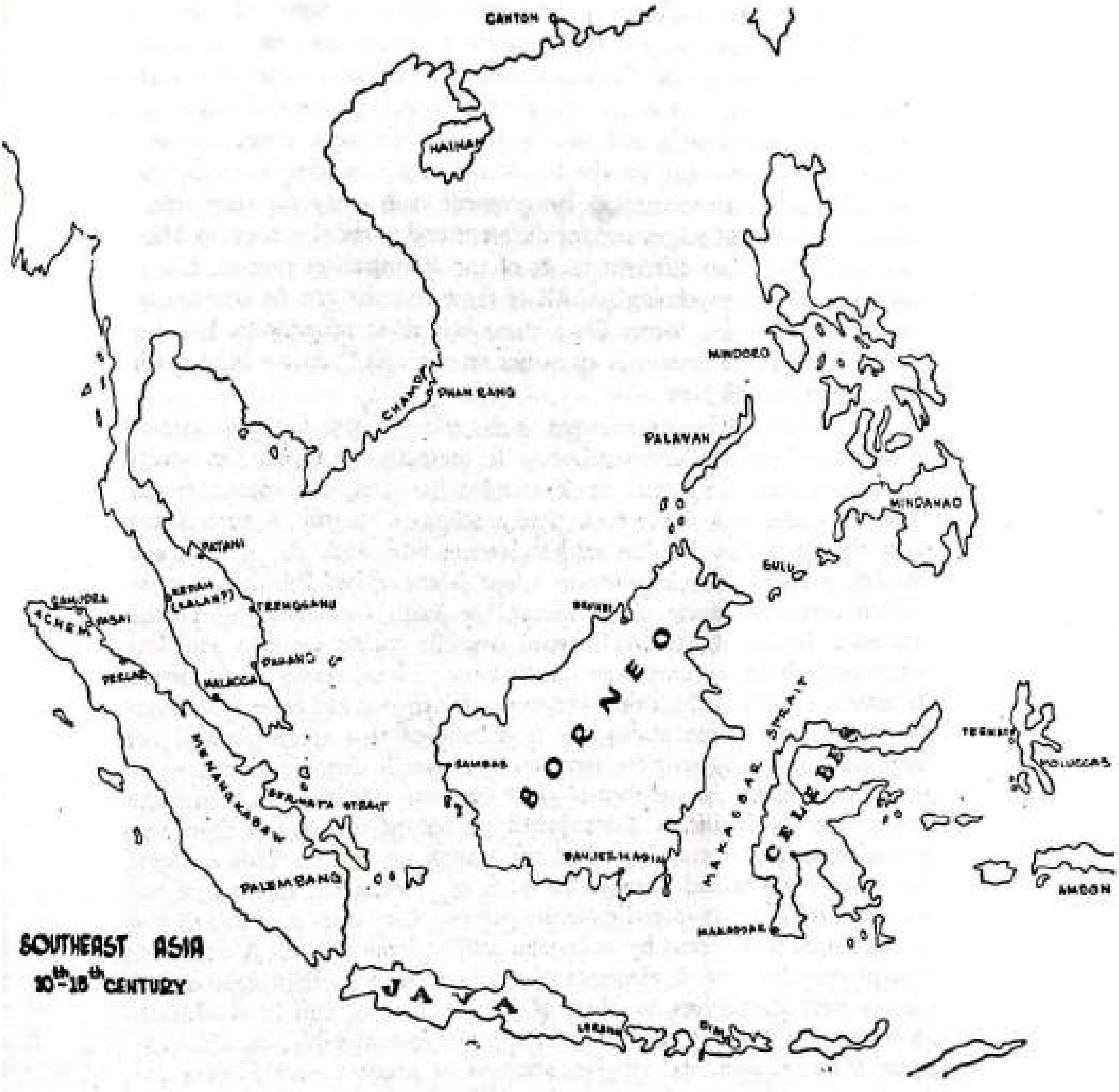
[23] John Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago* (London: 1820), Volume II, p. 281.

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 275.



SOUTHEAST ASIA
10th-15th CENTURY

CANTON
HAINAN
CHAMPA
PHAN RANG
MINDORO
PALAWAN
MINDANAO
SULU
BRUNEI
PATANI
KEDAH (LALANG?)
TRENGGANU
SAMUDRA
ACHEH
PASAI
PEDIR
PAHANG
MALACCA
MENANGKABAU
BERHALA STRAIT
PALEMBANG
SAMBAS
BORNEO
BANJERMASIN
MAKASSAR STRAIT
CELEBES
MAKASSAR
TERNATE
MOLUCCAS
AMBON
JAVA
BIMA

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It has been, therefore, concluded by scholars that some element or factor over and above the mere presence of Muslim traders is needed to explain the process of Islamization. The attempt to discover this element has given rise to various theories.

It is understandable why the propounder of a theory should be inclined to view his theory as if it were the major, if not the sole, explanation for the process of Islamization. But it clearly appears that such a complex phenomenon as the introduction and expansion of Islam in so many different islands and principalities at different times cannot be fully understood solely on the basis of a single or simple explanation. Actually, all of these theories complement each other for they refer to different historical stages and for different and particular areas in Malaysia. Others refer to different facets of the Islamization process, like the sociological and psychological. All of these theories can be conveniently categorized into six forms. Since these and their proponents had been discussed to a great extent in an earlier monograph,[25] only a brief outline will be presented here.

The first, to be denominated as the trade theory, has been popular with many early Western scholars. It maintains that Muslim traders brought Islam along with their merchandise and that, therefore, the Muslim trader was at the same time a religious mentor. A variation of this theory is that Muslim traders intermarried with the natives and, having persuaded their wives to adopt Islam, raised Muslim families which served as nuclei in spreading the Faith further. Close to this variation is that the traders married into the ruling families, enabling them or their descendants to eventually have political power which served as means to spread the Faith. However, this theory has been questioned on its imputed improbability, for it is believed that traders would not be guided much by religious motives, and even if they were, it is to be doubted whether the number of their converts would have been large enough to be significant. Consequently, a second theory has been propounded, and this may be called the missionary theory. This explains how Islam was spread through the work of professional teachers of the Faith, who had come specially for the purpose. One version of this theory is that Islam was spread by Sufis who followed the traders. A combination of this theory with elements of the first theory is that some of the traders were themselves members of *tariqats,* that is, Sufi brotherhoods. However, the first two theories are not really incompatible, for although Islam is not a sacerdotal religion, some of its greatest teachers have dedicated themselves to this profession without necessarily abandoning a trade to supplement their earnings as teachers or preachers. Most indigenous traditions maintain that Islam was spread by missionaries, and to such men were attributed supernatural or "magical" powers. Regardless of the validity of such a belief, most of these asserted missionaries were historical figures, and traditional accounts of their work do have some basis on facts.

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[25] See the author's "Theories of the Introduction and Expansion of Islam in Malaysia," *Silliman Journal,* Volume XI, No. 4, Fourth Quarter, October-December, 1964, pp. 335-398.

The third theory, which is, in effect, a political one, is a deliberate substitute for the first theory, not only on account of the latter's alleged improbability but also because of the fact that exposure to the Muslim traders, during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, did not reveal any dramatic process of Islamization, proving that the trade factor was not the important one. The political theory maintains that the adoption of Islam by the rulers and the court for political motives explains the growth of Islam in Malaysia. For example, Islam was utilized as a political instrument with Muslim traders enjoying the protection of Muslim rulers while they, in turn, supported the rulers with their economic resources. Islam, too, legitimized the rule of rulers of minor principalities in their conflict with Hindu Madjapahit or desire to throw off its yoke. Complementary to the political theory is the economic theory which maintains that with conversion to Islam, the rulers of principalities were able to participate more extensively and profitably in the international trade in the area from the Red Sea to the China Sea. This theory also assumes that Muslim traders had it in their power to patronize and enrich, or boycott and cause to fall, any port they desired. This fourth theory, like the third, makes the spread of Islam mainly an affair of the rulers.

However, since the conversion of the rulers do not necessarily imply the conversion of the subjects, another theory has been presented. This asserts that Islam was adopted by many natives simply because the manner in which it was introduced to them satisfied certain spiritual aspirations and expectations. To be sure, Islam gave the Malaysian a new sense of individual worth while at the same time giving him a sense of belonging to an international or wider community. Moreover, it freed him from a degrading caste system. In brief, it was Islam's attractive qualities as a religion which satisfied deep spiritual longings that constituted the main factor for its spread.

The sixth theory, to be conveniently called the Crusader theory, views the spread of Islam as the result of a conscious response on the part of Malaysians to the coming of the Portuguese and later on of the other Christian Europeans. This theory has two facets which are not necessarily exclusive: one religious and the other political. The first sees in the Christian zeal at proselytising, the Islamic response of a counter zeal and a dramatic increase of Islamic consciousness. This implies, therefore, that Islamic missionary activities had become mainly the work of

Malaysian defenders of the Faith. The other facet of this theory is that Islam was able to serve as an ideological force or source of identity integrating Malaysians to present a united force to resist the introduction of Western ideas which have come to be regarded as alien compared to the Islamic ones. Respecting this view, Islam served, as it were, a form of pre-nationalism. Combining these two facets, the Crusader theory, in brief, propounds that Islam served as a force counteracting the coming of Western imperialism and Christian colonization. Islam thus became an affair mainly of Malaysians, supported no doubt by foreign Muslim traders who had much to lose by the breakdown of their time-honoured and profitable trade.

By avoiding a provincial outlook and adopting a sympathetic approach to these theories, one will be led to the conclusion that each of these has something to contribute to the understanding of Islam's expansion to Malaysia. However, this is not to deny that some explanations have a wider scope of applicability than others, that others are valid regarding specific areas while some refer to definite epochs. The missionary theory has the widest applicability, for not only do all or most of the native traditions strongly support it but that it is historically verifiable since at the end of the thirteenth century missionary activities in India and Malaysia had become all too evident. Whether this was wholly or partially a Sufi movement is, however, deserving of more investigation. Intimately related to this missionary upsurge was the fall of Baghdad to the Mongols in 1258, which caused an exodus of Muslim theologians to India and from here to other parts of Asia.

It is a common experience known to all Muslims that an arrival of, or visit from, their learned men, usually brings about an increase of fervor, and it is this fervor that leads them to support whatever activities these respected men may initiate. This situation appears to have happened after the fall of Malacca in 1511. The learned men of this fabled city fled to other Muslim ports and this fact might be one of the reasons why the main theological center of Malaysia shifted to North Sumatra. These observations suggest that the missionary theory can be supplemented by the Crusader theory at least for the sixteenth century. Actually, the Crusader theory is valid only as an explanation of the acceleration of the spread of Islam by the beginning of the sixteenth century. It cannot however explain the spread which had begun much earlier. It will be recalled that there were Muslim principalities in Sumatra by the end of the thirteenth century. The Crusader theory cannot explain this, for the simple reason that the Portuguese did not arrive until more than two hundred years later. The coming of missionaries to Malaysia, with the expressed purpose of conversions does not, however, invalidate the possibility that a few traders made some conversions in accordance with

Qur'anic prescriptions. Although the number of such conversions might not have been quite significant, and although these were initially confined to close associates and familial relations, such traders if well placed in the trading colonies could have given enormous help to the strengthening of the community, thus facilitating the work of later missionaries. But more than this, traders who came to some of the islands of Malaysia and in addition to their business activities preached the Message of Islam to children and friendly associates to the extent that they had been persuaded not to return anymore to their land of origin, are not a thing of the past. They can still be found in Muslim areas in the Philippines.

The political theory can explain the conversion of Javanese rulers, and it is understandable how political motives can enter into some conversions. It cannot be denied however that once the ruler and his court have begun to adopt a particular religion, the probability that the subjects would accept the new religion is increased, provided the Message reaches them and satisfies their deep aspirations. Thus, the political theory must be combined with other theories like the second and the fifth theories. The economic is a supplement to the political theory.

The Malaysian participation in the international trade did certainly bring about political changes together with others of economic significance. Such social changes cannot but help bring about some corresponding changes in the religious level of ideas. What is meant in particular is that Islam filled a sort of ideological vacuum created by drastic economic and political changes. The strength of the fifth theory is that it explains the receptivity of ordinary men and their acceptance of Islam in large numbers. And once accepted, the Faith becomes a cherished possession, enabling the Malaysian to become part of a wider and historic community.

ISLAM COMES TO THE PHILIPPINES

For a knowledge of the beginnings of Islām in the Philippines, more specifically, in Sulu where it first obtained a foothold, the most indispensable source is the Sulu Genealogy, supplemented by traditions. Unfortunately, no dates are given in either one of these. This is understandable since the Sulu Genealogy was not intended to constitute a history in the ordinary sense of the word. But the sequence of events follow a well-ordered pattern, and whatever mythological elements might be found are not really obstacles to the understanding of the coming of Islam, although it must be admitted that these mythological elements did have an original significance which is now mainly forgotten. The narration of the advent of Islam is given in a matter-of-fact manner. However, the impression is left that the reinforcement of Islam was not entirely unaccompanied by some tension.

The first clue is the information about the coming of a certain Tuan Masha'ika. The Sulu Genealogy says that during his time, the people of Sulu were not yet Muslims or, as a tradition states it, the people did not yet belong to the *Ahl al-Sunnah wa'l-Jama'ah.*[26] The Sulu Genealogy does not explicitly state that Tuan Masha'ika was a Muslim. But judging by the names of some of his reported children, Tuan Hakim and ʿAisha, and of his grandchildren, Tuan Masha'ika must have been a Muslim.[27] This is further confirmed by the Sulu Historical Notes which state that Tuan Masha'ika "begot Maumin."[28] But "Maumin" here might not be a proper name but possibly used as a collective term for Believers (Arabic, *Mu'minin*). Therefore what is probably meant here is that Tuan Masha'ika begot Muslims. Furthermore, the title "Tuan" in Sulu has been generally associated with Muslims.

According to the Sulu Genealogy, Tuan Masha'ika married a daughter of the "younger" Rajah Sipad (Siripada or Sripaduka), this ruler being a descendant of an earlier Sipad. The reported marriage of Tuan Masha'ika with the daughter of Rajah Sipad led Saleeby to infer that this meant the introduction of a new dynasty supplanting the older one. There might be something to this view although it might be just as correct to view Tuan Masha'ika as a foreign Muslim coming to Sulu and marrying into the ruling family in the same manner that many Muslims did in other parts in Malaysia without necessarily founding new dynasties. In any case, historically speaking, some marriages of this type had been the source of a few dynasties.

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It is interesting to note that the name "masha'ika" (more correctly *mashayikh*) is one of the plural forms of the term *"Shaikh,"* a term of respect for elder men or heads of certain religious institutions. It is, strictly speaking, not a proper name. In all probability, Tuan Masha'ika denoted a person belonging to the *mashayikh*. It would indeed be a beautiful story if this could be tied up with the fact that in South Arabia, the term *"mashayikh"* is used to refer to the descendants of local "saints" or clans to distinguish them from the descendants of the Prophet (*sharifs* and *sayyids*) who emigrated to South Arabia from the North. The *mashayikh* have always been a respected group in South Arabia and it would require some investigation to discover whether some of them came to Malaysia. Might not one of them have gone to Sulu? That Tuan Masha'ika was deemed a prophet "not descended from Adam" and "born out of a bamboo" only means that he was an extraordinary man with superior knowledge relative to the people he came to live with. For, according to traditions, he had brought new skills with him at a time when the people were still worshipping stones. Although Tuan Masha'ika first appeared to have stayed in the area of Maimbung, his descendants were later on to be found near Mt. Patikul and Mt. Sinumaan in the Lati district on the other side of Jolo Island. All of these, nevertheless, do not signify the Islamization of Sulu. They only suggest the existence of a Muslim family in Sulu, or at most, a Muslim settlement.

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[26] "Traditions, Customs and Commerce of the Sulu Moros," *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[27] Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, p. 41.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

Some time after the arrival of Tuan Masha'ika, the Badjaos are reported to have arrived. This is supposed to be the fourth major group that came to Sulu. The oldest group, the Buranuns (the mountaineers) settled in the area of Maimbung and their chiefs were surnamed "Siripada." The second group were the Tagimahas (from Basilan?) who came and lived in the area near Buansa, and the third group, the Baklayas, settled in the nearby area of Jolo town. The Badjaos did not stay in a particular place. It is asserted that they scattered among the three earlier groups. The Sulu Genealogy then narrates:

> Some time after that there came Karimul Makdum. He crossed the sea in a vase or pot of iron and was called Sarip. He settled at Bwansa, the place where the Tagimaha nobles lived. There the people flocked to him from all directions, and he built a house for religious worship.[29]

The *tarsila* here does not say that Karim ul Makdum introduced Islam for the first time. It only says that people from different parts flocked to him and that he built a mosque. If the preceding narration is taken into consideration, the probability is that there were already some Muslims in Buansa. What the *makhdum* did was therefore to consolidate or reinforce Islam among them and, according to tradition, make some conversions. That he was later called "Tuan Sharif Aulia" suggests that he was a missionary and preacher, since the term "*aulia*" sometimes carried this connotation in Malaysia.[30] Many legends had been woven around the personality of this *makhdum*. Among these are those which tell of how he walked on water, communicated by paper, flew in the air and saved people from drowning. These traditions, although pious in nature, suggest that the *makhdum* was a Sufi and, as is well known, a great deal of "magical" powers had been attributed to Sufis, especially those in Bengal.[31] The Jesuit, Francisco Combes, also reported about this attribution of "magical" powers to those who first brought Islam to the Philippines.[32]

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[29] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[30] "*Aulia*" is the Arabic plural for "*wali*" and in Malaysia it is used for "saint" or for departed saintly men who were members of *tariqats*. Possibly, the *makhdum* Karim was a Sufi.

[31] ʿAbdul Karim, *Social History of the Muslims in Bengal down to A.D. 1538* (Dacca: 1959), pp. 162-163.

Traditions concerning the route taken by the *makhdum* in coming to and departing from Sulu tend to be confusing. Much more problematical is the fact that different places in Sulu claim the honor of having his grave. Needless to say, people in different islands in Sulu claim descent from him. But all of these difficulties tend to disappear the moment it is understood that there were more than one *makhdum*. First of all, it is important to distinguish the *makhdum* who supposedly went to Buansa and built a mosque and who was called "Karim," from the *makhdum* who lies buried in Bud Agad in Jolo island and whose proper name was Amin-ullah and entitled Sayyid un-Nikab. This latter *makhdum* is also denominated as "Mohadum," clearly a local dialect version that eliminates the harsh *"kh"* Arabic sound. It is to the *makhdum* Amin-ullah that stories about Chinese companions and trading activities with them properly belong. He probably came by way of the second route mentioned earlier in this chapter. Near his grave is that of a Chinese, called by the present caretakers as "Hoy-Hoy", clearly a local version of "Hue-Hue", the Chinese term for Muslim and used to refer to Chinese Muslims, who constituted one of the five principal groups of peoples in the Celestial Empire. Whereas trading is associated with Amin-ullah in traditional accounts, the Sulu Genealogy says nothing about such activities regarding the *makhdum* Karim.

On Tapul island there are people who claim that they are descendants of a *makhdum*, and since he cannot be definitely identified, he has been said to be the one mentioned in the Sulu Genealogy. He is supposed to have left Tapul. In the same island, there lies buried a certain ʿAbd ur-Rahman, sometimes called *makhdum* but distinguished from the earlier one who is supposed to have left. In Tandu Banak, there is the tomb of another *makhdum* and the tendency has been to associate him with Karim ul-Makhdum; it is further asserted that the famous mosque still standing in Tubig Indangan was built by him. If traditions are to be relied upon, there were at least two major *makhdumin*. The first one called Karim and entitled Tuan Sharif Aulia was the one who came to Buansa, passed by Tapul, built a mosque at Tubig Indangan, died and was buried in Tandu Banak. Missionary activities and "magical" powers are attributed to him. The other, Amin-ullah, entitled Mohadum and Sayyid un-Nikab, indulged in trade and missionary activities and was supposed to have been accompanied by Muslim Chinese. It is averred, too, that he did exercise some political power among the people of the interior and at present lies buried among them at Bud Agad.

The history of Malacca and Java shows that various *makhdumin* and *maulanas* have come from "above the winds." The term "*makhdum*," which in Arab lands usually meant "master" in the sense of "one who is served," was later on used in India and Malaysia in the sense of teacher or learned man, for so was he served by those who respected and learned from him. Thus the *makhdumin* who came to Sulu were teachers and respected as learned men. Since the term was a title and used by various individuals, time tended to combine their activities as if they were the work of a single person. As it were, the work of various *makhdumin* who had come at different times were fused or telescoped into that of a single person. However, traditions that make the distinctions between different *makhdumin* all agree that the *makhdum* Karim preceded the *makhdum* Amin-ullah.

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[32] Combes, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

According to the Sulu Genealogy, ten years after the arrival of Karim ul-Makhdum, Rajah Baguinda arrived from Menangkabaw, Sumatra, after stopping at Zamboanga and then Basilan. The following then took place:

> When he arrived at Sulu the chiefs of Bwansa tried to sink his boats and drown him in the sea. He therefore resisted and fought them. During the fight he inquired as to the reason why they wanted to sink his boats and drown him. He told them that he had committed no crime against them and that he was not driven there by the tempest, but that he was simply travelling, and came to Sulu to live among them because they were Mohammedans. When they learned that he was a Mohammedan, they respected him and received him hospitably.[22]

Another version of the above events was that the negotiations between Rajah Baguinda and the people of Buansa were carried on by the religious functionaries of both parties, and that it was the religious leaders of Buansa that took care of the Rajah. Rajah Baguinda was accompanied by *orangkayat* or men of means, among others. His arrival represents the establishment of a dynasty, and the Sulu Historical Notes say that he married in Buansa. It is now difficult to grasp the significance of the battle: whether it was the result of a misunderstanding, or an attempt to establish a principality, or that there was a Muslim party in Buansa that was in league with the Muslim Rajah. It is to be noted that the Tagimaha chiefs of Buansa, as enumerated in the Sulu Genealogy, all had the title of "*Shaikh*." They were thus presumably Muslims. Another group of chiefs, not mentioned as to place of authority but probably belonging to the Patikul area, were all entitled "Tuan" and had Muslim names. Some of these were actually grandchildren of Tuan Masha'ika. That there were Muslim chiefs in Sulu explains the final compromise measures with the Rajah. That some of these chiefs were grandchildren of Tuan Masha'ika implies that the coming of Rajah Baguinda took place roughly about fifty years after Tuan Masha'ika's arrival. Making allowance for conversions on the part of Karim ul-Makhdum, the existence of Muslim chiefs in Sulu must have been the result of other factors. And one of these is the leaving behind of Muslim descendants by Tuan Masha'ika, whose Islamic consciousness might have been reinforced by the coming of missionaries like the celebrated *makhdum*.

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[22] Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, p. 42.

Neither the Sulu Genealogy nor other *tarsilas* known to the author gives any proper name to Rajah Baguinda. "*Baguinda*" is a Menangkabaw honorific for prince. In Sulu, it was used in the sense of ruler. Whether he had the title when he arrived or assumed it after his arrival is not known. In any case, the fact that he was known by this title suggests that he did exercise political power at Buansa. Another *tarsila* version states that he was a prince from Java, but this is not inconsistent with the Sulu Genealogy since the island of Sumatra has sometimes been designated as Java. That he was a prince coming from Sumatra does not, however, imply that he was a native Sumatran. His origin could have been some other place. What is significant about his arrival and stay is that, being a Muslim coming to stay among Muslims, he could have served to stimulate the strengthening of Islamic consciousness. It was after the Rajah consolidated his position in Buansa that another important event happened in Sulu. According to the Sulu Genealogy:

> After that time came Sayid Abu Bakr from Palembang to Bruney and from there to Sulu. When he arrived near the latter place he met some people and asked them: "Where is your town and where is your place of worship?" They said, "At Bwansa." He then came to Bwansa and lived with Rajah Baginda. The people respected him, and he established a religion for Sulu. They accepted the new religion and declared their faith in it. After that Sayid Abu Bakr married Paramisuli, the daughter of Raja Baginda, and he received the title of Sultan Sharif.[24]

What is odd about this narration is the impression given that Abu Bakr introduced Islam when he had been preceded by Karim ul-Makhdum and Rajah Baguinda and more than half a dozen of Sulu chiefs who were definitely Muslims at the time of the arrival of Rajah Baguinda. What is probably meant here is that he had introduced Islamic political institutions or at least that he had further consolidated Islam at Buansa, not that he originally introduced it. However, as will be noted later on, it is to Abu Bakr that the conversion of the people of the interior of the island of Sulu is attributed. Incidentally, it is customary for most *tarsilas* to associate the introduction of Islam to any famous Muslim personage regardless of the date of his arrival. Thus the conversion of one half of Sulu is sometimes attributed to an eighteenth century Muslim missionary!

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[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

The Sulu Genealogy clearly states that Abu Bakr was made sultan. This implies that the people of Buansa or their chiefs, at least, must have been Islamized to the extent that they would be willing to accept such an Islamic political institution. Therefore what Abu Bakr introduced was not Islam as such but Islam as a form of state religion with its attendant political and social institutions. Abu Bakr is said to have lived about thirty years in Buansa where he had left descendants. One of his sons, Kamal ud-Din, succeeded to the sultanate. All the royal datus, and naturally all the sultans who have come from their ranks, have claimed descent from Abu Bakr.

All *tarsilas* which deal with the first Sultan agree that his title was Sharif ul-Hashim; but not all state that his proper name was Abu Bakr as entered in the Sulu Genealogy. Some traditions maintain that the proper name was Zein ul-ʿAbidin; others mention no proper name. The existing tomb of the first Sultan carries only his titles and was probably made during his lifetime. This might explain why no date of his death was recorded on the tombstone. Traditions are mostly agreed that the first Sultan was an Arab. He is supposed to have gone first to Basilan where he was met by people of Buansa, who, out of admiration and respect for him, extended to him the invitation to go to Buansa. Another *tarsila,* quite a credible one, says that the Sharif ul-Hashim was originally from Arabia, passed through Baghdad, went to Palembang, and then to Borneo. And that when he arrived at Buansa, the Muslims in Sulu were concentrated in this settlement and its immediate area while most Sulus were still infidels.[35] On the strength of *tarsilas* and traditions, it can therefore be concluded that the concrete beginnings of Islam in Sulu were first realized at the Buansa area.

A great deal of tradition, with decidedly political motives, had been woven around the personality of the Sharif ul-Hashim. This, although important in understanding the claimed prerogatives of the latter sultans, is unfortunate in so far as knowledge concerning the religious activities of the first Sultan are concerned, since details about such activities appear to have been neglected. However, some traditions are helpful on this point. First of all it is to the Sharif ul-Hashim that the conversion of the hill peoples (Buranuns) is attributed. According to tradition, after the Sharif taught the Qur'an and converted the coastal peoples, he then proceeded to convert the hill people.

> The hill people were still unconverted. The coast people said, "Let's fight the hill people and convert them to Islam." But Abubakar would not allow

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[35] *Tarsila* of Hilal ud-Din "Hilario" Ballaho.

> it, and instead told the people to pound rice and make cakes and clothing. Then the coast people marched inland to a place now called Pahayan. Abubakar sent word to the head man that he was an Arabian who could be spoken to by writing on paper. The head man, called in those days "Tomoai," said that he did not want to see him for he did not want to change the customs of his ancestors. So Abubakar approached and threw cakes and clothing into the houses of the Moros. The children ate the cakes, but the older people thought them poison and gave them to the dogs. The dogs were not killed and the children went out to the camp of Abubakar where they were treated kindly. The two tribes came to an understanding. That night Abubakar slept in the house of the chief. The chief had a dream that he was living in a large house with beautiful decorations. Abubakar interpreted the dream saying that the house was the new religion and the decorations its benefits. The news spread and after much difficulty the people were converted.[36]

This narration is important for at least two points. The first is that Islamization reduced the tensions between the Buranun and the coastal Malays and provided the elements which would make possible a continuing dialogue between them. Although such tensions never completely disappeared up to the last century, there had been many cases of united efforts against communal threats. The second point is that the narration deals with the role of dreams in the conversion process, a phenomenon which was common among conversions in other Malaysian principalities, notably Malacca and Sumatra. According to Professor Fatemi, "we cannot completely discount the stories which relate that dreams were instrumental in bringing about the greatest decision that was made by the Malays of about the thirteenth century."[37]

A tradition is further related that during a time of drought, the Sharif asked the people to fast and pray and that such an effort was later on followed by rain. As is well known, in Islam there are special prayers for rain (*Salat ul-Istisqa'*). This event was said to have taken place on a Tuesday in the month of Sha'ban.[38] Again, if traditions are to be relied upon, the Sharif arrived in Buansa just after sundown and the first thing he did upon landing on shore was to perform the *maghrib* prayer, to the amazement of onlookers—an incident reminding the reader of the story of how the Makhdum Sayyid ʿAbdul ʿAziz, who, after a long trip from Arabia, landed in Malacca, and on shore prayed his *ʿasr* prayers, and not long afterward converted the Malacca Sultan to Islam.[39] It is to the Sharif ul-Hashim, rather than to Karim ul-Makhdum, that an organized teaching of the Qur'an and Hadith is attributed, for it was the former "who taught others how to teach." In other words, the

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[36] "Traditions, Customs and Commerce of the Sulu Moros," *op. cit.*, p. 21.

[37] *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

[38] *Tarsila* of Hilal ud-Din "Hilario" Ballaho.

[39] "Sejarah Melayu," *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54.

Sharif ul-Hashim established a school (*madrasah*), and he was also a missionary.

Two other Muslims who did missionary work are said to have been Mohadum and ʿAlawi Balpaki. That tradition marks both of them as being younger brothers of Abu Bakr only means that they arrived later than Abu Bakr. Something had already been said of Mohadum whose tomb is still pointed to in Bud Agad. ʿAlawi Balpaki lies buried in a hill in the area of Tubig Dakula in the north of Tawi-Tawi. His gravestone bears no inscriptions. Local tradition tells of his missionary activities in Tawi-Tawi and parts of Borneo and a veritable folklore has been built around him. J. Hunt, who was in Sulu in 1814, wrote that during the reign of ʿAzim ud-Din I, "another Sherif arrived from Mecca, named Sayed *Berpaki;* he succeeded in converting almost the whole population to Islamism."[40] If Hunt's report is correct, Balpaki's stay in Sulu would have been around the middle of the eighteenth century.

A periodization of the stages of the Islamization process in Sulu is difficult. Although the narration in the Sulu Genealogy is a generally consistent one, it unfortunately does not carry any date. The dates given in some traditions recalled at the beginning of this century are rough estimates and cannot be entirely relied upon. It seems, as far as it is known, contemporary accounts on the coming of Islam to Sulu are absent. However, a vital archeological datum is available.

On a mound on one of the slopes of Bud Dato, a few miles from Jolo, there stood a tombstone which had been relatively well preserved up to only a few years ago when it was suddenly broken, for some unknown reason, into more than a dozen fragments. The tombstone had an inscription only on one side and the Arabic calligraphy was beautiful and clear. According to tradition, it was around the site of this tomb that many Sulu sultans had been crowned—thus the name Bud Dato, the hill of rulers. In times of emergency when Jolo was endangered by invaders, sultans fled to this hill.

Since most of the Arabic diacritical marks are absent on the tombstone, some interpretation, although minor, on the pious qualifications of the month Rajab had been made on its reading. The translation is as follows:

> Said the Prophet, peace be upon him:
> "Whoever dies far away [from his home] dies a martyr."
> Allah has taken away the late blessed martyr
> Tuhan Maqbalu on the date: The sacred, holy month
> of Rajab. May Allah increase its holiness.
> The year ten and seven hundred.

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[40] "Some Particulars relating to Sulu, in the Archipelago of Felicia, by J. Hunt Esq." J. H. Moor. *Notices of the Indian Archipelago and Adjacent Countries* (Singapore: 1837), p. 33.

Since there is an absence of the diacritical mark on the letter "M," "Maqbalu" might as well have been "Muqbalu" or "Miqbalu." The year 710 A. H. is equivalent to 1310 C.E. Since the day in Rajab is not specified, the equivalent month in 1310 C.E. could have been either November or December.

Who is this Tuhan Maqbalu or Muqbalu? First of all, he was a Muslim who died far away from his land of origin. This is the meaning of the term *"Shahid"* (Arabic, for martyr) on the tombstone. To have merited such a tombstone to which solicitude and respect had been lavished for more than six hundred years, in spite of the vicissitudes of Sulu history, leaves but one conclusion: that the deceased was of no mean importance during his lifetime. But far more notable at this point is that the deceased bore the title of *Tuhan,* clearly implying that he was deemed a chief. Although the term has been, and is still used to refer to the Deity, it was sometimes used in the past in the sense of "lord" by persons of high authority in Malaysian lands. According to C. Blagden: "The spelling *Tuhan* was not always reserved for the Deity. It occurs in a Sumatran inscription of 1347 A.D. in the title of a minister of State."[41] The Trengganu stone, referred to earlier, was set up by a Muslim entitled "Seri Paduka Tuhan," and Professor Fatemi believes that it is probable that this person was a ruler or minister of State who might have succeeded temporarily in founding a Muslim kingdom in Trengganu.[42] It is to be noted that the Trengganu Stone dated 702 A. H. (1303 C.E.) is contemporary with the Bud Dato Tombstone. All these imply the strong probability that Tuhan Maqbalu (or Muqbalu) was a ruler or chief in Sulu.

What was the race or nationality of Tuhan Maqbalu? The tombstone gives no clue on the matter. For although "Maqbalu" is an Arab name, it does not follow that the deceased was an Arab.

The Sulu Genealogy does not, unfortunately, give any explicit reference to this *marhum.* All oral traditions heard on the matter attest that he was a ruler but they differ regarding his identity. The late sultan Jamal ul-Kiram II once referred to the tomb as that of Sultan Karamat; but this only means that the tomb or the area around it was sacred—a pious confirmation of what was once widely held. Another tradition claiming that it was the tomb of Rajah Sipad can be discounted since the Rajah Sipad of the Sulu Genealogy was asserted to have been a non-Muslim. And if the reference of this tradition is not to the person denoted in the Sulu Genealogy but to a royal title, then it only means, again, that the deceased was simply entitled "Sipad," that is, he was a ruler.

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[41] H. S. Paterson, "An Early Malay Inscription from Trengganu," *JMBRAS,* Vol. II, Part iii, Dec. 1924, p. 262.

[42] Fatemi, *op. cit.,* pp. 65-66.

In 1924, an interesting incident regarding the Bud Dato tombstone took place. Early in this year, upon the request of Haji ʿAbdul Baqi Buto, Haji Panglima Tahil, Haji Usman, and other chiefs, and a minor government official from Maimbung, named Moro Mamma, brought the tombstone to Jolo to have it cleaned. A sort of committee of chiefs and *hajis* read it and claimed that it was the tomb of Rajah Baguinda "who had married a local girl." The request to have it cleaned was given to Santiago Non, the chief clerk in the office of the Provincial Governor who at the time was Carl Moore. Governor Moore seemed to have appreciated the request for he had expressed the desire to build a park in Bud Dato. Not long after, however, a letter was sent to the Governor complaining about the transfer of the tomb. The complainant was Datu Tambuyong from Patikul, a great-great grandson of Sultan Shakirullah (d. 1823). One of his complaints was over the failure to previously consult him, a descendant of Rajah Baguinda, on the matter of bringing the tombstone to Jolo. Also that Haji Buto had no authority to effect the transfer of the tombstone since he, Haji Buto, was neither a descendant of Rajah Baguinda nor a datu. Datu Tambuyong appeared to have been speaking, too, for the datus of Tandu. In any case, on February 14, 1924, Haji Buto, who at the time was a senator for the twelfth Senatorial District, wrote to the Director of Public Works in Manila asking for funds to develop a park in Bud Dato. In this letter, he affirmed that sultans were crowned in Bud Dato and that it was the site of the tomb of Rajah Baguinda, the "first who taught Islam." The same claim that the tomb belonged to Rajah Baguinda was made by Haji Tahil Julkarnain, a royal datu, who, in a letter to Governor General Wood dated April 1924, further added that he was also a descendant of the Rajah.[43] The tombstone, after a good cleaning, was finally returned to its original site.

It is patent that the attempt to identify the Rajah Baguinda of the Sulu Genealogy with Tuhan Maqbalu is questionable. At most, what can be accepted from traditional accounts is that Tuhan Maqbalu was a local ruler of some prominence. For a consistent chronology, it must be assumed that Rajah Baguinda must have arrived after the death of the *tuhan*. However, what can be established from the existence of the tomb is that there must have existed in Sulu a Muslim community or settlement as early as the last quarter of the thirteenth century. And if this settlement was composed mostly of foreign Muslims, the existence of the tomb in the interior suggests that non-Muslim natives, if not receptive to Islam were at least not hostile to the foreigners. The Bud Dato Tombstone, therefore, presents the first datum that can be utilized for a periodization of the Islamization of Sulu.

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[43] Copies of letters regarding this incident can be found in *Moro Paper No. 97* and other scattered papers in the Beyer Collection.

For purposes of chronology it would be a thoroughly beautiful story if Tuhan Maqbalu can be identified with Tuan Masha'ika. But unfortunately the Sulu Genealogy does not give Tuan Masha'ika a proper name; neither does the tombstone reveal that Maqbalu belonged to the *mashayikh*. But although the story is not an impossibility, all that can be concluded, in the absence of additional data, is that both were foreign Muslims.

According to the Sulu Genealogy, between the coming of Tuan Masha'ika and the arrival of Karim ul-Makhdum, there was a noticeable migration of Badjaos from the Johore area to Sulu. Saleeby calculated that this migration took place around the beginning of the fourteenth century, if not earlier.[44] Sopher also believes that such a movement of maritime people took place in the same century at a time shortly before Islam was officially promulgated in the Johore territories and coincident with the expansion of Madjapahit sea power.[45] It is difficult to estimate with accuracy the coming of Karim ul-Makhdum to Sulu, although there have been efforts to relate him, along family ties, with the *makhdumin* and *maulanas* responsible for the conversion of parts of Java between the last quarter of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century. More specifically, it has been asserted that Karim ul-Makhdum was the father of Maulana Ibrahim, one of the first missionaries successful in Java and who died in Gresik in 1419 C.E.[46] This information is based on sources unknown to the writer. Possibly, the sources are Arabic. The proper name given to Karim ul-Makhdum here is Ibrahim al-Akbar Ibn Jamal ud-Din al-Husayni.[47] The problem here is whether this proper name really belonged to the *makhdum* of the Sulu Genealogy or to another *makhdum*. As pointed earlier, various *makhdumin* came to Sulu, and there were others who landed on Maguindanao shores.

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[44] *The History of Sulu*, p. 48.

[45] *Op. cit.*, p. 353.

[46] Cf. M.A. Rauf, *A Brief History of Islam (with special reference to Malaya)* (Kuala Lumpur: 1964), pp. 79 and 84. Also cf. Al Habib Ahmad Ibn Hasan Ibn ᶜAbdullah Al-Attas Sayyed Ash Sharif Al-ᶜAlawi al-Husseini, *Auqud al-Almas* (Edited by ᶜAlawi Ibn Tahir Ibn ᶜAbdullah) (Singapore: 1950), p. 112.

[47] The author of *Auqud al-Almas* (p. 112) refers to the same person but gives the name as Ash-Sharif Ibrahim Zein ud-Din al-Akbar Ibn Jamal ud-Din al-Husayni instead. Moreover this personage is identified with a Sharif Awliya who, according to a Maguindanao *tarsila*, landed in Maguindanao before Muhammad Kabungsuwan. It is further asserted that this Sharif Awliya was a father of Makhdum Ishaq, another missionary who arrived in Java in 1397 C.E. Most of the *makhdumin* or *maulanas* who worked in Java were, if not Arabs, at least of Arab descent. There is no reason why the same cannot be said of the ones who came to the Philippines.

The following stages are propounded regarding the early part of the Islamization of Sulu:

1. There existed during the last quarter of the thirteenth century if not earlier a Muslim settlement or community in Sulu. This probably consisted of foreign traders, some of whom might have married members of the ruling families or even played some political role. Tuan Masha'ika and Tuhan Maqbalu belong to this stage. Men like them brought the first elements of Islam and raised Muslim families.
2. The existence of such a settlement, the memory of their leading personages, and the rise to social and political prominence of the descendants of some such personages, as in the case of the descendants of Tuan Masha'ika, demonstrate that the native population was not only not antagonistic to Islam but receptive to it. Such a receptivity explains conversions to Islam with the arrival of the missionaries in Sulu, an event contemporaneous with the work of other missionaries in Java. This is the stage of the *makhdumin* with possible Sufi overtones. It can be estimated to have taken place about the second half of the fourteenth century.
3. The coming of Muslim Malays from Sumatra at the beginning of the fifteenth century with political implications. This is the stage represented by the coming of Rajah Baguinda with a veritable group of courtiers, some of whom were believed to have been learned, possibly, in religious matters. The existence of a Muslim ruler guarantees the preservation of the work of the missionaries and the prestige of the older Muslims.
4. The establishment of Muslim political institutions, more specifically the sultanate under the Sharif ul-Hashim by the middle of the fifteenth century. At this time Islam spread from the coastal areas to the mountain areas in the interior of the island of Sulu. The acceptance of the sultanate institution by the coastal chiefs suggest that Islamic consciousness must have been quite widespread among them. Organized religious instruction became common.
5. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, increased contacts, both political and commercial, with other Islamized parts of Malaysia, transformed Sulu into an integral part of an expanding *dar ul-Islam* in Malaysia.
6. Around the end of the sixteenth century and in the first decades of the seventeenth century, political alliances with neighbouring Muslim principalities against the increasing dangers of Western

> colonialization and Christianization as well as the consistent arrivals of itinerant teachers or missionaries like ʿAlawi Balpaki further guarantee the preservation of Islam in Sulu.

As can be seen, the early stages of the Islamization of Sulu followed a pattern similar to those elsewhere in Malaysia: the initial existence of a foreign Muslim settlement, members of this colony exercising some political power or the rulers of the principality becoming Muslims, the coming of missionaries strengthening Islam among the older Muslims and effecting some conversions, the introduction of additional Muslim institutions, and increasing contacts with other Muslim kingdoms and principalities, thereby heightening Islamic consciousness at home. As it were, Sulu presents in miniature what had generally happened in Malaysia as a whole regarding Islamization.

Reflecting on the theories about the coming of Islam to Malaysia, most of them, if not all, are applicable to Sulu, provided they are viewed as complementary and supplementary to one another, without emphasizing one to the exclusion of the others. The theory that it was Islam's ideological worth that made it attractive to the people who adopted it as a system of thought satisfying deep spiritual aspirations, can be applied. It is especially cogent since the Sulu Genealogy and the traditions take pains to point out that Islam had arrived when the majority of the people were ignorant and were worshipping inanimate objects, and they did not as yet belong to the community of the Book and Traditions.

ISLAM COMES TO MAGUINDANAO

The coming and expansion of Islam in Maguindanao and the neighbouring areas like Zamboanga and the Maranao areas are not without points of similarity with those of Sulu. Most of the Maguindanao *tarsilas* and traditions handed down by *panditas* (learned men) give the impression that the work of conversion was mainly due to the work of one man, namely, the Sharif Muhammad Kabungsuwan. It is maintained that the process of conversion in these areas was brought about by a system of political alliances and plural marriages on the part of Kabungsuwan after he had been able to establish himself initially as a ruler of a particular principality possibly in what is now called Malabang. Some of the *tarsilas* and traditions suggest that the extension of his influence to the mouth of the Pulangi was not entirely devoid of some element of tension. Granting that Muhammad Kabungsuwan with his followers were able to establish a principality and that in time he was able to effect political alliances with neighbouring ones, the question is whether such a process is sufficient to explain the spread of Islam in this area. Fortunately, some of the *tarsilas* give additional information.

A Maguindanao *tarsila*[48] narrates how a certain Sharif Awliya (*aulia*) came to Maguindanao, married there, begot a daughter, and left the country. That his daughter was entitled "Paramisuli" implies that he was respected and honoured since the title of his daughter is usually reserved for members of the royalty, or that he married a lady from the ruling family. After sometime, two brothers, Sharif Hasan and Sharif Maraja, appeared from Johore; the former stayed in Sulu, while the latter went to the area of Slangan along the northern branch of the Pulangi river where he is said to have married the daughter of the Sharif Awliya. It was during the next generation after Sharif Maraja that Muhammad Kabungsuwan is reported to have arrived.

One reason for the omission of the Muslim predecessors of Kabungsuwan in other *tarsilar* lies in the fact that relationships with Kabungsuwan had been capitalized by datus for political motives, among which was the desire to rule. Moreover, since such political motives were found among Muslim chiefs, it had also become essential to attribute to Kabungsuwan the major credit for the introduction and spread of Islam in Mindanao. However, this is not to deny that an emphasis on the coming of the Muslim predecessors of Kabungsuwan had been made by other quarters, that is, from non-descendants of Kabungsuwan, precisely to deny Kabungsuwan the sole credit for Islam's introduction to Mindanao.

Since it has been speculated in an earlier chapter that Mohammad Kabungsuwan arrived on the shores of Maguindanao around 1515, and since the Sharif Awliya represents two generations before the arrival of Kabungsuwan, it can be estimated that the Sharif Awliya probably arrived in Maguindanao around 1460. An author had tried to identify this *sharif* as Ibrahim Zein ud-Din al-Akbar Ibn Jamal ud-Din al-Husayni,[49] who is clearly the person whom Professor ʿAbder-Rauf identified with the Karim ul-Makhdum who went to Sulu. This would mean that the Sharif Awliya who went to Maguindanao was the same Karimul Makhdum who went to Sulu, and who was also called Sharif Awliya.[50] This would again be another beautiful story, but, as has been pointed out in the case of the *makhdumin,* the title "Sharif Awliya" is just as common and can be shared by various *aulia.* The problem is whether the Sharif Ibrahim Zein ud-Din is the Sharif who went to Sulu or the one who went to Maguindanao. For chronological consistency, the view of Professor ʿAbder-Rauf might be the more acceptable one.

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[48] Manuscript No. IV, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion*, pp. 29-30.

[49] *Auqud al-Almas*, p. 112.

[50] Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, p. 45.

Most *tarsilas* dealing with the arrival of Kabungsuwan, if they mention something about Islam, state merely that Kabungsuwan introduced it. Among the different manuscripts published by Saleeby, the following gives a few more details:

> Sarip Kabungsuwan anchored at Natubakan, at the mouth of the Rio Grande. Tabunaway and Mamalu directed some people of Magindanao to carry their net for them and went down to the mouth of the river. There they met Sarip Kabungsuwan, and Tabunaway sent Mamalu up the river to bring down all the men of Magindanao. After the arrival of the men Tabunaway invited Kabungsuwan to accompany him to Magindanao. Kabungsuwan refused to accompany them unless they became Moslems. Tabunaway and Mamalu then repeated their invitation and all of them promised to become Moslems. Kabungsuwan insisted that he would not land at all unless they came together then and there and were washed and became Mohammedans. This they did, and on account of the bathing at that place they changed its name to Paygwan.
>
> Kabungsuwan then accompanied Tabunaway and Mamalu, and the men towed them up all the way from Tinundan to Magindanao. Thus Kabungsuwan converted to Islam all the people of Magindanao, Matampay, Slangan, Simway, and Katitwan.[51]

This is too facile an explanation for the Islamization of the Cotabato basin and its environs. Manuscript No. IV, as edited by Saleeby, specifically mentions that at least two men had died when they came to the shore where Kabungsuwan had landed, and that the others were frightened.[52] Another traditional version appears more realistic regarding the arrival of Kabungsuwan but does not give details about the nature of the introduction of Islam:

> Before the time of the father's father of the oldest pandita now living, before the time when these islands became known to the Spaniards, in those days when all this country was under the dominion of certain evil spirits in the form of hideous beasts and unclean birds, the Sherif Kabungsuwan sailed from Mecca with many paraos filled with warriors and their women and children.
>
> After many months of travel and much fighting on both sea and land, he arrived and disembarked with part of his people at Malabang. Others of his people went on eastward to Parang-Parang, and others again went still further, to the lower Rio Grande, where they built the town of Cotabato. So were the people of Kabungsuwan divided; but he was still the ruler over all.
>
> After a time it came to pass that Mamalu, who was the chief man next to Kabungsuwan, journeyed to Cotabato. He found there that many of the people had ceased to regard the teachings of the Koran and had fallen into evil ways. Mamalu sent to Kabungsuwan word of these things.
>
> Kabungsuwan with a portion of his warriors went from Malabang to Cotabato and found that the word sent to him by Mamalu was true. Then

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[51] Manuscript II, *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion*, p. 24.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 30.

> he assembled together all the people. Those of them who had done evilly and disregarded the teachings of the Koran and would not swear to repent, live in the fear of God and obey the Koran thenceforth, he drove out of the town into the hills, with their wives and children.
>
> These wicked ones who were thus cast out were the beginnings of the tribes of the Tirurais and Manobos, who live to the east of Cotabato in the country into which their evil forefathers were driven. And even to this day they worship not God; neither do they obey the teachings of the Koran .... But the people of Kabungsuwan, who regarded the teachings of the Koran and lived in fear of God, prospered and increased, and we Moros of today are their descendants.[53]

A great deal of the details of this traditional account are found in other *tarsilas,* like the report that Kabungsuwan had come with many warriors and that his men were a sea-faring people who had in time spread out to many islands. Noticeable about this account is that, unlike some other *tarsilas,* it does not gloss over incidents in which the elements of force might have been involved. Thus it coincides with some incidents reported in Manuscript IV.

It is crucial to note about Manuscript IV that although it does not deny that Kabungsuwan could have reinforced Islam, it explicitly states that not only had other Muslims preceded Kabungsuwan but that some of the people who met him when he landed near the mouth of the Pulangi were already Muslims. The above traditional version does not deny this, neither does it explicitly state that Kabungsuwan introduced Islam to the Pulangi area. It says, however, that it was the men of Kabungsuwan who built the town of Cotabato, that is, the town of Maguindanao (or Slangan). It is possible, then, that some Muslim followers of Kabungsuwan settled where there were already Muslims although they might not have been very deeply steeped in the Faith. In any case, Muhammad Kabungsuwan was said to have had a high degree of Muslim consciousness, a rigid attitude towards non-Muslims, and a great deal of proselytizing zeal.

The work of the earlier missionaries must have facilitated the work of Muhammad Kabungsuwan, although it can be argued that if Kabungsuwan did not come, then the spread of Islam in Maguindanao might not have taken the successful direction it did to some extent. One factor which must be considered in the Islamization of Maguindanao is that by the latter part of the sixteenth century, the influence of the Sulu sultan was beginning to be felt in Zamboanga and its environs, these areas being tributary to him in the last half of the sixteenth century.

After Legazpi's conquest of Manila which had close political and commercial connections with Brunei, and during the two Spanish attacks on Brunei in 1578 and 1581, Bornean preachers were present in Maguindanao. The instructions of Governor General Francisco de Sande to Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa on May 23, 1578, regarding an expedition to Maguindanao is revealing:

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[53] Quoted from Samuel Lyon, "A Moro Fundamentalist: Some Teachings of Oudin, a Mahommedan Priest of Mindanao," *Asia,* February 1927, pp. 152-153.

> . . . You shall order them not to admit any more preachers of the doctrine of Mahoma, since it is evil and false, and that of the Christians alone is good. And because we have been in these regions so short a time, the lord of Bindanao has been deceived by the preachers of Borney, and the people have become Moros. You shall tell him that our object is that he be converted to Christianity; and that he must allow us freely to preach the law of the Christians, and the natives must be allowed to go to hear the preaching and to be converted, without receiving any harm from the chiefs.
>
> And you shall try to ascertain who are the preachers of the sect of Mahoma, and shall seize and bring them before me. And you shall burn or destroy the house where that accursed doctrine has been preached, and you shall order that it be not rebuilt.[54]

The instructions of the same Spanish Governor to Captain Gabriel de Rivera on January 15, 1579, reiterated that:

> . . . inasmuch as the chief of Mindanao has been deceived for some time by preachers from Burney who preach the doctrine of Mahoma, and it is said that there are preachers there endeavoring to convert them all into Moros; and since our main intention is to convert them into Christianity: you shall order them to admit no more such preachers of the sect of Mahoma.[55]

The Borneans had for many years maintained commercial relations with Maguindanao. However, it appears that preaching became connected with their commercial activities after the arrival of Europeans in Malaysia. The people of Brunei, having had a relatively longer history under Islam, did therefore constitute a factor in strengthening Islamic institutions in Maguindanao. But when Brunei showed clear signs of commercial decline, the preachers from the newly Islamized areas of the Moluccas in turn became an important factor in Muslim political and religious activities in Mindanao and even Sulu. Writing to the Spanish King on June 27, 1588, the Manila bishop Domingo de Salazar complained:

> . . . in the island of Mindanao, which is subject to your Majesty, and for many years has paid you tribute, the law of Mahoma has been publicly proclaimed, for somewhat more than three years, by preachers from Burney and Terrenate who have come there—some of them even, it is believed, having come from Mecca. They have erected and are now building mosques, and the boys are being circumcised, and there is a school where they are taught the Alcoran.[56]

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[54] "Account of Expeditions," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 178.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[56] "Salazar to Felipe II," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, pp. 68-69.

The bishop then expressed his fears that if the religion of Islam was not immediately checked in Mindanao there was the danger that "That pestilential fire" would further spread in the Philippines. This fear was based on the fact that the majority of the inhabitants of the Philippines under Spanish colonial control had not yet been thoroughly Christianized. But he erred in thinking that Islam was a recent importation in Mindanao. But, indeed, it was from Ternate that a reinforcement of Islam arrived in Maguindanao in the last decade of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth century. This fact was so obvious that many Spanish writers, including the priest Pedro Chirino, were led to believe that Islam was introduced to Mindanao by Ternatans.[57]

In many of the battles between the people of Maguindanao and Buayan on one hand, and Spaniards, on the other, the people of Ternate fought alongside their brother Muslims. In 1597, a fleet from Ternate with about 800 men under the leadership of a member of the royal house of Ternate, came to the aid of the Maguindanaos and Buayanens in their fight with Spaniards. They were, however, defeated.[58] In addition to political alliances between the Ternatans and the Maguindanaos, marriage relations between their royal families were frequent. It is important to note that some of the religious functionaries who went to Maguindanao came from Ternate or had come through Ternate. In spite of the coming of the Europeans, Arab traders still came occasionally to places as far as the Moluccas. Spanish sources mention of an *alfaqui* (Arabic *faqih,* meaning "a learned man in Islamic law") from Mecca who was sent by the Ternate ruler to teach Islam in Maguindanao but who was killed in a naval engagement in 1593.[59] The Arab referred to must have been sent on account of his knowledge of the *Shari'ah* and Islamic jurisprudence as evidenced by his title. But not all of such teachers were of this kind; others were warriors, too, veritable *mujahids.* In a report of the battle that took place in Mindanao in 1597, the Spanish commander wrote to the Spanish Governor:

> In the assault five of their men were killed with arquebus-shots, and several others wounded. Among those killed were two of their bravest and most esteemed men. One was from Terrenate and was a *casis* [priest] who instructed them in their religion. Of a truth, they showed clearly that

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[57] "Chirino's Relation," *ibid.,* Vol. XII, p. 313.

[58] "Military matters in the Islands," *ibid.,* Vol. X, p. 221; and "Letter from Juan Ronquillo to Antonio de Morga," *ibid.,* pp. 60-61.

[59] Francisco Colin, *Labor evangelica de los obreros de la compania de Jesus* (Pastell's edition. Barcelona: 1904), Vol. III, footnote, p. 32.

> they were brave; for I do not believe that there are many peoples who would attack with so gallant a determination, when they were armed with nothing but shields and canpilans.[60]

Possibly, too, Sulu with a longer history of Islam could have reinforced the Islamic consciousness of the Maguindanaos. A Jesuit prisoner among the Maguindanaos in 1603 related how a visitor from Jolo was once telling the Maguindanaos about their need of being more serious in their ritual prayers.[61]

It can thus be seen that the process of Islamization in Maguindanao started much later than that of Sulu. But it was the Islamization of the former that signified the reinforcement of Islam among the Maranaos and the conversion of part of the people of Sarangani in the first half of the seventeenth century. From the Maguindanao area, Islam would then spread slowly but surely to Davao both through the coastal and the Pulangi routes.

The following may be considered as the main stages of the Islamization of Maguindanao and its surrounding areas in Mindanao:

1. The appearance of Muslim missionaries in Maguindanao around the middle of the fifteenth century. Possibly they were Arabs or of Arab descent and they appear to have passed by the Sulu Archipelago on their way to Maguindanao. Some did raise families while others left the country. To them can be attributed the beginnings of a Muslim settlement in the area of the Pulangi Basin. To this stage belongs the Sharif Awliya and the Sharif Maraja.
2. The immigration of Islamic peoples and the arrival of the Sharif Muhammad Kabungsuwan in the Malabang area in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. This stage coincides with the few decades following the fall of Madjapahit as well as the time of the arrival of Europeans in Malaysia. The ruling families of Maguindanao and Buayan are Muslim and through their efforts the process of Islamization is accelerated. Muslim marriage alliances with neighbouring small principalities take place.
3. Additional contacts with Islamic Sulu and the Moluccas, principally Ternate, in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Marriage alliances between the royal families of Sulu, Maguindanao and Ternate were forged. Bornean and Ternatan preachers, as well as itinerant Arab learned men, appeared before the end of the sixteenth century.

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[60] "Pacification of Mindanao," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. IX, pp. 284-285.

[61] Colin, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, footnote, p. 508.

4. The stiffening of Islamic attitudes in the face of Spanish attempts at colonialization and Christianization around the beginning of the seventeenth century. The acceleration of the Islamic process in the Maranao areas followed. A general awareness, especially under the reign of Sultan Qudarat (ca. 1619-1671), among the Muslim peoples of Mindanao that they belong to a wider *dar ul-Islam*, became universal.

Here again, the Islamization process followed the general pattern of the coming and spread of Islam in Malaysia. Most of the theories, too, when applied, give additional insights into the Islamization process in Maguindanao. An explanation for Islam's coming and spread in Maguindanao had been given by Francisco Gainza in the middle of the last century. Combining elements of the trader, missionary, and political theories, he wrote:

> The social conditions of these people must have been similar to those in the rest of the (Philippine) Archipelago until the arrival of some Arab missionaries who instructed them in Islam while settling permanently in the Rio Grande (Pulangi) to be more acceptable to the people and make them more tractable (to their teaching). They introduced some religious practices, intermarried with the women, adopted the native language and many customs of the country, adjusted themselves to the social order, acquired many slaves to enhance their importance, and merged themselves into the datu class which was the highest class. Working together with more skill and harmony than the natives, and possessing slaves like the latter, they progressively consolidated their power and formed a confederacy till they finally established a form of monarchy which they made hereditary in a family among whose members the datus would elect a sultan.[62]

Gainza's views were based more on general impressions than on historical sources, although he might have been aware of some general traditional accounts. It would have been more accurate for him to have made a distinction between the early missionaries and later Muslim political leaders who benefited from the work of the earlier missionaries. This is not to underestimate the work of political personalities like Muhammad Kabungsuwan; for it is persons like him who worked to guarantee Islam's permanence in their realm.

The Maguindanao *tarsilas* generally agree that the Iranun communities around Illana Bay were the first scene of Sharif Kabungsuwan's missionary activities and his marriage alliances. Actually, some *tarsilas* explicitly state that the Sharif landed first in the area of Malabang before proceeding to the Pulangi basin. All these suggest that the ancestors of the Iranun datus were already Muslims by around the time that the chiefs in the Pulangi embraced the Faith. There is no explicit report that the Sharif ever went to Maranao lands.

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[62] Francisco Gainza, *Memoria y antecedentas sobre las expediciones de Balanguingi y Jolo* (Manila: 1851), pp. 131-132.

Traditions mention the coming of another Sharif 'Alawi to what is now known as Misamis Oriental and how his preaching there in time spread to Lanao and Bukidnon. That he is asserted to have been a younger brother of the Sharif Kabungsuwan only suggests that he came some time after the latter and not necessarily that they were real brothers. The idea that Islam was brought to Sulu and Mindanao by brothers is simply a mythological device, and it must not be taken at its face value. Not much is known about the activities of Sharif 'Alawi except that besides some preaching he left some children who became chiefs. By all indications, Islam was brought to Lake Lanao through the datus there who were introduced to the Faith by means of marriage alliances with Muslim Iranun and Maguindanao datus, principally with the former. From the hypothesis that Islam began among the Iranun datus, especially those in Malabang and Butig, and that the Maranao datus then intermarried with the Butig datus, it is reasonable to infer that the Maranao datus could have been introduced to Islam by means of such marriage alliances. This view finds support in the report of Spanish missionaries as late as 1640 that while the datus of Lake Lanao were Muslims, not all of their followers were so. This explains why the peace treaty of June 24, 1645, between the Spaniards and Sultan Qudarat of Maguindanao to whom the Iranun datus had pledged their loyalty, states that part of the Maranao area, especially the old settlements (and the rivers named after them) of Didagun, Taraka, and Bansayan, belonged to the Spanish sphere of influence. The interest of the Jesuits in this provision can easily be seen, since they were interested in converting the people there into Christianity, a thing the Sultan would have strongly opposed if they were already Muslims. However, the Maranao Muslim datus would have probably refused any proselytising activities among their followers. In any case, by the time the Spaniards returned to the Maranao area in the nineteenth century, the people of the Lake had all become Muslims.

ISLAM IN MANILA AND NEARBY AREAS

One of the earliest references to the presence of Islamic elements in Manila is found in Pigafetta's account. It states that while his fleet was anchored off the coast of Brunei in 1521, his men were able to capture "the son of the king of the island of Luzon. He was the captain-general of the king of Burne ...."[63] It is believed that the Sultan of Brunei at this time, who was entitled Siripada, was a grandfather of this prince of Luzon, and that this prince who had just arrived from a punitive expedition had come to marry a cousin. It is further believed that this prince was the Rajah Matanda of Manila during the arrival of the Spaniards there in 1570.[64]

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[63] Antonio Pigafetta, "First Voyage Around the World," Blair and Robertson, *op cit.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 223.

It was common knowledge among Spaniards during Legazpi's time that the ruling family of Manila was not only related to the Bornean Sultan but was of Bornean origin. The famous Rajah Sulayman of Manila, a nephew of Rajah Matanda, was also reported to have married a daughter of a Borneo sultan and to have been of Bornean origin.[65] Even after Manila had become a Spanish possession, there was at least one case of a marriage between the royalty of Tondo and that of Brunei. For example, Agustin de Legazpi, a nephew of Lakandula, who succeeded his uncle as chief of Tondo and who had presumably become a Christian judging by his new name, had, after the arrival of the Spaniards married a daughter of Pangiran Salalila, an uncle of Seif ur-Rijal, the Brunei Sultan.[66] The Brunei Sultan appeared unhappy about this marriage, possibly because he did not like to have a female relative married to a Christian husband, which is clearly against Islamic Law.

In brief, the ruling family of Manila was Bornean in origin and closely related by family ties with the sultan of Brunei. The testimony of a friar in 1630 was that: "The greatest chiefs of that country then were the old Raja, Raja Soliman, and Lacandola. These men, as they already observed the pernicious worship of Mahoma, imitated Mahometan names, as well as their customs."[67]

The relations between Manila and Brunei can be traced to the early sixteenth century Brunei Sultan Bulkeiah (Nakhoda Ragam) who "was the Rajah who conquered the kingdom of Soolook and made a dependency of the country of Selurong, the Rajah of which was called DATOH GAMBAN," according to the Brunei *Selesilah*. Now, according to Brunei tradition, Selurong is said "to be in the island of Luzon and the site of the present town of Manila."[68] There is a great deal of good ground to give credence to the account of the *Selesilah,* for it will be recalled that the so-called "captain-general" of Luzon captured off the coast of Brunei in 1521 was related to the Brunei sultan and it is probable too, that the Brunei sultan entitled "Siripada" at that time was no other than Sultan Bulkeiah.

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[64] Rodrigo de Aganduru Moriz, "Historia General de las islas occidentales a la Asia adyacentes llamadas Philipinas," *Colecion de documentos ineditos para la historia de España*. Edited by Marques de la Fuensanta de Valle, D. Jose Rayon and D. Francisco de Zabalburu (Madrid: 1882), No. 8, pp. 59-60. Also see Correa's account in Magellan, *The First Voyage Round the World* (Haklyut Society: 1874), p. 253.

[65] See Retana's Notes on his edition of Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (Madrid: 1910), p. 574. The Bornean sultan who was Rajah Sulayman's father-in-law was probably ʿAbdul Kahar who died in 1578 and who was known to have had a large family.

[66] Cf. "Account of Expeditions," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 199. Agustin de Legazpi, like his uncle Lakandula, were themselves relatives of the Sultan of Brunei. Cf. F. Blumentritt, "España y la isla de Borneo," *Boletin de la Sociedad Geografica*, Vol. XX, Madrid, 1886, p. 130.

[67] Fray Juan de Medina, "History of the Augustinian Order in the Filipinas Islands," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 198.

The close relations between Brunei and Manila can be further noted from the fact that when Manila was attacked by the Spaniards, some of those who fell in the battle were, according to Spanish accounts, Borneans. Furthermore, the so-called Tondo Conspiracy, which was discovered in 1588, had for its ringleaders relatives of the Bornean sultan, and they had tried to contact the Brunei sultan for help in the projected attempt to do away with the Spaniards.[69] Such close relations were still in the minds of the Borneans for more than ten years after Manila's fall to the Spaniards as evidenced by the wish of their Sultan Seif ur-Rijal to find means to wrest Manila from the Spaniards.[70] With the eventual consolidation of Spanish power in Manila as well as the gradual decline of Brunei as a political and commercial power in Malaysia, the above relations slowly faded from the memory of the people of Manila especially when they became Christians and cast their lot with their conquerors.

But the fact of Bornean relations and the existence of an aristocracy in Manila related to the Bornean sultan does not necessarily imply that the majority of the inhabitants on both sides of the mouth of the Pasig River were Muslims. Actually, the process of Islamization had only begun with some inhabitants beginning to evince Islamic habits like circumcision and the avoidance of pork. Some of the Manila inhabitants who had gone to Borneo, had been exposed to the teaching of the Qur'an, but the rest appear to have followed the older religion.[71] More contacts with the natives of the settlements around Manila Bay led the Spaniards, in time, to distinguish an *indio* from a *moro,* although previously, they were inclined to call all of them *"moros,"* probably because the chiefs were Muslims.

It is possible that what took place in Manila was that some Borneans formed a settlement among the older inhabitants at the mouth of the river Pasig. Being a commercial people, they needed a *pied a terre* in a strategic place where they could at the same time control merchandise going to and from the region around Laguna Lake, which at the coming of the Spaniards was already well populated. Being a Bornean settlement, its rulers would normally then be Borneans; and as the facts show, they were related to the royalty of Brunei. Islamic practices would, in varying degrees, be found among the Borneans, which in time were adopted by some of the older inhabitants. But the spread of such practices, being generally of a peaceful and mild nature would normally be very slow and subtle. A Spanish report of 1573 said: "In this island of Luzon are three settlements of Moros, who do not know the law of Mahoma in its entirety. They eat no pork, and pay reverence to the said Mahoma."[72] The author, too, was aware of the non-Islamic practices of the majority of the inhabitants in the areas referred to. His generalization, however, needs to be qualified. In such settlements of this sort, there would always be some who were well steeped in the Faith; but then the Spaniards would not know the difference.

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[68] *"Selesilah," op. cit.,* p. 3 and footnote 7.

[69] "Conspiracy Against Spaniards," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.,* Vol VII, pp. 96-105.

[70] "History of the Sultans of Brunei," *JSBRAS,* No. 5, June 1880, p. 22.

[71] Cf. "Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.,* Vol. III, pp. 141-142, and p. 165. Also cf. "Relation of the Western Islands," *ibid.,* p. 196.

Even with Manila already captured and the flame of Islam being quenched there, there is evidence of similar settlements in Mindoro under Muslim leadership. When these leaders discovered that the Spaniards in Manila in 1574 were having difficulties with Lim Ah-hong's invasion, they took the opportunity to harass the Spaniards on their island. At this time, too, according to Spanish accounts, some inhabitants in Mindoro killed pigs out of sheer hatred for them, whereas they killed goats with special ceremonies, suggesting Islamic practices among them.[73]

There is evidence of missionary work made by Bornean preachers in other parts of Luzon, more specifically in Balayan. The testimony of Magat-China, a notable from Balayan, reveals a method followed in many parts of Malaysia especially in the Celebes and the Moluccas. In 1578, in answer to some queries, he said that the people of Manila, Balayan, Mindoro and Bonbon, had no knowledge of Islam until the Borneans explained it to them. He said, too, that he had seen a copy of the Qur'an and witnessed its preaching by a "*catip*" (Arabic, *khatib*). "Likewise he has heard his relatives and other Moros tell how in former times the king of Borney has sent preachers of the sect of Mahoma to Cebu, Oton, Manila, and other districts, so that the people there might be instructed in it as were those of Borney. And this witness, in his own time, has heard the said doctrine preached in Balayan, by a Moro regarded by them as a priest, by name of Siat Saen [Sayyid or Shaikh Zain?]."[74]

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[72] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

[73] "Carta de Fra. Agustin de Albuquerque communicando el suceso del crosario Limahon," dated June 5, 1575. *The Christianization of the Philippines*, p. 175 and p. 372.

[74] "Account of Expeditions," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 151.

That Islamic influences had come to Balayan is also attested to by friar missionaries who around 1580 had to preach there in order to counteract Islamic tendencies. Their testimony was that Borneans had preached Islam there and that the converts had shown such enthusiasm for the Faith that some even desired to go to Mecca on a pilgrimage. They also said that it was the preaching of friars that eventually led the converts to abandon Islam.[75]

The beginnings of Islamization in Manila and nearby areas seemed to have followed the following pattern: Bornean Muslim settlements begin to appear among an older indigenous non-Muslim population accompanied or followed by the exercise of some political power by Muslims in the area. Missionary activities then begin at the very time when the Spaniards were just ready to conquer the areas and subject them to Spanish sovereignty. Thus, it would have been normal to expect that in the absence of such a major obstacle as that which actually took place, Manila and the areas around it, as well as the nearby islands on the route between Manila and Brunei, would have followed an Islamization process to the stage where the majority of the inhabitants would have ended up as Muslims. Most early Spanish writers who had reflected on this subject agreed that if the Spaniards did not arrive at the time they did, the conversion of Luzon to Christianity would not have been as easy as it was, since it was generally recognized that it was difficult to convert Muslims into Catholicism. According to Antonio de Morga, a Spanish official who lived in the Philippines from 1595 to 1603:

> A few natives of the island of Borneo began to come with their trade to the island of Luzon a few years before the Spaniards subjected it, especially to the towns of Manila and Tondo; and the people of the two islands [Borneo and Luzon] intermarried. These people of Borneo are Mussulmans, and they were introducing their sect amongst these natives, giving them short prayers and ceremonies and forms to be observed, by means of some gazizes [Arabic, *ghazi* or *cassis?*] whom they brought with them: and already many, and the greatest chiefs, were beginning (although by piecemeal) to become Muslims, circumcising themselves, and taking Muslim names, so that if the entrance of the Spaniards had been longer delayed, this sect would have extended over all the island, and even throughout the others; and it would have been difficult to have uprooted it from them. The mercy of God remedied it in time; so that, as it was but the beginning, it was banished from these islands, and they were free from it throughout all that the Spaniards have subdued, and placed under the government of the Philippines, while it has been much propagated and spread in the other islands which are outside of this government; for already the natives of nearly all of them are Mahomedan Moors, directed and instructed by their gazizes and morabits

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[75] Marcelo de Ribadeneria, *Historia de las islas del Archipielago Filipino y reinos de la gran China, Tartaria, Conchinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japon,* Edited by Juan R. de Legisima (Madrid: 1947), p. 91.

> [Arabic, *murabitin*], who come to preach and teach them continually, from the straits of Mekkah and the Red Sea, from whence they navigate to these islands.[70]

When the Spaniards came to the Philippines in 1565, they saw a group of people exemplifying practices which they vaguely recognized as Islamic. Although at first they tended to call all the natives in the Philippines "*moros*," they in time came to recognize some differences between the non-Muslims and the Muslims. Their difficulty in recognizing differences between these groups might have arisen from the simple fact that some inhabitants were passing through that transitory stage between the older religion and Islam. That is, Islamic consciousness might have formed as the result of a gradual process ending with the reduction of old religious practices to a minimum with a corresponding increase in the practice of Islamic rituals and adherence to certain dietary laws.

The Christianizing spirit of the Spaniards, their awareness of the centuries struggle with the Arabs and Moors, and their meeting Muslims in the Philippines after circling part of the earth, made them look at the war against the Moros as a continuation of the old war between Christians and Muslims. ✓ It will be recalled that the fall of Granada, the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, took place less than seventy-five years before the coming of Legazpi to the Philippines; moreover, the Moriscos were not yet expelled from Spain. All these contributed to a crusading spirit among the Spaniards. The Muslims reacted by developing an increased awareness of their own Faith and a heightened zeal accompanied by a patriotism and an antagonism to a foreign invader and religious antagonist. Regarding this conflict between two irreconcilable forces and groups, a Spanish author wrote in 1884:

> When they landed in Manila, the soldiers of Legazpi found on the same site of the present Fort Santiago, key to the capital of Manila, a powerful Muslim principality under Rajah Matanda... who... reigned in company with a nephew, Rajah Suliman, the one who favoured a policy of war.... Under the walls of this fort, an historical event, little appreciated but which influenced our conquest, took place. It was there that for the first time since the conquest of Granada that the Spaniards once more stood face to face with the standards of the Prophet, both meeting after circling the globe from opposite directions. As was inevitable, they met at

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[70] Antonio de Morga, *The Philippine Islands, Moluccas, Siam, Cambodia, Japan, and China at the close of the Sixteenth Century*, translation by Henry Stanley (London: 1868), pp. 307-308. Morga's use of the term "*ghazi*" and "*murabit*," Muslim technical terms for persons dedicated to the defense of Islamic territories from the encroachment of their enemies, terms significant in the history of the Spanish *reconquista*, suggests the coming of warriors and missionaries of the faith as a group distinct from the ordinary Bornean traders. These latter still came, although in fewer numbers, up to the time Morga served as an official in Manila. See, *ibid.*, p. 342.

> the walls under artillery fire; and they continue to do so in Jolo, fighting a battle that began on the borders of Guadalete. And as if nothing should detract from that continuity, Legazpi called them *moros*, a name they keep up to this time and which, regardless of their having nothing in common with the Mauretanians, signifies a community of religion shared with the Spanish Arabs.[77]

By adopting Islam, a segment of the population of the Philippines became part of a wider religious community extending from the Pillars of Hercules to the borders of China. These people in the Philippines gained from Islam a high sense of religious community, new laws, a more developed political organization, a new system of writing, and, above all, a new ethical outlook on life. Having adopted values that transcended their race and particular culture, they began to consider themselves as an historical people, yet assuming all the time that their history was not the result of their own making or efforts .Without this consciousness as well as all the benefits that Islam brought to the peoples of Sulu and Mindanao, they would have easily been swept away by Western colonialism and relegated to the limbo of conquered peoples.

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[77] Victor M. Concas y Palau. Quoted from Retana's edition of Antonio de Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, p. 379.

III

Castillans, Indios, and Moros

Sixteenth century Malaysia was characterized by the increasing growth of numerous Muslim principalities with its chiefs playing the part of leading merchants. Some of these chiefs had assumed the title of "sultan," and, depending on their resources, some were able to extend their political power over neighboring principalities. The fall of Malacca to the Portuguese in 1511 was followed by the sprouting of some sultanates under the rule of relatives of Mahmud Shah, the last Malacca sultan, who, according to the *Sejarah Melayu,* was persuaded to flee from the falling city, assured by a minister, "Every country has a Raja, and if your Highness is granted length of days, we can find ten countries for you!"[1]

The coming of the Portuguese, apart from curtailing the coming of Muslim traders from the southwest of Asia, brought about a new alignment of Malaysian principalities and stimulated commercial activities and intercourse with one another. The Spaniards in 1565 noted the intense commercial activities of Borneans in the Islands. They seized after a brief naval battle a Bornean vessel which carried forty-five warriors and such assorted cargoes as damask, silk, iron, tin, sulphur, and porcelain among others, showing the nature and extent of the existing trade.[2] Legazpi also reported that vessels from Luzon traded in Mindanao. All these suggest that the royal families of Brunei and Manila, like their counterparts in other parts of Malaysia, were profitably engaged in commerce. If they were not traders themselves, they must have exercised some control over the rich Bornean traders.[3]

At first, the Spaniards called the Bornean traders "Moros," a term initially applied indiscriminately to most inhabitants of the Philippines. Although this term was not always used accurately, its use suggests that the Spaniards were able to recognize, albeit vaguely, certain practices among some people that were indeed Muslim in character; practices shared with the Muslims of North Africa.[4] In time, the Spaniards, at least those who were more knowledgeable among them, were able to distinguish those inhabitants of the Philippines who were Muslims from those who were not. For example, writing about the people around the area of Manila Bay, Legazpi distinguished those who were Muslims from those who were still pagans; adding, however, that the Moros there had little knowledge about Islam.[5] A 1572 Spanish report from Manila, referring to the same area stated:

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[1] "Sejarah Melayu," *op. cit.,* p. 189.

[2] Cf. "Relation by Legazpi," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, pp. 206-207.

[3] Cf. "Account of Expeditions," *ibid.,* Vol. IV, p. 149.

> ...it is quite certain that the natives of this island of Luzon, whom we Spaniards commonly call Moros, are not so; for the truth is that they do not know or understand the law of Mahoma—only in some of the villages on the seacoast they do not eat pork, and this for the reason that they have had dealings with the Moros of Burney, who have preached to them a little of the teaching of Mahoma.[6]

The unknown author of this report also mentioned that some Moros were able "to read a few words of the Alcoran," noting however that they were few.[7] He then described some of the practices and beliefs of others, which he palpably recognized as pagan. Apart from their understandably limited knowledge of Islam, the Spaniards, especially those who had come for the first time to Manila, encountered an added obstacle to the proper understanding of the native Muslims in the fact that many in the Manila Bay area were in religious transition, thus exhibiting elements belonging to both Islam and the older religion. Different individuals as well as different peoples can side by side manifest different stages in the Islamization process. A person may recite the declaration of Faith, the first of the Pillars of Islam, but it might take years for him to develop the habits of regular prayer and consistently maintain the fast of Ramadan, the two succeeding pillars of Islam. In time, those inhabitants who had abandoned what little of Islamic practices they might have adopted as well as those who were clearly not Muslims, were designated *"indios"* by the Spaniards. Although it appears in early Spanish records that the pagan natives were also called *"indios,"* this term in time came to mean the Christianized inhabitants of the Archipelago. On the other hand, the term *"moro"* came to be generally reserved for the Muslims of Sulu, Mindanao, and Borneo, regardless of their stage of

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[4] The term "moro" was originally derived from the ancient Mauri or Mauretania. Although more properly applicable to the Berbers of North Africa and those who went to Spain, the term was sometimes conveniently used to denote the Muslim conquerors of Spain, therefore sometimes including the Arabs. Among some Spaniards, for want of a more accurate term, the term was loosely used to refer to any Muslim.

[5] "Relation by Legazpi," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.,* Vol. III, p. 60.

[6] "Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon," *ibid.,* pp. 141-142.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 165.

Islamization. The Moros, however, called themselves "Islam" or, sometimes more correctly, "Muslim." They tended to call all Spaniards "*kastilas*" (Castillans).

It is understandable why the people of Brunei would be unhappy about the coming of the Spaniards to the Philippines. For this was not only an intrusion into their commercial activities but a threat to their expanding political influence, considering that the royal families of Manila and Sulu were related to that of Brunei. Moreover, the strangers belonged to another faith which was looked upon as a threat to their own. The Spaniards, conversely, saw the Borneans not only as commercial rivals but as agents for the strengthening of Islam in the Philippines—a faith they had sworn to extirpate. The intimate connections between economic motives and religious aims were underscored when royal officials in Manila wrote in 1565 to the Audiencia of New Spain, requesting authority to enslave Moros, presumably from Luzon and Borneo, who were trading in the south of the Philippines:

> We beseech his majesty, and your highness in his royal name, that, inasmuch as the said Moros and others take all the gold, pearls, jewels, precious stones and other things of which we have no information—thus injuring the natives, both by giving us no opportunity to plant our holy faith among them, and by taking the said gold, they should, if they continue the said trade, lose their property and be made slaves, for they preach the doctrine of Mahomet.[8]

The answer of the Spanish King was as follows:

> We have also been petitioned in your behalf concerning the Moro islands in that land, and how those men come to trade and carry on commerce, hindering the preaching of the holy gospel and disturbing you. We give you permission to make such Moros slaves, and seize their property. You are warned that you can make them slaves only if the said Moros are such by birth and choice, and if they come to preach their Mahometan doctrine, or to make war against you or against the Indians, who are our subjects and in our royal service. But in no way or manner shall you enslave the Indians who have embraced the doctrine of Mahoma; on the contrary, you shall endeavor to persuade or convert them to our holy Catholic faith by kind and lawful methods.[9]

The Auditor Melchor Davalos who in 1584 quoted this royal order in a letter to the Spanish King, was an inveterate enemy of Islam which he labelled as an "evil sect." He consulted the King on what to do with the numerous Muslim traders in the Philippines, suggesting all the while, that there were enough reasons to justify their slavery in the country on the basis of local custom. But it appears that the royal prescription was never totally implemented, for Borneans still came to trade in Manila, although in decreasing numbers, up to the first decade of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, outside a few exceptions, war with the Borneans of Brunei in 1587 did not result in the general slavery of Muslim warriors. As a matter of fact, it was not fully expedient at that time to follow to the letter the royal prescription.

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[8] "Letter from Officials," *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 187.

[9] Quoted from "Davalos to Felipe II," *ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 57-58.

A fundamental premise in the thinking of Spanish colonial and ecclesiastical authorities was that the introduction of Islam and its reinforcement in the Philippines was attributable to Brunei. In 1578, the Spanish Governor General Sande wrote to the Bornean Sultan Seif ur-Rijal:

> What you are to do is to admit preachers of the holy gospel, who may preach the law of the Christians in your lands in all security; and likewise that any person whatever of your country may have entire liberty and permission to attend the preaching of the law of the Christians, and that he who wishes to become a Christian may do so without any ill befalling him.
>
> Further, I desire that you shall send no preachers of the sect of Mahoma to any part of these islands, nor to the heathen among the Tingues [hill-people], nor into other parts of your own island—inasmuch as the doctrine of Mahoma is a false and evil law, and the religion of the Christians alone is true, holy, and good.[10]

The Spaniards came to the Philippines not only to extend the imperial domains and the economic interests of their King but also to introduce Catholicism. It is understandable why they would single out the Muslims in the Philippines and the Borneans as objects of their hatred and antipathy. For these were the very people who stood as the main obstacles to Spanish ambitions in the area. It was inevitable, too, that in response Islam would serve as a force to give Muslims that very vigor and cohesion they needed as a group to withstand the Spanish onslaught.

Spanish wariness about Bornean influences or activities in the Philippines is understandable since the Borneans, far from giving up, tenaciously held on to the commercial and religious advantages they had so far gained. Moreover, it would be logical for a defeated and disgruntled aristocracy in Manila to look to Brunei for possible help if and when they decided to move against the Spaniards. The so-called Magat Salamat Conspiracy, discovered in 1588 after a few months of planning, clearly indicated to the Spaniards that those who would move against them in the Philippines would try to solicit and elicit help from Brunei. There was some basis for Spanish concern. Earlier, in 1572, there was a threat from a Brunei fleet. In this enterprise, the Portuguese, the commercial rivals of the Spaniards, appeared to have encouraged the sultan of Brunei.[11] According to the testimony of Magat China in 1574, the Brunei sultan prepared a fleet of about one hundred galleys and another hundred smaller vessels to attack the Spaniards in Manila. However, he ordered the fleet back for fear of attack on his unprotected realm. Furthermore, the Brunei sultan had once contacted Rajah Sulayman and Lakandula to assure them of his help should they revolt against the Spaniards in Manila. Actually, according to Bornean records, the Brunei sultan did consider the fall of Manila to the Spaniards as a personal setback and had entertained the notion of recapturing it.[12]

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[10] "Account of Expeditions," *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 153-154.

Spanish military interference in the internal dynastic quarrels of the Brunei royal family in 1578 and 1581 were initial attempts to exercise political influence on Brunei and to contain Bornean activities in the Philippines. For some reason or another, although some Spanish officials recommended it, the planting of a colony in Brunei was never carried out. It was after the first defeat of the forces of the Brunei Sultan Seif ur-Rijal in 1578 that the Spaniards, trying to make most of the situation, attempted to subjugate the Sulu sultan and the sultans of Buayan and Maguindanao. This is significant in the light of the Spanish-held view that the Muslims of Sulu and Mindanao derived some of their strength, both material and moral, from Brunei. It was only later that the Spaniards discovered that the people of Ternate had been greatly responsible in strengthening Islam in Mindanao. Likewise it came to their knowledge that there were close political relations between Ternate and Maguindanao, relations which were made more effective by marital ties between their royal families as well as with that of Sulu.

After the Spanish victory in Brunei in 1578, Governor Francisco de Sande instructed Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa to go to Sulu and demand tribute from its chief and then to proceed to Mindanao to reduce the chiefs of Maguindanao into vassalage. These chiefs were to be instructed not to admit anymore preachers of Islam. Furthermore, the chief Maguindanao ruler was to be clearly told that it was the intention to have him converted to Christianity.[13]

Captain Esteban Rodriguez' victory in two minor engagements with the Sulu rajah resulted in the latter's forcible payment of an amount that was considered a tribute by the Spaniards. But the Spaniards were not so lucky in implementing the instructions concerning the exploration of the Pulangi River and the reduction of the Maguindanao chiefs into vassalage for lack of provisions and unfavorable weather. Consequently in 1579, the Governor gave similar instructions to Captain Gabriel de Rivera who was further told to get information about the products of the land, the time for harvest, the number of inhabitants and settlements, and the existence of gold mines. The same provisions on the prohibition of the coming of Bornean preachers and the intention to convert the chiefs to Christianity were repeated. Mosques were ordered burned, and Rivera was told to inform the Muslims of Maguindanao that "the mosque at Borney is burned, and that there are now no more Bornean preachers."[14] Captain Rivera tried to follow all these instructions, but he failed to establish contact with the Muslims. Sultan Dimansankay of Maguindanao persistently refused to deal with the Spaniards and he retreated progressively into the interior before the advancing forces of Captain Rivera. Nevertheless, in a few years, the Spaniards attempted to found a colony around the area of the Pulangi but with unhappy results for them.

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[11] Cf. "Affairs after Legazpi's Death," *ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 182.

[12] "History of the Sultans of Bruni," *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23; and "Account of Expeditions," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 151.

[13] Cf. "Account of Expeditions," *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 174-181.

The destruction of the *jama masjid* of Brunei, described with pride by Spanish officials, was to become part of the pattern of the Spaniards' effort to extirpate Islam among the Muslims of the Philippines. Spanish friars themselves witnessed the destruction of copies of the Qur'an and other Arabic manuscripts during the expeditions sent by Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera to Mindanao in 1637 against Sultan Qudarat, and to Sulu in 1638 against Sultan Muwallil Wasit (Rajah Bongsu).[15] Neither were the tombs of sultans and Muslim missionaries spared. In the Spanish punitive expedition to Sulu in 1628, the soldiers, in compliance with orders from the Governor, looked for the tombs of the late sultans and succeeded in destroying three "wonderful and splendid ones," of which one was supposed to be that of the father of the incumbent sultan.[16] The Jesuit Combes also wrote of the destruction of the tomb and grave of one of the first Muslim missionaries to Sulu, which the Spanish soldiers dug up in the hope of finding valuables.[17] It must have been a fruitless and disappointing effort, since in Islamic practice no valuables are interred with the corpse.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

[15] Cf. "Sucesos Felices que por mar y tierra ha dado nuestro Señor a las armas españoles en las Islas Filipinas contra el Mindanao, y en las de Ternate, contra los Holandeses, por fin del año de 1636 y principio del de 1637," W. E. Retana *Archivo del Bibliofilo Filipino,* Vol. 4, p. 13 of selection or p. 125 of book. Also cf. Jose Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 177.

[16] Ventura del Arco, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 598; Pedro Murillo Velarde, *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compania de Jesus, Segunda Parte que comprende los progresos de esta provincia desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716* (Manila: 1749), p. 33; and "Relation of 1627-1628," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXII, p. 209.

[17] Francisco Combes, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

Spanish policy to destroy such tombs is understandable for, as Combes himself noted, they had become places for visits or pilgrimages, thus making Sulu, more specifically, the settlement of Jolo, a veritable "metropolis . . . and Mecca" of the Muslims of the Sulu Archipelago.[18] Although orthodox Islam frowns upon, if not condemns, pilgrimages to tombs, this custom was (and still is) found in some Muslim lands either as vestiges of earlier religions or as part of folk Islam. This custom resembles in miniature, the visits to the Indian Muslim *dargahs*. Undoubtedly, such aspects of folk religion did reinforce beliefs, and the Spaniards were determined to eradicate such practices if only to sever Muslims from memories of their past, thereby facilitating their conversion to Christianity.

Such Spanish attitudes and actions against Islamic practices must have contributed to the further stiffening of Muslim resistance against the Spaniards. The people's natural tendency to resist any form of external domination was further galvanized and reinforced by the will to defend a way of life. It should, however, be noted that such a resistance was made possible by a political organization that was relatively more advanced than those of the other inhabitants of the Philippines. Not only were the Muslim sultanates of the Philippines closely patterned after the neighboring Malaysian principalities, but both the sultanates of Maguindanao and Sulu had also received Islamic political and religious influences from the two principalities of Ternate and Sumatra. Moreover, the Muslim chiefs who were beneficiaries of their particular political positions, did everything to preserve them. Speaking on why the Muslim chiefs could not be treated like the other conquered chiefs, the Spanish officer Ronquillo said that if they were told that they could no longer collect tribute from their followers but must instead offer this to the Spaniards, the Muslim chiefs would find that "it will be a very bitter draught for them to swallow." "These Indians," Ronquillo added, "are not like those in Luzon, but are accustomed to power and sovereignty. Some collect five or six thousand tributes."[19] Moreover, not only were the Muslim sultans and chiefs of neighboring principalities aware of the common threat to their personal power and prestige, they were also bound together by blood ties. A common organized resistance against a threat to their political power, kinship ties, commercial interests, and religion had become imperative, a bounden duty to them. All these explain why the Ternatans helped the Maguindanaos in the decades before and after 1600, why the Borneans aided the Muslims of the Philippines in their raids against Spanish positions, and why the Sulus were adequately supported by the Makassars during Corcuera's campaign against them in 1638, at a time when the Bugis were rising as a commercial power in Malaysia. It is significant to note, however, that such supporting contingents included persons esteemed as religious leaders. This support would, therefore, not only represent family or military alliances but also groupings under the guidance or persuasions of an *'ulama*. In effect, a sense of religious community was involved in such military alliances.

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[18] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[19] "Pacification of Mindanao," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. IX, p. 289.

Like the Portuguese who had arrived earlier in Malaysia, the Spaniards who came to the Philippines were, regardless of economic and political motives, generally aware of their religious aim. Although the Spaniards and Portuguese were commercial rivals, and although they had different political loyalties, they were in full agreement in so far as their attitudes towards the Muslims and the Christianization of the Malaysians were concerned. Actually, it was the religious factor that moderated the intensity of their mutual differences without, however, eliminating them fully, until they united under one crown for a short while. In general, it is reasonable to assume that most of the Spaniards and Portuguese were more or less conscious that they came from Christian lands and that the Muslims were their traditional enemies. A parallel situation existed among the different Muslim Malaysian peoples, regardless of the possibility that some of them belonged to different stages of Islamization in the sense that some had an older history as Muslims. Irrespective of dynastic rivalries, linguistic and regional differences, and commercial competition, the different peoples of Malaysia, who had become Muslims, had a general conception that they belonged to *dar ul-Islam* that also included other races and peoples "above the winds." Such a conception was reinforced when Turkish and other Muslims from West Asia and Egypt actually arrived in great numbers to aid the Sumatran principality of Acheh in its struggle against the Portuguese during the second half of the sixteenth century. Complementary to this general conception was the belief of the different Malaysians that their Islamization was one interrelated process and that their royal families were related. The claim that a particular Malaysian royal family was related to another was not simply a technique to bolster a sanction of legitimacy. There are enough facts to show that there were indeed numerous marriage alliances. For example, the Sulu sultans at the beginning of the seventeenth century could point to family relations with Maguindanao, Ternate, and Brunei. Just as the royal family of Brunei could claim relationship with the Johore royal family and the Javanese aristocracy, so also could that of Johore claim family relations with the royal families of northern Sumatra. Such family relationships are significant, for these have to do with the claim that the founders of such families had either introduced or at least reinforced Islam in their realms.

The Sulus and the Maguindanaos, as well as the Maranaos, always took it for granted that their Islamization was a connected series of events that was in some manner intimately related to the Islamization of neighboring Malaysian principalities. To illustrate this, there is the tradition reported by Combes in the seventeenth century to the effect that four persons had come from Paradise and introduced Islam to various islands. One went to Java, another went to Borneo; the last two went to Sulu, one of whom eventually proceeded to Mindanao. Combes then described the magical powers attributed to these last two by the credulous and narrated how the one who went to Sulu earned upon his death a "sepulcher which became a mausoleum to his memory and the Mecca of their (the Sulus) vain boastings."[20] The tradition heard by Captain Forrest in Maguindanao in 1775 mentioned three brothers coming from Mecca who established dynasties and presumably introduced Islam in Borneo, Sulu, Maguindanao and the Moluccas.[21] A more elaborate version of this story is found among the Maranaos to the effect that there were seven *sharifs,* all brothers, who in the search of a sister were separated. One settled in Brunei while the others went to and eventually remained in Sulu, Menado and Makassar (in the Celebes), Manila, and Mindanao. A more common tradition still heard in Sulu is that three brother *sharifs* founded the sultanates of and introduced Islam to Brunei, Sulu, and Maguindanao.

These traditions are not to be taken literally, and these "brothers" need not be considered blood brothers, since these countries were not Islamized simultaneously. They are however significant in so far as they reveal that there was, as far as the Muslims were concerned, a causal connection between the Islamization of one and that of the other different but neighboring principalities of Malaysia. It is no coincidence, too, that in the list of enumerated countries the oldest brothers were usually asserted to have settled in the place farthest west, that is, Brunei. This reveals the trade route that was used from Brunei to the Moluccas. In a general sense, the term "brother" emphasizes what to the Philippine Muslim constituted a connected series of events. Such a conception reflected the idea of a veritable Malaysian segment of the wider community of *dar ul-Islam,* since the brothers were usually asserted to have come originally from Arab lands.

Like their European counterparts, the sultanates of Brunei, Sulu, Maguindanao, Buayan, Ternate, etc., were also beset by dynastic and economic rivalries. Anytime there was a lull in their struggle against the Spaniards, there was a corresponding acceleration in their chronic internecine squabbles. However, all of these do not mean that they did not share a sense of Islamic community. The sultans sometimes appealed to their common Islamic faith to moderate conflicts among themselves or to present the need for a stronger and more united front against the Spaniards and later on the Dutch. For example, in 1681, Sultan Amsterdam of Ternate, wrote to Sultan Barahaman of Maguindanao not to cooperate with the Dutch who were enemies of the Faith and who had plans to introduce Christianity to Sulu, Mindanao, Bantam and other nearby places. The contents of this letter, regardless of its political intentions, demonstrated a high degree of Islamic consciousness.[22] Around 1675, when the Sulu sultan was asked to intervene to solve an internal dynastic quarrel between two rival sultans in Brunei, he said that it was "very unfortunate that Islams should be at war with one another; he would, if possible, advise that peace should be established."[23] However, it may be noted, the Sulu sultan's desire for booty later on prevailed over his declared efforts at peace. Islam was also used as a rationalization for the killing of the Jesuits Alejandro Lopez and Juan Montiel in 1655. Sultan Qudarat's letter to the Sulu Sultan Bakhtiar said that these priests were killed because of their preaching and their efforts to force Muslim leaders to leave Islam.[24]

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[20] Combes, *op. cit.,* p. 45.

[21] Forrest, *op. cit.,* p. 202 and Plate 22.

Like those concluded by the Borneans and Portuguese, the Sulus and Dutch, and the Maguindanaos and Dutch, the various alliances entered into by Muslim leaders with European powers were at most temporary in character and motivated by military or commercial expediency. But the Muslims were the first to break such alliances, or to let them lapse when not vitally needed to preserve the integrity of their sultanates. No person saw this more clearly than Sultan Qudarat, who, notwithstanding Dutch "sympathy" and aid, never trusted them, for, as he himself said, the Dutch were merely interested in trade and slaves and that their alliance with him against the Spaniards was at best a temporary one.[25] The Europeans, no less than the Muslims, had no illusions about the character of these alliances. The fact was that during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the awareness of religious differences was an important factor to contend with.

To the Spanish calumnies against Islam and zealous desire to liquidate it by fire and sword, a counter attack on the part of the Muslims was inevitable. The 1578 testimony of Magat China on this detail is very revealing:

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[22] Francois Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* (Amsterdam: 1724), Vol. I. pp. 343b-344b.

[23] "History of the Sultans of Bruni," *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[24] Pedro Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, p. 244. There is no evidence that Qudarat had a direct hand in the killing of the two priests. It was Datu Balatamay and his followers who struck the death blows. Earlier, the Jesuit Lopez had alienated the *panditas* of Maguindanao by his excessive zeal and utter lack of diplomatic skill.

[25] Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

> He said that in the book of the Alcoran, which the present witness has seen and has heard preached, they say and assert that they [the Muslims] are the enemies of the Christians. Likewise in other books they say that the Borneans have always desired to make Moros of the Christians—a thing that he has also heard declared by the *catip* [Arabic *khatib*, for preacher] . . . whom the said Borneans regard as a priest, and who preaches the said doctrine of Mahoma. This said *catip*, and others, with like expressions preach the said doctrine of Mahoma, so that the said natives observe it. They declare and publish that the law of the Christian is evil; and their own, good.[26]

Muslim awareness of their religious differences with the Spaniards was well dramatized in an incident that took place around 1578 when an emissary of the Spaniards brought a letter written in Malay to the Brunei Sultan Seif ur-Rijal. This letter from Spanish Governor Francisco de Sande, while offering peace and friendship to the Brunei Sultan, declared that there were intentions to have him listen to the preaching of Christianity, "the true law." The letter also requested that the Sultan stop sending Muslim preachers even in his own land "inasmuch as the doctrine of Mahoma is a false and evil law, and the religion of the Christians alone is true, holy, and good." The following incident then ensued:

> A Bornean Moro read it; and when he came to the end, the said king remarked: "So this is the way that your people write to me, who am king; while the Castillans are *capis*. [Arabic *kafir*]"—that is to say, in the Bornean language "men . . . who have no souls, who are condemned by fire when they die, and that, too, because they eat pork" . . .[27]

Although a Muslim jurist might debate whether the Sultan's use of the term *kafir* (Arabic for infidel or unbeliever) to apply to Christians was proper or not, its use by the Bornean Sultan, possibly uttered in a fit of anger or irritation, symbolized the exacerbation of relations between the two religious communities. The Sultan's remark was simply a reaction to the coming of an external force which now threatened a cherished way of life.

Spanish writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have commented on the state of religiosity among the Muslims of the Philippines. Their judgments ranged all the way from imputing to the Muslims superficial knowledge of Islam to deep religiosity. Actually such reports must be read with some caution. It has been noted already that some of the first Spaniards who came with Legazpi thought that all the inhabitants of Luzon were Muslims, and for this reason they were all initially called "Moros." Since some of them were obviously still in the stage of paganism, the Spaniards tended to say that those people did not know much about Islam, especially when these inhabitants were observed indulging in a great deal of what appeared to be ritual drinking. The fact was that these people were not really Muslims. Seventeenth century Spanish writers, however, formed conclusions on the basis of information published in earlier reports and applied these indiscriminately on the Muslims of Sulu and Maguindanao. Thus, Combes himself repeated some of these views about Muslims in the Philippine South as a whole. Writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, he asserted that the generality of Muslims of Sulu and Mindanao were in reality atheists, that they drank more wine than the Spaniards, and that they were not really Muslims or Gentiles. However, he also wrote that they practised circumcision, avoided pork, and kept numerous wives, suggesting in some way that this last characteristic was a Muslim requirement. Clearly, Combes did not distinguish among different peoples who, although living close to each other, belonged to different religious communities. However, regarding the matter of religiosity, Combes made an exception for Sultan Qudarat and other leading datus. He grudgingly admitted that those people made it a point of honor to follow Islamic tenets. He wrote that Sultan Qudarat required his followers to worship in his mosque, but when these followers left the capital, each did what he desired.[28] One thing mentioned by Combes and witnessed by most travellers in Maguindanao during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the strict observance of the rituals of Islam by the royal family of Maguindanao. However, his observations about the practices of the ordinary Muslims have been contradicted by persons more intimately involved in the lives of the common people. Among these was a Jesuit prisoner named Melchor Hurtado who was captured in 1603. According to Hurtado who lived about a year among the Maguindanaos, Sirungan, the Rajah of Buayan, knew Islamic law and avoided wine and pork. Although some Visayan Christians had become Muslims in his realm, they were not forced to do so by him. He held frequent discussions on religious matters. There was also a local *ʿulama* as well as itinerant *panditas*.[29] According to Hurtado:

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[26] "Account of Expeditions," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 150-151.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 163.

> Although their (the Magindanaus') beliefs are false, they give to their vain rites and rubrics a seriousness of attention which we ordinarily fail to give to those of our true religion. An inspector-general who had been sent from Jolo reprimanded the young men because when they were at worship in

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[28] Combes, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[29] H. de la Costa, "A Spanish Jesuit among the Maguindanaus," *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86.

> their mosque (a worship performed after their custom with many prostrations and genuflections and bows of the head towards the west), they did it with little reverence, turning their faces this way and that in a way that detracted from the attention and respect with which they ought to address God. For this reason when the hour of worship sounded, even a slave was permitted to take his master by the shoulders and turn him towards the west. And even if the raja himself were to pass by, he should get no attention from them. They say of a brother of Sirongan . . . that one day while performing this vain worship he was bitten by a poisonous centipede. It was a painful bite, but it moved him as little as though he were a piece of stone. Only after he had finished his prayer did he put his hand inside his clothes; for, he said, he considered it a lack of reverence to scratch oneself while speaking with God.[80]

Making some allowances for Hurtado's prejudices against rituals different from those of his own religion, it is to be wondered how much he understood the meaning of such "vain rites" which included facing the direction of the West and other requirements such as the prostration, or whether he knew that vigorous scratching during ritual prayer (*salat*) might have invalidated it. But as a religious man he had instinctively recognized the seriousness that Muslims gave to the ritual prayer and the sacred character (*haram*) Muslims attribute to the worshipper in the very act of performing the ritual, as distinguished from spontaneous prayer (*duʿa*). The reported injunctions of the Jolo *pandita* to the young Muslims cannot likewise be taken as an index to the possible allegation of a low state of religiosity among the Maguindanaos, since such a situation may still happen among the very young in any orthodox center of Islam.

Like most Spanish friars in the Philippines who wrote on the religiosity or the extent of Islamic consciousness of the Muslims, Hurtado was generally ignorant about Islam and its particular manifestation in the Philippines. Nevertheless, although he was an avowed enemy of Islam, he was different from most of the other Spaniards in that his observations were bereft of ridicule. What is amazing was that Spanish missionaries among the Muslims even up to the last decade of the last century did not appear to have known the basic principles of Islam and much less about the nature of the Islamic rituals and festivals. An illustration of this is found in the letter of the Jesuit missionary Joaquin Sancho to the Father Provincial dated May 20, 1890 and posted from Zamboanga:

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[80] Quoted from *ibid.* Also cf. Colin, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, footnote, p. 508, for a few more details about the remarks of Hurtado. An English translation of the complete text of Hurtado's letter is found in W. C. Repetti, "The Society of Jesus in the Philippines," Volume VI (1604-1605), 1940, Manuscript, pp. 64-90.

> Father Juanmarti, who speaks the Moro language without difficulty, decided to return the visit of Datu Ayunan. He arrived at a time when a *sharif* and forty *panditas* celebrated a Muslim holyday, which he said they had prepared for with thirty days of fasting and which had then terminated. It was really fruitful to have heard for some time the cautious H. Gros, who accompanied Father Juanmarti, and who mentioned to me the numberless chests and boxes of different kinds of wood and sizes which adorned the interior of the hall of ceremonies, forming a wall and serving as an altar to the *sharif*, who, sometimes raising his eyes and arms to heaven and at other times lowering them to the ground, would prostrate himself twice at a time on a mat,[31] a victim of the fatigue and tiredness resulting from the grimaces and contorsions with which he tried to convince the assembly regarding his intimate communications with his Prophet Muhammad. May God have mercy on all of them and as quickly as possible save them from their obstinate spiritual blindness![32]

This incident which is supposed to have taken place in Tawiran, near Tamontaka, the former seat of some Maguindanao sultans, was, as any Muslim would readily recognize, the celebration of the *'Id ul-Fitr* after the fast in the month of Ramadan. The Spaniards clearly did not understand the meaning of the raising of the hands, the bowings and the prostrations in the *salat*. Much less did they understand the main significance of the *salat*, which to Islam is essentially an act of worship to be followed by an intimate communication (*munajat*) with Allah and not with the Prophet Muhammad whom the Muslims pray for, and not to, as part of the ritual. Evidently, the place for the congregational prayer was not a regular mosque but a house shared by a few families called *tulogan* or *kalimudan*. This was cleared for the occasion, with the chests and boxes containing the belongings of the various families arranged in such a manner to provide space for the worshippers. Muslims use no altars.

Assuming that a similar cultural level and observance of Islamic rituals existed between the Maguindanaos and the people of the Moluccas, it may also be assumed that fasting during the month of Ramadan, the third pillar of Islam, was also well observed among the Muslims in the Philippines. Following was what Sir Francis Drake wrote about the Muslims of Ternate, where he was, in 1579:

> The people are Moores, whose religion consists much in certain superstitious observations of new moones, and certaine seasons, with a rigid and strick kind of fasting. We had experience hereof in the Viceroy and his retinue, who lay abroad us all the time for the most part during our abode in this place: who during their prescribed time, would neither eate nor drinke,

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[31] The Spanish word used here is "*sillon*."

[32] "Carta del P. Joaquin Sancho al R. P. Provincial," (Zamboanga, 20 May, 1890), *Cartas de los P. P. de la Mision de Filipinas*, Cuaderno IX, pp. 44-45.

> not so much as a cup of cold water in the day (so zealous are they in their selfe-devised worship), but yet in the night would eate three times, and that very largely.[33]

Disregarding some of the poor interpretations and judgments of Drake, his factual description of the rigid fast is quite accurate and with certain qualifications valid even for the present.

Of the Javanese Muslims in 1605, Edmund Scott gave this description:

> The principalest of them are most religious; but they very seldome goe to church. They doe acknowledge Christ to be a great prophet, whom they call *Naby* Isat; and some of them do keepe of Mahomets priests in their houses. But the common people have very little knowledge in any religion; only they say there is a God which made heaven and earth and them also.[34]

European travellers as well as Spanish priests with some acquaintance with members of Muslim royal families, while caring to mention something about these people's faithful observance of Islamic rituals, have sometimes added, like Edmund Scott, that the common people were not so strict in their observances. A limitation in the usefulness of such reports lies in the fact that being Christians their authors tended to judge religiosity by attendance in churches. It is a fact, however, that except for a few festivals, the Friday communal prayers which take place only once in the day and for not more than an hour just after noon, and the night prayers (*tarawih*) during the month of Ramadan, mosques are generally empty. Generally, too, very few women join congregational prayers with the men, preferring to pray at home in accordance with a long established tradition. It is therefore possible that on the basis of attendance at the mosque coupled with the common people's lack of verbal sophistication to be able to readily answer the questions of foreigners, on the one hand, and closer familiarity with the leaders of the community, both religious and political, on the other, could have led foreigners to conclude that while the leaders of the Muslim community were zealous in the practice of the rituals of Islam, the common people were less so.

William Dampier who visited Maguindanao in 1686, also remarked that the members of the royal family were quite devout unlike the generality of the common people. For example, he wrote that the Rajah Laut, the brother of Sultan Barahaman, prayed eight or ten times a day, and that he was very punctual in observing the canonical hours, allowing no business or company to hinder him from his prayers. Yet, while saying that the ordinary Muslims in Maguindanao had little devotion, he observed that the gong of the mosque was beaten at twelve, three, six, and nine P.M.; that the people practised circumcision, performed ritual purification (*wudu'*) scrupulously and avoided pork; and that they seriously observed the fast during Ramadan, abstaining from food and drink all day until seven in the evening. Furthermore, he said that the people would spend nearly an hour praying in the evening (*tarawih*) throughout the same month.[35] All these observations of Dampier lead one to infer that the observance of the rituals was not necessarily confined to the nobility and religious leaders.

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[33] Francis Drake, *The World Encompassed,* (Printed for the Hakluyt Society, London: 1854), p. 145.

[34] Edmund Scott, "The Description of Java Major," *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas,* 1604-1606. (The Hakluyt Society, Second Series, No. 88, London: 1943), p. 172.

The rudiments of Islam were propagated among the generality of the people through the Qur'anic schools (*madrasah*). Writing about the Maguindanaos, Dampier said that

> They have Schools, and instruct their Children to read and write, and bring them up in the Mahometan Religion. Therefore many of the Words, especially in their Prayers, are in Arabick; and many of the words of civility the same as in Turkey; and especially when they meet in the Morning, or take leave of each other, they express themselves in that Language.[36]

About a hundred years earlier, Bishop Salazar wrote to the Spanish King Philip II about a school in Maguindanao for the teaching of the Qur'an.[37] The impression given by the Bishop was that such schools were of recent establishment because of his premise that they were due to the efforts of the Borneans and Ternatans, who at the time were trying to establish closer political connections with the people of Maguindanao. But if it is considered that the leading families of Maguindanao were Muslims more than fifty years before the arrival of the Bishop in Philippine shores, the probability is that there were *madrasahs* in Maguindanao even before the arrival of the Spaniards in the Philippines. In Sulu, if traditions are to be relied upon, the first sultan, the Sharif ul-Hashim, founded some schools for the children to study the Qur'an. Although traditions assert that the *makhdumin* effected conversions and that "they could talk through paper," very little information is given about the system of conversion or instruction. However, a tradition in Lugus Island narrates how a *makhdum* used to bring children to the seashore and taught them how to read and write on the sand to enable them to better memorize Qur'anic verses and other ritual prayers. In effect, the *madrasahs* were practically the only means to effect some form of education and training. That the script of the Muslims of Sulu and

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[35] William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (The Argonaut Press, London: 1927), pp. 231-235. Dampier must have missed the gong being struck just before sunrise. The gongs are actually struck five times a day.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

[37] Cf. "Salazar to Felipe II," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 69.

Maguindanao has remained Arabic is a testimony to the efficacy of such schools and how elements of Arabic culture seeped into and transformed an older culture.

It is reasonable to assume that the moment the ruler of a Malaysian principality had become a Muslim, he would have Muslim scribes and a group of *panditas* in his court. Such a group would compose a veritable *ʿulama*. There would also be a distinction of grades or level for religious functionaries. Hurtado testifies to the existence of the following grades, viz., *imam, latib* (Arabic, *khatib*), *labay,* etc.,[38] and Dutch sources mention *hukum* as a term used by the people for their judges.[39] These demonstrate that by the beginning of the seventeenth century there was an *ʿulama* in Maguindanao. And if this was the case, it can be assumed that Sulu must have had one much earlier.

Although Islam is not a sacerdotal religion since it does not institutionally provide for a well-defined or a well developed clergy, the *sharifs,* on account of their descent, and the *panditas*, due to their relatively superior knowledge, have always enjoyed high prestige and a special social status. Some of them have been noted for their piety; but what distinguished them from the majority of the people was the relative superiority of their knowledge about the Qur'an, the *Hadith,* the *Sirat* of the Prophet, and Islamic jurisprudence and institutions. Some could have claimed having travelled in other Muslim lands or boasted having studied under famous teachers. It is from the ranks of the *ʿulama* that the *imams* (Arabic plural, *aʿimmah*), the judges (Arabic, *qadi*. Plural, *qudah*), and the leaders of brotherhoods (if any) were selected. They were consulted in matters of rituals, marriages, taxation, and even on matters of state policy. In brief, the *ʿulama* in the Muslim principalities constituted a force to be reckoned with.

All wars, especially those against non-Muslims, tended to increase the power of the *ʿulama*. Since it is an obligation to defend *dar ul-Islam* against its enemies, it has usually been the *ʿulama* who reminded the faithful of their religious duties. But it must not be construed that all members of the *ʿulama* were contented with remaining purely religious functionaries. Some of them fought in battles or even led armed men as if they were *datus*. Actually, a few were chiefs. Many of them, according to Spanish testimonies, were killed in combat just like some Spanish priests. They would, on certain occasions, preach the Holy War (*jihad*) and collect that part of the *zakat* (legal alms) which might be reserved for war. But it may be reasonably assumed that unlike the datus or even most sultans, the *ʿulama* were always in contact with other *ʿulama* in neighboring principalities and conceived of the wider interests of Islam, interests that went beyond the limited political interests of others. It now becomes clear that as long as the religious motive existed among the Muslim peoples of the Philippines, the *panditas* remained influential not only among the members of the royal families but among the common people as well.

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[38] Colin, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Footnote, p. 508. "Labay" is a Malay term referring to one who has some knowledge of Islam but still lacks enough of it to serve as *imam*.

[39] Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

It was the *ʿulama* of Sulu that vigorously objected to the admission of Christian missionaries during the reign of ʿAzim ud-Din I, and they were largely responsible for the difficulties of this Sultan who consequently left Jolo in 1748. It was also the *ʿulama* who unleashed the wave of *juramentados* in Sulu in 1877-1878 against Spanish soldiers and their native allies from the Philippines. Being the most educated segment, it was likewise the *ʿulama* who would argue with Spanish priests and missionaries only to adopt on occasion a taciturn or rigid position and refuse to argue any further. It is narrated that around 1645, the *panditas* of Maguindanao had come to a point in their relations with the zealous Jesuit Alejandro Lopez that they refused to argue with him further or even listen to him. Sultan Qudarat once intervened to ease the tension in a particular confrontation and stated that each person could be saved by his own beliefs, a view that accords with the specific teachings of Islam regarding salvation for Jews and Christians, thereby revealing the Sultan's sophistication on Islamic beliefs. The Jesuit objected to the Sultan's view and insisted on the principle that only Christians could be saved,[40] in effect, presenting an inflexible attitude that must have further alienated him from the *ʿulama*, and possibly contributing a reason behind his killing later on in 1655.

Pedro Murillo Velarde, the narrator of the above incident, interpreted the opinion of Sultan Qudarat as a diplomatic move calculated to please all parties. Evidently, he did not, as he was not expected to, realize that the Sultan's view represented the Islamic spirit regarding the People of the Book, or the Christians and Jews, who, according to the Qur'an, could also merit Heaven.[41] However, since Qur'anic prescriptions allow discussions on religious matters, the silence of the *ʿulama* should be explained.[42] What the Jesuit narrator failed to note but any Muslim would have known was the possibility that the refusal of the *ʿulama* to argue further could have been a shrewd political move on their part to force the Sultan to state his side; and this was expected to coincide with their side unless the Sultan was willing to align with the priest and thus alienate one of the pillars of his strength as well as take a presumably anti-Islamic position. The answer of the priest to an Islamic opinion of the Sultan, pushed the Sultan to the side of the *'ulama,* thus alienating him from the zealous priest for whom he previously had so much respect.

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[40] Pedro Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

[41] *Qur'an*, Sura II, verses 62 and 111-113; III, verses 113-115 and 199; V, verses 69; etc.

[42] *Qur'an*, Sura XVI, verse 125; XXIX, verse 46; etc.

The relations of the *'ulama* with the courts of Maguindanao and Sulu were intimate, for not only did the sultans appoint the highest religious functionaries, some of the sultans and their relatives were themselves *panditas.* Moreover, it was expected that the *'ulama* would support those institutions that were Islamic, including that of the sultanate. And the facts demonstrate that although the *'ulama* might not be too pleased with a particular sultan, they were staunch supporters of the political system of the sultanate. It is crucial to note at this point that the *'ulama* together with the sultan and royal datus were beneficiaries of the political and social system. This fact, however, erroneously led some Christian missionaries to assert that with the elimination of the sultans, datus, and *panditas,* the Muslims in the Philippines would be christianized and instantly transformed into docile subjects of the Spanish King. According to Juan Ricart, a Spanish priest, writing in 1892:

> Islam among such a barbarous and backward race as the Moros of Mindanao and Jolo has little importance and its function is no stronger than the interests of the panditas and the support which these give to the datus and sultans who are the only ones who insist in maintaining an order of things upon which lies their power and which authorizes their polygamy and control of slaves—vices opposed to our religion and laws. Destroying with sagacity and perseverance the influence of the panditas and the authority of the datus and sultans, it will not be long that the Moros will come to us *en masse* with the same docility as those of the other races of the Archipelago.[42]

The Spanish priest went on to write that the Muslims of the Philippines could be converted and that it was not Islam that was resisting Spanish colonialization but the *panditas* and those Muslim chiefs who feared losing authority over their lands and slaves. As an aside, he further added that had Legazpi listened to modern Spanish liberals in Manila, who were presumably in favor of religious toleration, Manila would (in 1892) have survived as a surrounded and isolated Muslim outpost like Jolo.[44]

It is evidently correct to assume that the datus and, for that matter, any political chief of any system would resist any change which would imperil their power and time-honored prerogatives. It would also be natural to expect sultans and datus to utilize any ideology to preserve their

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[43] "Informe sobre la reduccion de Mindanao por P. Juan Ricart, S.J." *Cartas de los P. P. de la Compania de la Mision de Filipinas,* Cuaderno X, pp. 596-597.

[44] *Ibid.,* p. 597.

interests intact. But what is problematical is whether or not the strength of Islam among the Muslims depended to such an extent on the *panditas* and datus that if these were eliminated all the Muslims would meekly embrace Christianity. Facts have demonstrated that although historically the relations of the *ʿulama* with the political leaders have been intimate, the *ʿulama* have survived the weakening of the political leaders. The fact that should not, and cannot, be disregarded was and still is the zeal and attachment of the *panditas* to the Faith. It would be prejudice to deny the evident disinterestedness of the majority of *panditas*. Actually, it is a strong Muslim community that produces or exemplifies a strong *ʿulama*. The *ʿulama* in turn can help to bring about a greater Islamic consciousness among the people.

A basic premise of the Jesuit Juan Ricart was that Islam among the Muslims in the Philippines was not the real Islam or rather, that Islam among them was superficial. This premise was shared by other missionaries. Just how these missionaries arrived at it with their obviously meager knowledge and understanding of Islam cannot at present be fully explained. It could, however, have been a generalization based on the reports of missionaries about peoples who had only been recently exposed to Islamic beliefs and rituals and not about the Maguindanaos, Sulus and Maranaos who had an older Islamic tradition. Or possibly, the missionaries failed to distinguish peoples still not fully emancipated from idolatry from the older Muslims. According to another missionary in Davao in 1894:

> In the religious instruction of the Moro, it had not been necessary to resort to things different from those we use with other infidels. Some people believe that Islam [in the Philippines] belongs to the same level as Christianity, and that it has a faith and a cult, with panditas for the latter and books for the former; but they [the Moros] do not know what the Qur'an says, why they are Muslims or are baptized as such, or why they do not eat pork.[45]

In 1891, Governor General Valeriano Weyler personally took command of the campaign to subjugate the whole of Mindanao. Part of his long range plans was the eventual conquest of the Maranao lake area. Happy about some of the successes of the General, another missionary in Mindanao wrote rhapsodically in 1892, in anticipation of the impending conquest of Marahui:

> Oh beneficial war, inexpensive and bloodless, yet what it can do to the Crescent by putting in it Christian towns which in time will send the Moros to the deuce! Oh, how in the sight of the Christian towns will the Qur'an of Muhammad fall into disuse; for, in these lands, it does not have

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[45] "Carta del P. Saturnino Urios al R. P. Juan Ricart," (Davao, 18 October 1894), *ibid.*, pp. 246-247.

> the letter or the spirit which it has in Constantinople, Africa, Arabia, and Higher and Lower Egypt! A day will come when this will become clear; and when the time for the fall of the Maranaos takes place, there will be nothing in it except for the good and conservation of our missions ....[46]

The belief that Islām was only superficial among all the Muslims of the Philippines could have led missionaries to assert that it was not true the Muslim in the Philippine South could not be converted. In the current literature of Europe, it was often emphasized that it was generally difficult to convert Muslims to Christianity; but if it could be demonstrated that the Muslims really wore their Islam thinly, then there would be no reason why effort on this matter should not be pursued. That Spanish missionaries should argue in this manner during the last decade of Spanish rule in the Philippines is significant in the light of the fact that a growing number of Spanish colonial authorities did not care about the conversion of the Muslims as long as they were transformed into loyal subjects of Spain. To the Spanish Jesuits, it was necessary to demonstrate to Spanish colonial officials that the Christianization of the Muslims was inextricably linked with their becoming loyal to the Spanish colonial government. In brief, to make the Moros docile enough to readily accept Spanish rule, it was deemed essential first of all to convert them to Catholicism. It was therefore to the interest of the Spanish colonial administration not to obstruct missionary activities but rather to support them. Thus to transform a Moro into an *indio,* a Moro must first leave Islam. Only in this manner, it was argued, would he be a better Spanish subject

A document showing the problem of how politics and religion were closely related in the minds of the missionaries as they attempted to convert the Muslims, is the "Memoria del R. P. Pablo Pastells." Written in the last few years of the Spanish rule in the Philippines, this "Memoria" is, in effect, a blueprint for the temporal and spiritual conquest of the Muslims in the Philippines. In it Pastells suggested the gradual reduction of the political and other powers of the sultans, datus, *sharifs* and *panditas* in such a way that they would all eventually become powerless, since they "constitute the principal obstacle impeding the rapid progress of that abject and degraded race in its march to civilization." Upon completion of a census, the Muslims were to be required to pay a little tribute, say one half *real,* to pay a fee everytime they wanted to travel, and to possess a *cedula personal* in acknowledgment of their vassalage to Spain. With the attainment of some progress, the tribute would be increased, a municipal government established among them under the management of *gobernadorcillos, tenientes, jueces, alguaciles* and *cuadrilleros*, and some elections held. With all these, the datu system would ultimately be abolished. Towns would be constructed with their plazas, tribunals, convents and churches but "not their abominable mosques." With the introduction of Catholic beliefs, the beliefs of the Muslims were to be exposed and discredited. There would be more organization and legislation to take care of their agricultural, industrial and commercial activities. A system of primary education would be established where the solid maxims of the Gospels would be taught. The Muslims would then, it was concluded, slowly become Christians.

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[46] "Carta del P. Saturnino Urios al R. P. Pablo Pastells," (Linabo, 31 July 1892), *ibid.,* p. 493.

Pastells then disclosed two possible alternative views. The first, which he denominated as "optimistic," propounded that in order to control Mindanao, it was necessary to tolerate or compromise with Islamic beliefs, rites, and everything related to Islam. Through this approach the sympathy of the Muslims would be gained, and it would be easier to govern them. The second view, called "pessimistic," maintained that it was impossible to convert people whose religion, being sensual, fostered vices. For this reason, these people would have to be exterminated. Pastells rejected both alternatives. The first alternative, he maintained, was bad. It was clearly developed from free thinking, which, he was careful to note, was the legitimate offspring of atheism. It would, moreover, succeed in strengthening the powers of the datus, sultans, *panditas*, and chiefs, and, therefore, also those beliefs which were contrary to those held by the Spaniards. Not only would these beliefs draw them further away from Spain but would, in effect, create a veritable state within a state. Besides, the Qur'an was anti-Spanish and was so personified in the Moros. And rhetorically, he asked: Can some form of conciliation between the altar of sacrifice and the mosques of Muhammad and between the Gospels and the Qur'an be ever achieved? Never! Thus the Jesuit rejected the first alternative.

Pastells also took a dim view with respect to the second alternative. He asked what right was there to exterminate a race that was in the Archipelago even before the arrival of the Spaniards? If indeed there were people foreign to this country, they were not the Moros but those who pushed the aboriginal natives to the mountains. These foreigners were the ancestors of the sultans, the datus, the *panditas*, and the *sharifs*. By inheritance and succession, their descendants now tyrannize the Moros. The real culprits are the Malay *sharifs* who were given great respect, who encouraged fanaticism and fostered anti-Spanish ideas.[47] Pastells' view in this connection was that Islam was a foreign import—thus forgetting that Muslims had already come to believe that Islam had become part of themselves.

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[47] "Memoria del R. P. Pablo Pastells," (May 15, 1892), Appendix, *ibid.*, Cuaderno IX, pp. 635-638.

Pastells' arguments against, and consequent rejection of, the two alternatives led him back to his original plan: the gradual elimination of the political and religious leaders of the Muslims and their gradual Christianization. In arriving at such a scheme, Pastells appears to have utilized a great deal of the data which came from the various Jesuit missions in various parts of Mindanao. What one of these missionaries wrote concerning the obstacles met in the conversion of the Philippine Muslims should, therefore, be both informative and interesting. Seven obstacles were given: The first was the pride of the Muslim leaders who have been used to governing, as well as the loyalty of their followers to them and to their religion. The second was that the Muslims have seen how the other natives of the Philippines were paying taxes and *cedulas personales* while they did not. The third and fourth obstacles were the religious hierarchy whose base of power was Islam and the *hajis* who presumably returned with more knowledge about the Faith. The fifth was the liberalism of the times and religious indifference among Spanish colonial officials. It was the idea of religious freedom which hampered the recognition of the necessity of conversion. The sixth were the Chinese who embraced Islam when they came to live with the Muslims or who married Muslim women and whose children did not grow up among the *indios* but among the Moros with whom they got their education. The last obstacle mentioned was that the Divine Message had not yet reached the Muslims.[48] However, this missionary priest-informant hopefully maintained that the Muslims could be converted.[49]

Spanish missionaries continually insisted that if the Muslims were converted, it would be easier to persuade them to become loyal subjects of Spain. Clearly, this was a bid for government support for their missionary work. Moreover, this might also be in reference to the other native inhabitants of the Philippines who were easily persuaded to submit to Spanish domination. According to another Jesuit report:

> It is an error to believe that the Moros of Mindanao cannot be converted. And if someone persists in this belief, he must confess that they are unconquerable; because, note carefully, they will become loyal subjects of Spain only upon divesting themselves of their Moro habits and becoming Christians.[50]

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[48] "Carta del P. Pablo Cavalleria al R. P. Pio Pi, Superior de Zamboanga," (December 8, 1824), *ibid.*, Cuaderno X, pp. 95-96.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 97.

[50] "Carta del P. Pio Pi al R. P. Juan Ricart, Superior de la Mision," (November 20, 1894), *ibid.*, p. 93.

Actually in the early part of the seventeenth century, with the establishment of a Spanish fort at Zamboanga, the Spanish missionaries were able to make some conversions among the sea-faring peoples in the vicinity. These were the people called "Lutaos" by the Spaniards. Many of the converts left Christianity the moment the fort of Zamboanga was abandoned by the Spaniards in 1663 on account of Koxinga's threat on Luzon. It is, however, cause for wonder if those converted Lutaos were really sophisticated Muslims or people who had just started to adopt some of the cultural traits of their Islamized neighbors in Sulu and Maguindanao. Spanish conversions in the north of Mindanao were certainly made among pagan peoples, although some of them continued to pay tribute to either the Maguindanao or Maranao sultans and datus. There were also some conversions made among Muslims in Davao in the last two decades of Spanish rule in the Philippines, but it is to be recalled that the Muslims around Davao never developed a centralized political authority like their Muslim neighbors and partially for this reason, their Islamic institutions were relatively weak. Some of their datus and *panditas* had to come from Sulu. However, in the Sulu Archipelago, in the Maguindanao and Maranao areas as well as in the localities inhabited by the Iranuns, the general conclusion can be stated that the Christian missionaries failed there.

Their failure can be explained in numerous ways. First of all, the missionaries would normally be able to enter only those areas where Spanish military power had penetrated. Where Islam was firmly entrenched, Spanish military control was intended to be permanent in nature, but this plan was pursued with relative success only after the middle of the nineteenth century. Actually, attempts at conversion could only be done following the conquest of an area. The difficulty of conquest was posed by the sultanates which represented fairly centralized and cohesive political systems. But the point to be emphasized here is that the leaders and their followers looked at the Spaniards as threats to their independence and way of life. And what was especially threatened in their way of life was their religion, Islam. It was patriotism as well as the defense of Islam that made the Muslims resist bitterly all attempts to conquer them. In this struggle, Islam became transformed into an ideological force which rationalized resistance while at the same time infusing patriotism with a religious sentiment. Consequently, this generated the holy war (*jihad*) against the enemies threatening their Faith. After a few centuries of struggle, the elements of patriotism and Islam became so intimately intertwined that they became virtually indistinguishable from one another. What Spaniards missed in their reflections on the so-called "Moro Wars" was that Islam provided the elements which formed a sort of identity and nationalism among the Muslims.

Confronted by superior forces, beset by Spanish intrigues, and cut off from much of their traditional commercial enterprises by European imperialism in Malaysia by the end of the nineteenth century, it became clear to the sultanates that their days of political independence were numbered. Obviously then what led them to make treaties with the Spaniards and to accept the Spanish presence in some of their territories, was the opinion that times had changed. Besides, nineteenth century Spanish colonial officials were careful to point out that the Muslims would be free to keep their religion. To be sure, the Muslim sultanates had the physical resources as well as the determination to prolong the "Moro Wars," but the belief that their religion and way of life could still be maintained even if Spaniards occupied part of their lands, moderated their resistance to superior military forces.

There is some truth in the contention of Spanish missionaries that the *panditas* had fanned the flames of Islam in the hearts of the faithful, but they erred in the belief that the *ʿulama* was a sort of priesthood that closely resembled their own religious hierarchy. In so far as a *pandita* is a learned man, it is an ideal of Islam to have every Muslim become one. However, concerning the role to lead in the performance of the rituals and to officiate at weddings and funerals, among other functions, the *ʿulama* can be, theoretically speaking, dispensed with, since any qualified Muslim can perform such functions. This is not to deny the fact that specialization in Islamic learning have remained in the hands of a few. Thus, the *ʿulama* has played an important part in the religious education of Muslims. The *panditas* of Sulu and Mindanao usually were people who, by sheer merit and regardless of family connections, have come to be recognized as knowing more of Islam than others. They were simply the people who had kept up with their studies. Their ranks would normally be increased by *hajis* who, having gained the acquaintance of other learned men, had acquired some knowledge themselves. In the long run, the strength of an *ʿulama* derives from the religiosity of the majority of the people. It is likewise important to note that *panditas* from other lands have come simply as visitors or upon invitation. After their superior knowledge has been recognized, these people open a *madrasah* or even serve as judges.

Because of the sense of community of Muslims, their universal respect for learned men, and the association of the Prophet with the Arab race and language which is that of the Qur'an, the coming of Arabs to Muslim lands in the Philippines have often elicited an outburst of religious feeling. It is no wonder then that Spanish colonial and ecclesiastical authorities were not so happy about the arrival of Arabs and, so for that matter, other Muslim foreigners to Philippine shores. It is a matter of record that in 1897, the Spanish Governor of Jolo rejected the plea of an

Arab in Sulu to go to Mindanao, adding that on account of their religion, the Arabs were pampered by the Muslims in the Philippines. United States' policy on this detail during the early years of the American occupation of the Muslim lands was not radically different from that of Spain.

Nor can the effect of the frequent visits of *panditas* from other Malaysian lands be underestimated. This important fact might explain why the school of jurisprudence (*madhhab*) which predominates in the Philippines as in Indonesia, is that of the Imam Shafi'i. *Panditas* would normally be supported in their teaching activities by the families of the better-off Muslims who would like their children to learn the fundamentals of the Faith. Some *panditas* usually return home after a few years.

It can be established that in the last few years of Spanish rule in the Philippines the fundamental tenets of Islam were generally observed in the sultanates. It has been estimated that from two to three hundred Muslims used to leave Jolo yearly for the *hajj*. Religious festivals like the *ʿId ul-Fitr* and the *Maulid* (Birthday of the Prophet) were publicly celebrated.[51] But the degree of Islamization among the sultanates is not judged merely by the performance of the rituals and the general belief in the dogmas of Islam. Another criterion is how much of the essentials of Islamic law, the *Sharīʿah*, have influenced the political and social systems of the Muslims. Admittedly, this field of inquiry requires more intensive and extensive investigation. Of the four orthodox schools of jurisprudence, it is that of Shafiʿi that tends to compromise less with the local customary law (*ʿadat*). It is expected that a gap would open up between Islamic law and the customary laws of the Sulus, Samals, Maguindanaos, Maranaos, and the others.[52] In general, it can be maintained that the sultans and the *panditas* have always tried to have the laws of the realm approximate the *Sharīʿah*. It appears however that only very pious and strong sultans were able to enforce the *hadd* laws during their reign. On other occasions, the *ʿadat* tended to moderate what appeared to be some of the harsh laws of the *Sharīʿah*. The *Luwaran* of the Maguindanaos is an example of the degree of penetration of Islamic Law in the native legal system.[53] Although some provisions clearly represent *ʿadat*, there is a conscious attempt to approximate principles of the *Sharīʿah* or, at the very least, to accommodate as much of it as was feasible. It can be assumed that the more learned or orthodox the *panditas* were, the more weight they would give to the *Sharīʿah*, if and when it would be in conflict with the *ʿadat*. In the long run, the applicability of the elements of the *Sharīʿah* would be a function of the piety and power of political leaders and the vigilance and zeal of the *panditas*.

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[51] Cf., for example with the 1883 information given by Francisco Javier de Moya, *Monografia Politico-Militar de Mindanao* (Madrid: 1895), p. 59 and p. 62.

[52] S. G. Vesey-Fitzgerald, "Nature and Sources of the Shariʿa," *Law in the Middle East* (Washington D.C.: 1955), pp. 109-110.

[53] Saleeby, *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion*, pp. 64-89.

In Sulu, the sultanate as an institution survived all efforts of the Spaniards to destroy it. The Maguindanao sultanate saw a great part of its territories fall into the hands of the invaders. The minor sultanates of the Maranao areas maintained their relative independence. The American occupation was to serve as another test of political and religious institutions. Yet with the relative decline of the political power of their traditional chiefs, the Muslim community in the Philippine South, under an atmosphere of a relatively greater religious freedom, started to devise means to maintain and preserve their religious way of life. There was no nearby or, for that matter, any existing Muslim power that could lend them any material help, although spiritual links with neighboring Muslim states, however slight, were maintained. *Hajis* continued to arrive in slightly greater numbers, Malaysian teachers came in a desultory manner, and an occasional Arab or Muslim Indian merchant continued to appear. Thus, the Muslim sense of belonging to a wider community of Islam persisted. As a significant number of *khutbahs* which have survived in Zamboanga attest, even while the Ottoman Empire was crumbling and there were internal political dissensions in Turkey just before the First World War, prayers were held in Zamboanga for the khalif in Istanbul—a virtual affirmation of the universal community of Islam of which the Muslims in the Philippines were an integral part.

IV

The Moro Wars
The First Four Stages (1565-1663)

The numerous Spanish expeditions to Muslim lands in the Philippines, the frequent Muslim raids on territories already held by the Spaniards, and the naval battles that took place between Spaniards and Muslims from about the time of Legazpi's coming in 1565 to the last days of Spanish rule in the Philippines have been generally lumped together by some historians under the heading "Moro Wars." Spanish historians, notably Vicente Barrantes and Jose Montero y Vidal, have called these wars "*guerras piraticas,*" on the premise that the Spaniards waged war on the Muslims in the Philippines and Brunei to eliminate or, at least, minimize the piratical incursions of Muslims into Spanish-held territories. A few Spanish military historians, while not entirely disregarding Spanish aims at Christian proselytising, took it for granted that Spanish expeditions were launched mainly to do away with Muslim depredations on Spanish-held territories, incursions which were however considered "piratical."

Before the coming of the Europeans, there was some piracy in the Malaysian world. Muslim traders in the area between the Strait of Malacca and the Strait of Berhata were vulnerable to attacks from the Orang Selat. Another dangerous area was the Makassar Strait where some sea-faring peoples were always on the alert for booty from peaceful traders. In general, it can be reasonably presumed that the sultans and other minor chiefs in the area did not look at such piracy with favor, for the simple reason that they were themselves traders. At least, peaceful trade was to their advantage on account of the port taxes collected.

At the time of the coming of Europeans, trade between the different islands of Malaysia was a going concern. When the Portuguese arrived at the beginning of the sixteenth century, they attempted to monopolize the spice trade in the area. Even as they hindered the internal Asian trade as well as the entry of Arab and Persian traders, they tried to capture all non-Portuguese vessels especially those of the Muslims. Although discouraging to West Asian traders, these piratical acts of the Portuguese nevertheless failed to stop the local trade among the Malaysians themselves, which in fact actually appeared to have increased. The Malaysians generally found it very difficult to capture Portuguese vessels because of their heavier tonnage and superior fire power. It was thus not easy to retaliate against the Portuguese. But such retaliations against the Portuguese became part of the state policy of some Malaysian principalities. There was nothing piratical about this. It was purely defensive.

There is enough evidence to prove that during the early part of the seventeenth century, Sulu marauders, on their own initiative and without the sanction of their sultans, attacked villages in Borneo to plunder them and carry away captives for sale to other Muslim lands. Such private enterprises carried out in the territories controlled by other Muslims were clearly undertaken for profit. But to view Muslim expeditions to lands held by Spaniards as purely piratical and to interpret all Spanish expeditions as punitive actions directed at Muslim pirates, is to misrepresent the long series of so-called Moro Wars. The raids carried out by private groups must be distinguished from those authorized by sultans as a matter of state policy with its concommitant political motivations and implications. In the light of new perspectives, it can be shown that this long-drawn conflict at different times and at different places represented at least six distinct phases with shifting motives and different political results. As it were, each phase represented a function of different historical forces. Each phase would consequently evince a political dimension of its own.

The first phase of the conflict between the Spaniards and the Muslims in the Philippine Archipelago began around the time of Legazpi's arrival and ended with the Spanish invasions of Brunei in 1578 and 1581. In this phase, the Spaniards were able to check the incŕeasing Bornean political influence and commercial activities in Luzon and the Visayas by capturing the Bornean settlement in Manila in 1571 and destroying Muslim fortified outposts in Mindoro the previous year.[1] To ensure further their hold on conquered territories, it became expedient for the Spaniards to interfere in the Brunei dynastic quarrels of 1578. It was apparently hoped that by having a friendly or tributary Brunei, the Spanish hold on its recently acquired territories which had previously been within the Brunei sphere of influence, would remain unmolested, if not legitimized.

The first encounter between the fleet of Legazpi and Muslims took place in March 1565. The Spaniards captured a Bornean trading vessel in the vicinity of Bohol after a battle where about twenty Borneans were killed as against one Spaniard.[2] Though a very minor naval engagement, this incident was a preview of the commercial rivalry between the Spaniards and Borneans in Philippine waters. It served notice to the Bor-

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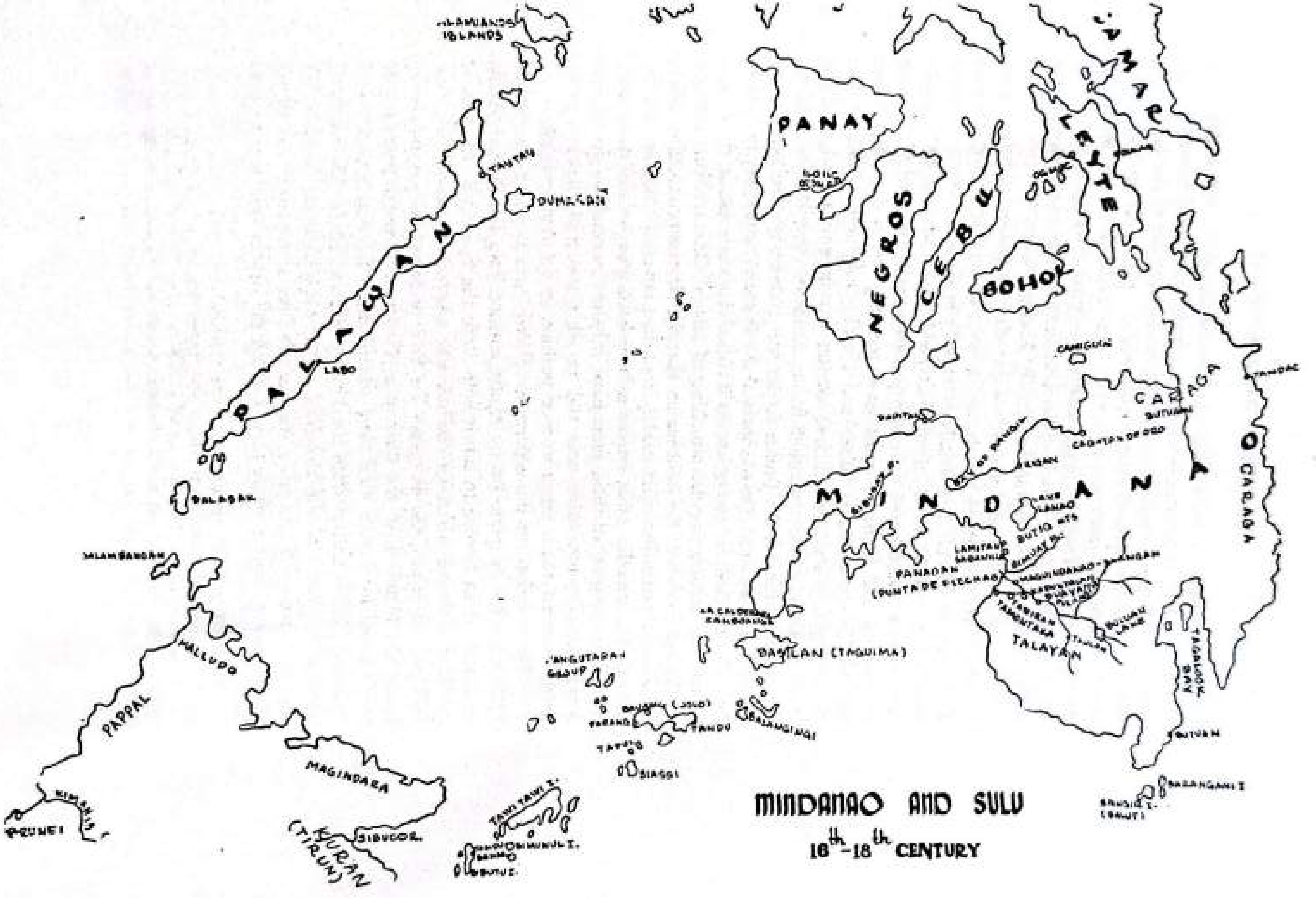
[1] Cf. "Conquest of Luzon," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 142-147.

[2] "Relation by Legazpi," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 206-207.


CALAMIANES ISLANDS
TAYTAY
DUMALCAN
PALAWAN
LABO
BALABAK
BALAMBANGAN
PAPPAL
MALLUDO
MAGINDARA
SIBUCOR
KURAN (TIRUN)
KIMANIS
BRUNEI
TAWI TAWI I.
SIMUNUL I.
BONGAO
SIBUTU I.
TANGUTARAN GROUP
JOLO (JOLO)
PARANG
TANDU
TAPUL
SIASSI
LA CALDERA
ZAMBOANGA
BASILAN (TAGUIMA)
BALANGINGI
PANAY
ILOILO
NEGROS
CEBU
BOHOL
LEYTE
SAMAR
CAMIGUIN
DAPITAN
SIBUGAY R.
BAY OF PANGUIL
ILIGAN
CAGAYAN DE ORO
BUTUAN
CARAGA
TANDAG
MINDANAO
LAKE LANAO
BUTIG MTS
SIMUAY R.
LAMITAN
SABANILLA
PANABAN
(PUNTA DE FLECHAS)
MAGUINDANAO
TAMONTAKA
TALAYAN
BULUAN LAKE
TAGALOOK BAY
SARANGANI I.
SANGIL I.
(BALUT)

MINDANAO AND SULU
16th-18th CENTURY

neans of a new intrusive factor in their activities in the Philippines. Again, in 1569, nine Spanish vessels successfully engaged twenty vessels manned by Borneans and Sulus in Visayan waters. Four of the latter with their crews were captured by the Spaniards and the spoils divided among the Spaniards and their native allies.[3] That these Borneans and Sulus were pirates, as Montero y Vidal unqualifiedly took for granted, is open to question since those people could have been traders like the occupants of the Bornean vessel captured earlier by Legazpi's fleet.

As long as Brunei remained an untested sea power with its Sultan brooding over the loss of Manila, and as long as the disgruntled Bornean aristocracy in Manila and Tondo were still in close contact with their relatives at Brunei, the Spaniards had good reason to fear what might have appeared to them as their very precarious position. Although based on rumors, the Spaniards must have seriously taken the report that around 1574 the Brunei Sultan had actually prepared a fleet of one hundred galleys and one hundred smaller vessels with a total of about seven thousand or more warriors for an attack on Manila. Furthermore, the report continued, the Brunei Sultan was fomenting rebellion against the Spaniards by writing to members of the Bornean aristocracy in Manila and offering them his protection. As if these were not enough, the Brunei Sultan was encouraging the preaching of Islam.[4] Of immediate concern to the Spaniards was the information that the Borneans and their allies, the Sulus, continued to exact tribute from the natives of Mindoro and the Calamianes, something that seemed to have been going on for quite some time. In retrospect, all these must have led the Spaniards to decide that it was necessary to remove, once and for all, a potential source of problems, if not an actual threat to their position in the Archipelago.

The occasion for this enterprise offered itself in the early part of 1578 when the Pangiran Buong Manis, entitled Pangiran Sri Lela, came to Manila from Borneo to solicit help from the Spaniards. He wanted the Brunei throne which he claimed was usurped by his brother, Seif ur-Rijal.[5] In return, the Pangiran Sri Lela promised to pay tribute to Spain. On March 4, of the same year, Governor General Francisco de Sande sailed for Brunei with forty vessels and a force of four hundred Spaniards, 1,500 natives from the Philippines, and about three hundred Bornean followers of the Pangiran. After navigating for about thirty days and covering a few miles, the Spanish fleet arrived near the mouth of the river of Brunei where they defeated the Brunei fleet sent to meet them. Sultan Seif ur-Rijal, with his aged father Sultan 'Abdul Kahar, soon retired to the interior of Brunei where they held court.

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[3] Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 136-137.

[4] "Account of Expeditions," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 151.

[5] The Pangiran Sri Lela in Spanish sources is called "Sirela" and a few times "Maelela." For details about him in Brunei sources see "History of the Sultans of Bruni," *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

The letter of the Spanish Governor to the Brunei Sultan before the commencement of hostilities is important, for it reveals just what the Spaniards feared of the Borneans. Here, Sande charged the Brunei Sultan with inciting the natives to revolt against Spanish rule in the Philippines, and with sending spies to Cebu and other islands. He likewise accused the Sultan of intimidating or detaining native traders from the Philippines, who were subjects of the Spanish King. He also made the charge that the Sultan had even withheld properties belonging to members of the old aristocracy of Manila, who had since become Spanish subjects and were, therefore, presumably under the protection of Spanish authorities. He told the Brunei Sultan to stop sending Muslim preachers to any part of the Philippines and even to portions of his domains in the island of Borneo. More significantly, he likewise told the Sultan to forbid Borneans from collecting tribute from natives of Spanish-held territories in the Philippines, for this was the sole right of the Spanish King as their sovereign.[6]

On April 20, 1578, after the Spanish naval victory, the subsequent capture of Brunei, the capital of the Sultanate, and the flight of Seif ur-Rijal, Governor Sande declared Brunei a vassal state of Spain. The victory netted the Spaniards many war vessels and booty.

With the return to power of Sultan Seif ur-Rijal, the Spaniards undertook another expedition to Brunei in 1581. The success of this second expedition was of little consequence, since not long after, the Spanish protege, the Pangiran Sri Lela, was killed by loyal relatives of Seif ur-Rijal. Plans to start a permanent colony in Brunei or somewhere else on the island of Borneo never materialized. Thus, from 1581 onwards, the Spaniards did not exercise any significant political influence over Brunei.

The significance of the Borneo expedition lies in the assumptions which formed the basis for which the expedition was undertaken. One of these was the belief that once Brunei had been demobilized or neutralized, it would be easier to reduce its ally Sulu into a tributary state to pacify the Maguindanao area, and require its paramount chiefs to pay tribute and, finally, rather than allow them to preach Islam, to make them expect Christian missionaries. The chiefs were to be persuaded, too, not to indulge in "stealing" from, or enslaving, defenseless people.

The second phase of the conflict between the Spaniards and the Muslims extends from the first Spanish attempts in 1578 to make vassals of the chiefs of Sulu and Maguindanao to the failure of the Spaniards to establish a permanent colony in Maguindanao in 1596 and 1597. A significant note about this stage was the plan for the formation of a colony in Maguindanao and its intimate relation with Spanish attempts to conquer the Moluccas.

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[6] For the entire text of the letter of Governor Sande, see "Account of Expeditions," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 152-155.

In June 1578, Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa, one of the captains who participated in the first Brunei expedition, arrived in Jolo and exacted tribute from the Sulu Sultan in accordance with instructions of Governor Sande. This Sultan, who was very likely the Pangiran Buddiman of the Sulu Genealogy, was a brother-in-law of the Brunei Sultan Seif ur-Rijal. According to Sande, the Sulu ruler whom he identified as Rajah Ilo (or Iro), had a home in Brunei and actually took part in the naval battle at the mouth of the Brunei river but fled on account of Spanish success.[7] Rajah Ilo who was a pangiran from Brunei resisted the Spanish forces in Jolo, but unable to reach his *cotta* in time to avoid capture, he decided to pay tribute for himself and his vassals consisting of twelve pearls and some gold. It is important to note at this point that the Sulu ruler claimed dominion over the islands of Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, Taguima (Basilan), and two places in the island of Mindanao, namely, Zamboanga and Cavite.[8] From Jolo, Captain Esteban de Figueroa went to the Pulangi River in Mindanao. But because of insufficient provisions and the strong river currents, the Captain was not able to explore or to establish contacts with the paramount chief of the river.[9]

The next year, the Governor instructed Captain Gabriel de Rivera to establish contact with the Maguindanao chiefs. Moreover, he ordered the Captain to make the Muslims pay tribute, to induce them not to accept Muslim preachers, to inform them that the Brunei mosque had been burned, to gather information about their products, like cinnamon, and to find out whether they had contacts with the Moluccas. This expedition arrived at the Pulangi on March 13, 1579, but failed to establish direct contact with Datu Dimansankay of Maguindanao. Actually, as the expedition went deeper inland, the Sultan progressively retired to the interior in a studied refusal to have anything to do with the Spaniards. Meanwhile, some information about the population of the settlements along the river was taken from friendly datus. But since no contact was made with Dimansankay, the expedition retired to the small port of Cavite in the western part of Mindanao. By May, the expedition was back in Cebu from where it was sent. Except for some contacts with friendly datus in Maguindanao and the acceptance of tribute from a few Basilan datus, this expedition accomplished little. It even failed to reestablish contacts with Rajah Ilo of Sulu who, with about three hundred of his followers, had retired to Borneo in order to escape a supposedly severe famine in Jolo.

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[7] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

In 1587, a conspiracy led by Tondo chieftains, some of whom were related to the Bornean Sultan, was planned. One of the leaders, Magat Salamat, was chosen to go to the Calamianes to seek the help of the Sultan. But his mission was cut short when he himself was arrested in the Calamianes shortly after the plot was revealed to the Spanish authorities by a native Christian. The conspirators were meted various punishments. The failure of the conspiracy notwithstanding, the fact remains that contacts with Borneo and Sulu were attempted. This is significant, for it reveals not only the consciousness of a group facing a common enemy but also that of kinship and racial ties. It is likewise significant that Seif ur-Rijal, the old enemy of the Spaniards, was back on the throne of Brunei at this precise time. It is however worth pondering how much help Brunei could have given the conspirators after the Spaniards had captured its best ships and artillery in the 1578 expedition. Incidentally, part of these spoils were used by the Spaniards in their expeditions to Sulu and Maguindanao in 1578 and 1579.

In 1591, the Spanish government in Manila decided to colonize Maguindanao. For the purpose, an agreement was entered into with Captain Esteban Rodriguez de Figueroa whereby the latter was to pacify the island of Mindanao and establish a colony in the area of the Pulangi River at his own expense. In return for some material benefits, the Captain was to be designated governor of the island for life, a position to be inherited by a son or heir.

From the contract, one may discern the reasons or motives behind the colonization of Mindanao, more specifically the Maguindanao area. It described Mindanao to be fertile and rich in natural resources. It mentioned the Maguindanao ruler as one who had blasphemed objects of worship, which were sacred to the Christians, who permitted Bornean preachers in his capital as well as Ternatans with knowledge of warfare, and who kept on forcibly collecting tribute from natives who were vassals of the Spanish King. It also stated the assumption that with the pacification of Mindanao, it would be easier to exact obedience from the kingdoms of Brunei, Sulu, and Java.[10]

On April 1, 1596, the Captain left for Mindanao with fifty vessels of different sizes, 214 Spaniards and 1,500 native allies. In about three weeks, the fleet reached the mouth of the Pulangi. Once again, the Maguindanao ruler retired to the interior, with the newly designated governor trying hard to catch up with him. At Buayan, seat of government of the Buayan Rajah Sirungan, the Governor was struck on the head with a campilan by a relative of the local ruler. He remained alive for a few hours, dying on April 25, five days after he landed in Maguindanao.[11]

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[10] "Articles of Contract for the Conquest of Mindanao," *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 73-77.

However, the Spaniards succeeded in establishing a fort in Tampakan, somewhere between the settlements of Maguindanao and Buayan. Juan de Xara, the master-of-camp, was chosen to take over the command. But the situation of the Spaniards became so precarious that the Spanish government decided to assume direct responsibility for the management of the whole affair. Juan Ronquillo was sent to Mindanao in February 1597 to consolidate whatever gains had been made and, if possible, to carry on the colonization scheme started by the late Figueroa. By that time, Datu Dimansankay had died and Datu Buisan, a younger brother, had assumed the position of Maguindanao chief. A son of Dimansankay was designated as the heir apparent to the chieftainship of both Maguindanao and Buayan, and he was known as the Rajah Muda. Rajah Sirungan of Buayan and allied datus tried to dislodge the Spanish forces in Tampakan. Datu Buisan went to Ternate to get help. A Ternatan fleet with eight hundred warriors came under the command of Katchil Baba, an uncle of the Sultan of Ternate. They were able to build a *cotta* close to Tampakan, but the Spaniards attacked and destroyed it in November. In this battle many brave chiefs from Ternate, including the uncle of the Sultan, were killed. The Spaniards were impressed by the bravery and "gallant determination" of the Ternatans who, although armed only with shields and campilans, fought the Spaniards who were equipped with firearms. The Muslim attempt to capture the Spanish fort at Tampakan thus ended in failure.

Meanwhile, in order to seal an alliance with the Ternatans, Datu Buisan tried to arrange a marriage between the Rajah Muda and a sister of Sultan Said Din Berkat of Ternate. The Spaniards, trying to forestall such an alliance which was aimed at them, proposed that the Rajah Muda marry instead the sister of the Datu in Tampakan who had already accepted Spanish sovereignty. On account of the objections of the uncles of the Rajah Muda and that of the Rajah of Buayan, nothing came of this Spanish venture into the marriage affairs of Muslim chiefs.

On account of difficulties in communications, inadequate supplies and losses, Ronquillo asked that he be allowed to abandon the Spanish fort and settlement in the Pulangi in spite of victories in battles. He proposed instead that another fort be built and a garrison be maintained in La Caldera, a few miles from Zamboanga. Consequently, the Spanish fort at Tampakan was destroyed and abandoned, and a fort was erected in La Caldera. For some time, on account of its strategic position, it was used to intimidate the Muslims. But eventually it had to be abandoned, too.

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[11] For details of Figueroa's ill-fated venture, see "Morga to Felipe II," *ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 263-264; and Combes, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

The Ternatans in Maguindanao assumed a vital role in the resistance of the Muslims against attempts to colonize and Christianize them. The material aid which the Ternatans gave was of such a magnitude that early seventeenth century Dutch writers were erroneously led to believe that for some time Ternate exercised political control over the Maguindanaos and Buayanens. Actually, it was in the interest of the Ternatans to see to it that Maguindanao was not conquered and then used as a base for the conquest of the entire Moluccas. It will be recalled that before the Ternatan aid in 1597, there had been at least three Spanish attempts to conquer the Moluccas; namely, 1582, 1585, and 1593. The first two which saw some fighting failed because of fierce Ternatan resistance as well as some help given by European rivals of the Spaniards. The third expedition did not even reach the Moluccas on account of a mutiny of Chinese rowers who killed some of the Spaniards, including Governor General Gomez Perez Dasmariñas. The conquest of Mindanao was vital to the realization of Spanish objectives in the Moluccas. This was revealed by Dr. Antonio de Morga, a royal official in Manila. In a letter on July 6, 1596, to the Spanish King he said that the pacification of Mindanao was essential for "the conquest of Maluco and other countries."[12] A strong settlement and fortress in Maguindanao could serve as a base for the Spaniards from where they could extend their way over neighboring countries, including the Moluccas, while a strong and unfriendly and independent Muslim power like that of Maguindanao or Buayan could serve not only to endanger Spanish communications with the Moluccas but even the Spanish flank in the area. Moreover, an alliance between Maguindanao, Buayan, and Ternate besides serving as an obstacle to Spanish imperial ambitions in the area, represented an alliance that could further stimulate Islamic consciousness among their peoples. All these may have been in the mind of Juan de Ronquillo when, in his report to Governor General Francisco Tello, he wrote that it was necessary for Spanish interests that the Maguindanaos "break the peace and confederation made with the people of Terrenate, and must not admit the latter into their country."[13] Possibly, too, the Spaniards feared Dutch designs on Mindanao. Certainly, they could not allow a Dutch foothold in the Moluccas which might endanger their position in the Philippines. However, not to be entirely disregarded were Spanish aims to exploit the natural resources of Mindanao and convert the Muslims, as well as the natives paying tribute to the Muslims, into Christianity.

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[12] "Morga to Felipe II," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. IX. p. 265.

[13] "Pacification of Mindanao," *ibid.*, p. 287.

Spanish attempts to exact tribute from the Muslims, their establishment of fortified positions in Muslim lands like those in Tampakan and La Caldera from which strong points they were able to launch punitive expeditions, and their declarations of intention to carry out Christianization, all convinced different Muslim principalities that their independence as well as their custom of exacting tribute from other natives in the Philippines were in danger of being lost altogether. As Ronquillo himself noted, the Muslim chiefs, unlike those in Luzon, were used to "power and sovereignty," with some of them collecting as much as five or six thousand tributes.[14] Ronquillo's return to Manila and the abandonment of attempts to establish colonies in the Pulangi seemed, nevertheless, to have been accompanied by the feeling that the Muslims in the Philippine South had been chastened enough and so weakened that they could no longer challenge the Spaniards again. Actually, after his departure, in the face of a common danger, the Muslims pooled their resources not only for their defense but also for an offensive against Spanish-held settlements in other parts of the Philippines.

The third stage of the conflict between Spaniards and Muslims began in a Muslim offensive against the Spanish presence in the Philippines and ended in a Spanish counter-offensive. At this stage, the significant fact is that the Maguindanaos under Buisan actually tried to compete with the Spaniards over the collection of tribute in the Visayas. Besides, the Spaniards exerted vigorous efforts to consolidate their position in the Archipelago and sent retaliatory expeditions to weaken the Muslims in their home base. An important factor at this stage was the presence in neighboring areas of the Dutch, rivals of the Spaniards in commerce and religion. This phase begins in 1599 with the Maguindanao and Buayan raids on the Visayas and ends with the success of the Spaniards in establishing a strong fortress at Zamboanga in 1635.

In 1597, the Spaniards withdrew their garrison from the strategic port of La Caldera thereafter enabling the Maguindanaos to easily pass through the narrow channel between that port and the island of Basilan. It was from La Caldera that Captain Joan Pacho had set forth with sixty Spaniards on a punitive expedition to Jolo. Ambushed by the Sulus, he and eighteen others perished. It was also from La Caldera that the Spaniards collected tribute from Basilan, to the chagrin of the Sulu ruler who considered the island his preserve.

In 1599, Datu Salikula (Sali) of Maguindanao and Datu Sirungan, the Rajah of Buayan, with fifty sails and about 3,000 warriors and rowers attacked coastal towns in Panay, Negros, and Cebu, carrying back with them 800 captive Visayans. The next year, a similar feat was repeated by Datu Salikula. Although repulsed in Iloilo, he was still able to bring home another 800 captives. In 1602, a fleet consisting of about 145 war vessels was assembled by the Muslims. Consisting of fifty boats from Ternate, Sangil, and Tagolanda, sixty from Maguindanao, and thirty-five from Basilan, it was under the joint command of Datu Buisan, the Rajah Muda of Maguindanao and Rajah Sirungan. The Spaniards who managed to get advance information about the gathering of this fleet, anticipated that the raid would take place, as it usually did, in the Visayas. But unexpectedly, the fleet split into two: the one led by the Buayan Rajah and the Rajah Muda sailed to the Calamianes, the other, led by Buisan, attacked Mindoro and few coastal towns in southern Luzon, like Balayan. The first group was able to net about 700 captives, while the fleet under Buisan must have netted about the same number, including clergymen.[15] A historian noted that the first group would have been able to gather more captives were it not for the fact that the so-called "Camucones," the professional pirates stationed in the Kuran area on the northeastern coast of Borneo, who joined the raids in order to pick up booty for themselves, disrupted the methodical procedures of the fleet.[16] It is important to note at this point that the Muslim raids at this time were personally led by their highest political leaders.

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[14] *Ibid.*, p. 289.

To counteract these devastating raids, Spanish authorities in Manila sent an expedition to Sulu in February 1602. Led by Juan Gallinato, about 200 Spaniards and an equal number of native allies attacked the settlement of Jolo. After a fierce resistance, the Sulus retired to their fortified positions on a nearby hill. The Spaniards built a temporary fort in the area while laying seige to the fortified positions of the Sulus. With no success in sight after three months and with reinforcements and provisions running low, the expedition retired to Panay but not before it had destroyed a few settlements, plantations, and properties of the Sulus. Actually, although this expedition failed to capture the Sulu Sultan, it did prevent the Sulus from joining a fleet of Maguindanaos and Sangils who had planned to attack the Visayas. Possibly, it even prevented the raid from taking place. Gallinato did not find time to go after this fleet. Another task awaited him. In January 1603, with five war vessels, he left for the Moluccas to help the Portuguese capture Ternate. But the stubborn resistance of the Ternatans helped along by their Dutch allies in the end caused the Spanish-Portuguese forces to lift their siege. Gallinato returned to Manila in July 1603.

With Sulu delivered of the latest punitive expedition against it, Buisan was freed from a promise to defend it if attacked. Reinforced by his allies from Sangil and Ternate, Buisan was able to muster another fleet. On October 29, 1603, with more than fifty war vessels and about a thousand men, he attacked the town of Dulag in Leyte. He burned the church and the town, took a few hundred captives and amassed a large booty. After leaving word that he wanted to talk with the datus of Leyte upon his return to Dulag in a week's time, he sailed away to destroy other nearby ports and put their churches to the torch. Then he returned to Dulag, and the following then happened:

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[15] H. de la Costa, "A Spanish Jesuit Among the Magindanaus," *op. cit.,* pp. 78-80.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 79.

> The Leyte datus were waiting for him. He took their gold and bells and released to them whom they would. Then he opened his mind to them. It was not so much for the ransom, he said, that he had sent for them, but to ask them to consider well what advantage they derived from being tributary to the Spaniard. Has the Spaniard been able to protect them? Had he been able to protect the people of Panay, Mindoro and Balayan? But if they allied themselves to the Maguindanaus, they would have him, Bwisan, for their friend, and not what he was now, much to his regret, their foe. Let them further consider how easy it would be for them to throw off the Spanish yoke with the help of the Maguindanaus. The Spaniards, after all, were only a handful, nor were they as invincible as they made themselves out to be. Let the people of Leyte be resolute; let them prepare to rise as one man. The following year he, Bwisan, would come with a great armada and together they would sweep the island clear of Spaniards.
>
> The datus, many of whom were disaffected for a number of reasons, thought that there was much wisdom in this speech. They sat down with Bwisan and entered into a blood compact with him. They slashed their wrists and let the blood drip into a bowl of brandy. Then they drank their mingled blood from the common bowl, and so became brothers. This done, Bwisan turned the prows of his fleet for home.[17]

What is of great significance about this blood pact was its implications. Despite the pre-Islamic and pre-Christian character of this ceremonial, the Muslims and the Christianized natives participated apparently without hesitation in this ritual. Christians could not have failed to recognize that the ceremony recalled a pagan past; while the Muslims, must have known, too well, that the drinking of blood was a religious taboo. It may therefore be conjectured that the chiefs who entered into the pact must have recognized, however vaguely, a common racial beginning or cultural history and that, at bottom, the common enemy of the datus of Leyte and Maguindanao were the Spaniards.

The Muslim attacks happened so fast and in such devastating proportions that it was difficult for the Spanish garrisons in the Visayas and the Calamianes to cope with the situation. By the end of 1603, the Camucones taking advantage of the relative weakness of the garrisons and the general breakdown of normal life in the Calamianes attacked it once more with their usual fury. Even non-Muslim peoples in Mindanao took advantage of the situation by raiding islands in the Eastern Visayas. In the following year, the Maguindanaos repeated their attack on Calamianes, took captives and collected tribute from the people—a virtual exercise of sovereignty. One reason why the Spaniards could not at this time give full attention to their southern borders was their preoccupation with a very dangerous Chinese uprising in Manila.

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[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

In 1604, the Spanish governor Pedro Bravo de Acuña was granted royal permission to fight the Dutch and conquer the Moluccas. It was therefore absolutely necessary that the Maguindanaos and Buayanens should remain neutral in this conflict and desist from helping the people of Ternate. Furthermore, the absence of the Spaniards from Philippine waters might invite attacks on the Visayas by the Maguindanaos. Hence, it was deemed imperative to enter into some form of peace treaty with the latter. On September 8, 1605, an agreement was concluded between the Spanish ambassadors and the Rajah of Buayan in which the Spaniards promised to recognize Rajah Sirungan as the paramount chief of Maguindanao in return for his allegiance to Spain. Sirungan was to stop all incursions into Spanish territories, return all captives, give up all Church ornaments taken, and allow the preaching of Christianity in his domains. The pact however needed to be ratified by Spanish authorities in Manila.[18] This agreement, as can be clearly seen, represented a shrewd move on the part of the Spaniards, for in so dealing with the Rajah of Buayan as the paramount chief of Maguindanao, they were creating dissensions between him and his rival, Buisan, the Kapitan-Laut of the Maguindanao fleet, over the control of the entire Pulangi.

Under the personal command of the Spanish Governor General, the fleet outfitted for the conquest of the Moluccas left Iloilo on January 15, 1606. Consisting of thirty-six vessels, 1,423 Spaniards, fifty-nine Portuguese who had earlier sought refuge in Manila after their expulsion by the Ternatans and their Dutch allies, and 1,613 natives from the Philippines, it must have been one of the biggest fleets ever sent out by the Spaniards in the Philippines. On its way to the Moluccas, part of the fleet stopped at the mouth of the Pulangi to establish contact with the Maguindanao and Buayan chiefs. But no chief came to parley either with Governor Acuña or Gallinato, the veteran fighter against Sulus and Maguindanaos, who had accompanied the fleet as one of its commanders. The settlements close to the mouth of the Pulangi were all deserted and abandoned. The Maguindanaos foresaw the possibility that the fleet might be used against them and, therefore, had retired into the interior as they had always done before in the face of similar threats. In the Moluccas, after some brilliantly executed campaigns which culminated in a decisive

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[18] Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

Spanish victory in April at Ternate, Sultan Said Din Berkat, an inveterate enemy of the Spaniards, was forced to capitulate and pledge loyalty to the Spanish Crown. The expedition left for Manila in May with the Sultan as its prisoner, arriving in June of the same year.[19]

News of the Spanish victory in the Moluccas and the capture of the once powerful Ternate Sultan must have both impressed and disconcerted the Maguindanao and Buayan chiefs. The Spaniards had shown their ability to set out a formidable fleet when desired and there appeared nothing to prevent them from going after the Maguindanaos and Buayanens. The usual help from Ternate was, for the moment, completely out of the question. Thus, on July 22, 1606, the lords of the Pulangi—Sirungan, Buisan, and the Rajah Muda—sent a letter to the Spanish Governor, asking, in so many words, forgiveness for their previous alliance with Ternate and praying that no retaliation be visited upon them.[20] The reply signed by the Licenciado Tellez de Almazan, informed the chiefs that their past errors had been pardoned but that they should come to Manila to finalize the peace treaty.[21] This probably refers to the September 8, 1605, peace talks entered into by Sirungan and Melchor Hurtado, the Spanish Jesuit sent as ambassador by the Spanish government.

But, not long after, around April 1608, an armada of sixty-seven *caracoas*, led by Buisan and his nephew, the Rajah Muda, attacked Leyte and Samar, burning churches and towns and capturing, as usual, many of the inhabitants. Another report mentioned that during this same year, Sirungan went to the Moluccas to solicit some help from the Dutch.[22] The following year, the three chiefs again tried to gather a strong fleet aimed at the Visayas. Assembling at a point in the Bay of Pangil near a Visayan settlement at Dapitan, this fleet seemed to have been surprised and cornered inside a narrow channel by Gallinato. The numerical superiority of the Maguindanaos, this time supported by some people of Caraga, from the north eastern coast of Mindanao, was thus neutralized by the Spanish position at the mouth of the Bay. After a minor naval encounter, an impasse appeared to have taken place. Possibly, on account of this, Sirungan, Buisan, and the Rajah Muda, entered into a peace agreement with Gallinato. This event which took place in March 1609 was witnessed, it is believed, by about 2,000 armed Muslim warriors. This agreement, it is further believed, gave the Visayas peace for at least two years. In any case, another reason was that the Maguindanao fleet consisting of sixty *caracoas*, decided to direct its predatory energies against Borneo though apparently without success.[23]

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[19] Bartolome Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* (Madrid: 1609), pp. 352-389.

[20] For the Spanish text of this letter, see Colin, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, footnote p. 78.

[21] *Ibid.*, footnote p. 79.

[22] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, footnotes on pp. 167-168.

For about twenty-five years after the peace treaty of March 1609, it seems that no major raid was made on Spanish-held territories in the Philippines led by any chief datu of the Pulangi. The 1613 attack on Leyte and Samar under the Datu Pagdalanum was actually made by a motley group of people from Maguindanao, Caraga, Sangil, and some persons from Ternate. With a total of thirty ships, it brought back about 450 captives from the eastern Visayas. Besides, there seemed to have been no connection between this expedition and members of the Maguindanao or Buayan royalty. What might be considered a resumption of concerted attacks by the Maguindanaos led by their ruling house were those which occurred in the face of renewed Spanish efforts to consolidate their foothold in Caraga, Dapitan, and other points in Mindanao, especially after the establishment by the Spaniards of the fort at Zamboanga in 1635. The resumption of the raids by the Maguindanaos represented their response to what appeared to them as a renewal of Spanish intrusion in their area. But, as will be seen later, during the year of relative peace between the Spaniards and the Maguindanaos, the former were to feel the might of the Sulus and their Bornean allies. This Sulu threat, however, was related to the presence of the Dutch in the Moluccas.

In an important sense, the Maguindanao and Buayan expeditionary raids to Spanish-held territories in Mindoro, the Calamianes, and the Visayas, from 1599 to the eve of the Spanish expedition to the Moluccas in 1604, represented a determined effort on the part of the Muslims to wean these areas away from Spain and to exact tribute from the natives in some areas, thus contesting Spanish rights over such inhabitants. In another sense, if they were not real attempts to punish those inhabitants who were being made to furnish men and materials to conquer the Muslims, they were, at least, meant to weaken those people and make them of less value to the Spaniards. In any case, the Muslim raids effectively intimidated the peoples of the Visayas and actually kept them for sometime from allowing themselves to be used in the Spanish campaign to extend Spanish dominions over Muslim areas.

If Spanish sources are correct on the matter, it may be stated that captives taken by the Muslims from 1599 to 1604 averaged about 800 a year. Since Dutch colonists had not yet come into the area to begin their purchase of slaves, the capture of slaves in the early part of stage three of the Moro Wars must be explained. First of all, the *caracoas* utilized rowers on its outriggers, and like the larger vessels of the Muslims, these needed thirty or more oarsmen. This function was given to captives in order to free the fighting men during naval encounters. Other captives, especially Spanish officials, priests, native chieftains or men of importance, were usually freed upon payment of huge ransoms. But some captives became themselves fighters for the Muslims and were thus utilized to bring in more prisoners. The Muslim datus also kept captives not only as household retainers but as farm or agricultural workers to enable them and the other so-called free-men to dedicate themselves to the profession of fighting. Thus, captives were taken to weaken inhabitants of Spanish-held territories fighting the Muslims, to provide income to the raiders, and to strengthen the war machine of the Muslims as well as to increase their agricultural production.

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[23] Cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, footnote p. 213.

Muslim chiefs sometimes sold slaves to each other. In general, however, once captives became Muslims, they were not sold anymore but retained as warriors or followers of particular chiefs. Also, by and large, although Muslims would kill each other in battle, making slaves of their fellow Muslims was not generally practised. Thus it is clear why in the drive for slaves, pagans and Christians of the Philippines were the usual prey. The lull in the Muslim expeditionary raids by Maguindanaos and Buayanens after the March 1609 peace pact with the Spaniards might suggest that their capacity for war had been reduced. In support of this suggestion was the fact that in 1620, the Rajah of Buayan, having no Kapitan-laut of his own, was consequently negotiating with the Ternatans for one. Needless to say, one of the possible reasons for the weakening of the Maguindanao war machine was the 1606 Spanish conquest of the Moluccas. But help from Ternate would in time be dispensed with when other sources of strength could be tapped by the Maguindanaos under a new leadership. It might be speculated, however, that the Maguindanaos were inclined to keep the peace so long as the Spaniards made no move to consolidate their positions in Mindanao and even in areas which, although non-Muslim, were considered by the Muslims to belong to their sphere of influence. In anticipation of possible provocations, the Maguindanaos would, however, try to strengthen themselves.

It is, nevertheless, possible that the Maguindanaos accepted peace, for there was no other feasible alternative. When Laurens Reaal, before he was designated by the Dutch as governor of the Moluccas, went to La Caldera on October 2, 1614, he met Sulu people who declared that they were enemies of the Spaniards and that their ruler desired an alliance with the Dutch to fight the Spaniards. The Maguindanaos who joined these negotiations later also spoke in the same tenor as the Sulus. Reaal writing about these people said: "The people of Sulu and Mindanao . . . are Muslims and appear to be warring against the people of Oton, Negros, Panay, and other islands of the Philippines."[24] Thus, when earlier in August 1608, a Sulu embassy went to Manila for peaceful and commercial purposes, it might have been simply because there was no other alternative. But the very moment an opportunity to choose between peace with the Spaniards and another appeared, the Sulus without hesitation would drop the former, for they always suspected that the Spaniards would, at the earliest convenient opportunity, reduce them to vassalage as they tried in 1578. However, it might be mentioned that the Sulu ruler in 1614 was not the same one in 1608. Rajah Bongsu who was at the helm in 1614 appeared to have had close connections with Brunei and was related to the Brunei sultan. He was the first Sulu ruler who sought an alliance with the Dutch with whom he was always friendly. But the latter at this time appeared to have been long on verbal promises but short on real material help. Anyway, while the Spaniards were making preparations to meet a Dutch squadron sent to attack them at Manila, the Sulus, with eighty *caracoas*, took advantage of the situation by attacking the shipyard at Pantao, Camarines, in October 1616, burning three still unfinished Spanish vessels, including a galleon. Not satisfied with their spoils consisting of prisoners and the usual booty, they went as far as the Cavite shipyard to burn it down and to capture some Spaniards for ransom.[25] It is believed that in these exploits, the Sulus were aided by the Brunei Sultan.[26] To be sure, Borneans or more specifically, Camucones, followed in the wake of the organized Sulu expeditions, taking spoils and captives on their own. Spanish officials tended to interpret the forays of the Camucones as planned by or coordinated with the Sulus. But actually, this is wrong, for the Sulus never actually got along with the Camucones. As a non-Muslim people, the Camucones were often prey of the Sulus who sometimes sold them as slaves in Zamboanga and other Muslim principalities. Even after the Brunei sultan ceded his north Bornean territories to the Sulus around the 1680's, it took intermittent Sulu expeditions for at least a century to really subdue the Camucones.

What might have emboldened the Sulus in their raid on the shipyards of Cavite and Camarines was the presence of a Dutch squadron in Philippine waters. Their initial successes encouraged them further. In the meantime, not much was heard of the princes of the Pulangi in Visayan waters. One reason for this might have been the dynastic wars between the datus of Buayan and those of Maguindanao. Although the datus of Buayan and Maguindanao were relatives, it appears that the rajahs of Buayan originally lorded it over the Pulangi until challenged by the Maguindanao rajahs. It will be recalled that the Spaniards had more than once offered to recognize Sirungan, the Rajah of Buayan, as the paramount lord of the Pulangi in return for certain concessions. This move on the part of the Spaniards, was to exacerbate the rivalry between Buisan, the datu of Maguindanao, and Sirungan; for it was clearly during the time of Buisan that Buayan began to be slowly eclipsed by Maguindanao. The fact that the datus of Maguindanao were in Slangan and Maguindanao and, therefore, closer to the mouth of the Pulangi gave them the advantage of being able to intercept any vessel going up to Buayan from the sea. It was Buisan with whom the Dutch began to deal with after 1614 and who must have died either in 1618 or in early 1619. This explains the ensuing dynastic war between the rulers of Buayan and Maguindanao, with the former trying to exercise political control over young Qudarat, the son of Buisan. This war which began around January 1619, saw both Qudarat and the Rajah of Buayan seeking help from the United East Indies Company (V.O.C.).[27] The Dutch were in a quandary, for helping one would alienate the other. On February 11, 1619, the Buayan envoy was informed of the decision of the Dutch to stay neutral, although it was suggested to him that such dissensions were fomented by the Spaniards for their own interests. On July 2, 1619, the ex-king of Sarangani, who was the envoy of Qudarat, was similarly informed in writing. In 1621, the Dutch ship *De Hond* under the command of Christiaan Franz came to Mindanao to trade and try to bring peace among the warring factions, but failed in the latter effort.[28] That must have been so, as indicated by the trip to Cebu in 1622 by Katchil Qudarat to ask for Spanish help against his rival who had bested him in a battle.[29] For his efforts, Qudarat appeared to have received an artillery piece as a loan as well as some ammunition. When the Spaniards accompanying Qudarat were later asked to return, the artillery piece was left behind and subsequent attempts to retrieve it failed. Qudarat's recourse to Spanish aid was clearly the result of the Dutch default or inability to aid him. Actually, in December 1624, the Governor General in Batavia informed Jacques Le Febure, the governor of the Moluccas, that the Dutch then were not in a position to give direct aid to either the Sulus or the Maguindanaos to wage war against the Spaniards. He added, however, that the presence of the Dutch fleet around Manila Bay might force the Spaniards to reduce their pressure on the two Muslim peoples.[30]

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[24] Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-218.

[25] Cf. Colin, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 532 and p. 632. Some Spanish sources, possibly out of habit, mention that the raid on Pantao was made by Maguindanaos. Most sources, however, say it was by the Sulus.

[26] "Selesilah," *JSBRAS*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

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[27] Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 236 and p. 257.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 236 and p. 249.

[29] "Military Affairs," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 117-118.

[30] Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

In any case, Katchil Qudarat seems to have been able soon to consolidate his forces. In 1625-26, he attacked the island of Sarangani, burned its capital, killed many of his enemies there, and captured others. Then the people of Sarangani were made tributary to him. By the next year, Datu Maputi (known to the Spaniards as Moncay and to the Dutch as Amoncaya) the new rajah of Buayan recognized Qudarat as his senior partner in the Pulangi. While Qudarat was consolidating and expanding his political power in Mindanao and neighboring islands in the south, he was at peace and even trading with the Spaniards.[31]

It is important to note at this period that the Dutch had begun to show interest in the purchase of slaves from the Maguindanaos. Christiaan Franz, the Dutch trader who once tried to bring peace between the chief datus of Buayan and Maguindanao, inquired whether serviceable Visayan slaves could be bought from the people of Mindanao.[32] The reason for this is that the population had been decimated in some Indonesian islands where it was now necessary to plant spices. The Dutch colonists, having already arrived, needed slave labor in places like the island of Banda in the Moluccas. They were consequently authorized to travel to Malaysian ports to gather foodstuffs and slaves to meet the needs of Batavia.[33] Although Dutch records mention the purchase of slaves and rice from the Maguindanaos in the first half of the seventeenth century,[34] the volume of this slave trade remains unknown to the author. Nevertheless, this would definitely be another compelling reason, later on, for taking captives from Spanish-held territories. The presentation of some slaves as gifts to the Dutch Governor General at Batavia by Sulu sultans is on record.[35]

In 1624, a Sulu embassy led by the redoubtable Datu Ache arrived in Manila, and by all indications it was for commercial purposes. The next year when he sailed back for Sulu aboard a cargo-loaded vessel, he was intercepted by a Spanish squadron which had just unsuccessfully tried to catch some Camucones in twenty-four *joangas* who had just raided and left Catbalongan, Samar. Possibly, without bothering to distinguish the Sulus from the Camucones, the commander of the squadron proceeded to confiscate the vessel and cargo and to make prisoners of the Sulus, including Datu Ache. However, later in Manila, where they were brought, after explanations on the part of the Sulus and apologies on the part of Spanish authorities, the Sulus were allowed to proceed to Sulu with their cargo; although it appears that a few choice pearls that the Datu owned were withheld by the Spanish commander.[36] The Spaniards were soon to pay dearly for their robbery and the humiliation of the proud datu.

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[31] *Ibid.*, p. 254 and p. 257.

[32] P. A. Tiele, *De Opkomst Van Het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oostindie* (The Hague: 1886), Vol. I, p. 309.

[33] For details see M.A.P. Meilink-Roelofsz, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* (The Hague: 1962), p. 219, p. 238, and footnote 199 in p. 380.

[34] *Dagh-Register* (*Anno 1624-1629*), pp. 379-380.

[35] *Ibid.*, (*Anno* 1668-1669), p. 311.

In 1627, a Sulu fleet composed of more than thirty *caracoas* and about 2,000 men, led by Rajah Bongsu himself, attacked the new Spanish shipyard in Camarines. The Spanish garrison was completely taken by surprise by the attack; two of them were killed before the rest could flee. The Sulus captured artillery, guns and ammunition, iron and brass pieces among others, which they needed so badly. They burned the dockyard and the hulls of unfinished ships and threw to the sea a great amount of rice intended for the garrison and the workers, because the Sulus could not carry them home. A few days of eating and drinking as complete masters of the place were spent before they departed with three hundred captives, including a Spanish lady named Doña Lucia. (The Sulu Sultan later became fond of her, since it was she who wrote his letters in Spanish to the Spaniards). A letter for the Spanish Governor in Manila was left behind stating in effect that the attack was the Sulu answer to the Spanish maltreatment and robbery of its ambassador, Datu Ache. On their return home, the Sulus took more captives from the island of Bantayan, and some three hundred more from Ormoc in Leyte.[37] When the news reached Manila, proper instructions were forthwith given to the commander of the naval squadron there.

The Spaniards were able to fit out two squadrons for their expedition: one from Cebu and the other composed of native allies from Oton. Loaded in about thirty-five *caracoas*, two hundred Spaniards and more than 1,600 native allies, many of whom were volunteers, the expedition arrived in Jolo on April 22, 1628 and immediately commenced operations at one o'clock in the afternoon. They saw a flourishing trading community about which they had no previous information. About sixty large *joangas* and more than a hundred smaller boats that they found either anchored or beached were burned or destroyed. The town, including the wealthy Chinese quarter, was not spared either. Nor was the mosque or the Sultan's palace whose carvings were marvelled at. The sepulchres of the departed sultans, under previous orders from Manila, were similarly destroyed. A quantity of sulphur and powder found were burned though not the large quantity of gold, cloth, and other merchandise which were taken away by the invaders. The attack was carried out with such precision that, according to a report, not one Spaniard was killed or even wounded. However, in the meanwhile, the Sulu Sultan remained safe in his *cotta* in the nearby mountain, formidably protected by the artillery captured from the Camarines shipyard. Asked to consider a six-hundred-peso ransom for Doña Lucia who had become his secretary, the Sultan refused adding, however, that his greatness prevented him from allowing monetary considerations to enter in the case of Doña Lucia; instead, he would send her back freely provided that some captured artillery be returned to him.

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[36] Cf. Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines* (Harvard University Press: 1961), p. 322, Also cf. the Jesuit Annual Letter of 1624 (*Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu*, Philippine Section, Vol. 6, p. 369), a section and translation of which was kindly furnished the author by Father Horacio de la Costa.

[37] "Copia de una relacion que un padre de este colegio de Manila ha hecho del estado de estas islas Filipinas y otros reinos y provincias circumvecinos desde el mes de Julio de 1627 hasta el de 1628," Ventura del Arco, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 591-594.

The Spaniards were able to rescue some captives, but the number was not as much as that expected, since many of them had already been sold to distant kingdoms. The Spanish fleet proceeded to Basilan to fight Datu Sapay, a confederate of the Sulus in their raids. But no contact was made with the Datu who had fled earlier with his men to the mountains. The fleet, therefore, lifted anchor and sailed for Maguindanao where a letter was sent to Qudarat asking him to come to La Caldera to see the Spanish commander. However, the Maguindanao Sultan offered some excuses. Anyway, not long after, Qudarat sent an ambassador to Manila, offering the Spaniards the opportunity to build a fort in, and send priests to his territory, adding astutely that the people of Sulu were his enemies.[38] The Spaniards failed to take advantage of this offer. When Qudarat explained to the Dutch his motives in making the offer he candidly said that it was to enable him to get arms and ammunition from the Spaniards that he might eventually get rid of them.[39]

The next year, in 1629, the Sulus with thirty-six *caracoas*, reportedly under the leadership of Datu Ache, attacked settlements in Camarines, Samar, Leyte and Bohol. However, another report suggested that the attack on Bohol was not made by the forces of Ache and therefore could have been made by the Camucones who usually conducted follow-up raids after each Sulu raid.[40]

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[38] *Ibid.*, p. 598. For an English translation of the version of the Sulu Sultan's attack on the Camarines shipyard and the Spanish attack on Jolo in 1628, see "Relation of 1627-1628," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 203-211. Also cf. Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[39] "Report about the voyage to Mindanao by Daniel Ottens, fiscal at Ternate (August 30—November 18, 1628)," 1630 II, 97-116, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*

[40] Cf. Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

By then, the Spaniards were determined to have the Sulu Sultan fall into their hands and his mountain *cotta* destroyed, something the April 1628 campaign failed to accomplish, since, according to one view, the Spaniards were more interested in loot, specifically the Sultan's hoard of pearls.[41] Thus, on March 17, 1630, another Spanish fleet consisting of one galley, a few junks, and about fifty *caracoas*, with 400 Spaniards and 2,500 native allies, left Dapitan for Jolo. Upon landing, one of the first things that the commander, Lorenzo de Olaso, did was to proceed immediately to the sultan's *cotta.* The Sulus were apparently very well prepared. They defended themselves ably, killing and wounding some of the enemy. Olaso himself was wounded, and his terror-stricken men retreated. Nevertheless, before leaving for good, the fleet went around the island, burned settlements here and there, and then hopefully tried to rescue as many captives of the Sulus as possible for eventual return to their respective homes. But, again, plans went awry this time due to a violent storm. In brief, the Olaso expedition failed.[42] As if to demonstrate that they were not at all cowed by the Spaniards, the following year the Sulus attacked Leyte and made off with more captives for the slave market in Makassar.

Qudarat, notwithstanding his notice to the Spaniards that he was not on good terms with the people of Sulu, forged an alliance with the latter. It was by a marriage between one of his sons and a daughter of the Sulu Rajah which probably took place around 1632.[43] In the opinion of the Dutch, the alliance was aimed against Spain, and it is to be wondered at whether the Dutch actually had something to do with it, considering that they had been most eager to ease the differences between the different Muslim princes to enable them to present a more determined effort against Spain.

It is true that in the first three decades of the seventeenth century, there had been frictions between the Sulus and the Maguindanaos, some of them due to interdynastic interferences. But by 1632, it was apparent that there was complete understanding between the two royal houses. Hence, about the end of 1634, a Muslim fleet with 1500 warriors which attacked Dapitan, Bohol, and Leyte significantly enough was not only authorized by Qudarat, but appeared to be jointly undertaken by the Sulus and the Maguindanaos.[44]

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[41] "Medina's Historia," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 164-165.

[42] "Relation of 1629-30," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 87-88.

[43] P.A. Tiele, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 213.

[44] For details of this 1634 expedition of the Sulus, see Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 159-160; Murillo y Velarde, *op. cit.*, p. 70; and Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, p. 324

The 1634 attack of the Maguindanaos, principally on the Visayas, was not made on the spur of the moment. Rather, it was the cumulative result of the planning and preparations by Qudarat many years after the consolidation of his position in Maguindanao, of the establishment of some primacy over Buayan, of the reduction of Sarangani to vassalage, of the establishment of peace with Sulu, and probably also of the receipt of some material aid from the Dutch. But during all this time he was sending letters and embassies, all professing peace, to the Spaniards. Since the Spaniards had previously come as invaders and as proselyters to Caraga and other points in Mindanao, it was to be expected that the Muslims would exploit all opportunities—including the help of the Dutch—to maintain their independence, and they even hoped to recapture lost territorial spheres of influence. However, in fairness to the Dutch, it should be said that in spite of their perennial intrigues against the Spaniards, they were not the real authors of Muslim intransigence against the Spaniards. Their assistance was merely availed of by the Muslims as a means to do what they always had in mind, but which they were not yet able to carry out by themselves.

In 1628, Dutch authorities sent Captain Daniel Ottens as ambassador to Sangil, Maguindanao, Buayan, and Sulu, for the dual purpose of discussing with the chiefs the problem of presenting a united stand against Spain and of studying the commercial situation in these places, the result of which was to be reported to his superiors. The Dutch envoy appeared to have been most impressed with Qudarat's intelligence. He noted that the Katchil would sometimes talk in the Maguindanao language, so that the Dutch interpreter would not understand him although it was well known that the Katchil knew the language of Ternate. He reported also that one of the first questions propounded by Qudarat to the Dutch was the extent of possible Dutch help. He noted further that the Sultan had an advisory body of elders called *"Tsiera Atas"* (*Bichara Atas*). In connection with his attempts to reach some of the other rulers, he considered it very cunning of the Sultan to offer to deliver the Dutch letters to the rajah of Buayan and the ruler of Sulu. He politely declined this on the grounds that he had been commissioned to deliver them personally. Qudarat wanted help from the Dutch to raid the Visayas, in return for which he initially offered to give one-tenth, later one-half, of the spoils. But Ottens cautiously observed that he was not acquainted with the coasts and waters in the area and that he would need skippers and pilots. On the matter of relations with the Spaniards Qudarat said that he had been at peace with those people for about thirteen years. This information was probably given as an explanation and an excuse for not having enough slaves for sale to the Dutch. The Katchil added that most of his slaves had turned Muslims, and therefore, could not be sold, thus showing his acquaintance with some elements of Islamic jurisprudence. Giving the information to explain the scarcity of slaves could have been intended as a suggestion for the Dutch to consider that slaves could be had for the asking if war against the Spaniards were to break out anew, and that with Dutch help this would surely happen. Qudarat claimed, too, that except for Dapitan and another place, he was ruler of all Mindanao; and that furthermore (possibly with some exaggeration) he could put 10,000 men on the field. Ottens' reply was that the Dutch would not be able to help in the proposed raid to the Visayas, to which Qudarat countered with some proposals: alliance with the Dutch and promise to supply those people with men and ships in their enterprises against the Spaniards.

According to plans, Ottens visited Datu Maputi of Buayan. He later on reported that this young rajah (about twenty years old) ruled over twenty-five villages and that Buayan had four powerful datus as allies. He reported further that the ruler of Buayan claimed that he could help the Dutch with as many as sixty *caracoas,* possibly forty more with the help of his four allies.

On October 28, Ottens sent a letter through an officer to the Rajah of Sulu to invite him to La Caldera for a conference. Within a week, the Sulu ruler answered that his council would not allow him to leave Jolo. But the Dutch officer reported back to Ottens that he noticed the assembly of seventy raid-ready *caracoas* in Jolo and that there were at the time some Makassar traders, the very people who purchased the slaves from the Sulus.[45]

At the time of Ottens' visit, what the Dutch were most keen for was the chance to use the Sulus, Maguindanaos, and Buayanens as means to acquire and exercise greater influence on the Moluccas and thereby further their commercial control over the area. It would seem that Qudarat clearly perceived this, causing him to doubt even more when he became convinced that the Dutch were merchants primarily bent on making profits. Besides, he was not impressed by the presents given to him by the thrifty Dutch.[46] On the other hand, the Dutch must have also found it most difficult to deal with a people whose struggle was not simply one of commercial enterprise or profit. Thus, when Qudarat in 1623 offered the Spaniards a site for a fort, he simultaneously wrote a letter to the Dutch governor of the Moluccas, asking for the weapons promised him and at the same time offering the Dutch a base for a fort in La Caldera.[47] Afraid of the Spaniards and disdainful of the Dutch, Qudarat sought to play them one against the other, hoping to neutralize them and thus leave his people undisturbed and free to keep their political and religious integrity. Well might the Dutch have shared the prejudiced judgment of a Spanish Jesuit who wrote of the Muslims of Maguindanao:

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[45] The complete report of Ottens is found in the "Report about the voyage to Mindanao by Daniel Ottens, fiscal at Ternate (August 30—November 18, 1628)," *op. cit.*

[46] Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

> The Muslims are tenacious in their errors, unfaithful to their words, traitors in their dealings, discriminating with regard to what is convenient to them, and fearless in war. Rather than valorous, they are rash. . . .[48]

Qudarat had always been unhappy and looked with growing suspicion over the existence of Christian missions in the non-Muslim areas of Mindanao as in Butuan, Caraga, and Dapitan. Besides, the Spaniards had been able to establish a garrison at Caraga, on the north eastern coast of Mindanao enabling them to intercept Maguindanaos returning south from the Eastern Visayas. At this point, it should be noted that Caraga was of vital significance. The Caragans had at various times in the past allied themselves with the Maguindanaos in the latter's attacks on the Visayans. On the other hand, it was from Caraga that a force of Spaniards and Christians went to Cagayan, in the northern part of Mindanao, to repel Maguindanaos trying to exert their influence there or to impose tribute. An armed opposition against Spanish rule which began in 1629 in Caraga and, believed to have been abetted by Qudarat, took the Spaniards at least a couple of years to suppress. It was during these disturbances, according to a report, that one of the discontented leaders went to Butuan with letters from Qudarat inciting opposition to the Spaniards there.[49] It is possible that even if Qudarat himself did not have personal ambitions to become lord over the whole island of Mindanao, he was still opposed to any Spanish garrison on the island. This latter attitude of his would be justified by later events when Caraga would be used as a base against him.

The implications of the 1634 Sulu-Maguindanao attack on Dapitan and the Visayas along with the obviously growing primacy of Qudarat over the whole island of Mindanao could not have been missed by the Spaniards. Those events must have appeared to them as a real threat to their outposts and missions on the island. Moreover, the early seventeenth century raids had been a traumatic experience for both Spaniards and their newly acquired subjects in the colony, especially in the Visayas. The Jesuit missions had particularly suffered from the Muslim raids. It was in view of this that the Jesuits proposed to the government that it establish a fort in Zamboanga for the defense of both missions and settlements. It was pointed out that naval squadrons based in the Visayas found it difficult to pursue the Maguindanaos or Sulus on account of the vast area they had to patrol or negotiate when actually chasing the latter. But with a garrison and a naval squadron in Zamboanga they could easily intercept any fleet that would pass through the narrow channel between Zamboanga and Basilan. Also Zamboanga could serve as a look-out point from which information about the movement of enemy fleets might be easily conveyed to Spanish bases in the Visayas in the event that the local squadron may be unable to tackle them. Furthermore, it could serve as a base for the evangelization of the region.[50] It may be not farfetched to conjecture that from the standpoint of a long-range plan Zamboanga was intended to serve not only as a base from which the Spaniards could intimidate the rulers of Maguindanao and Sulu, but also as a launching and supply area for those rulers' eventual conquest.

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[47] *Dagh-Register (Anno 1631-1634)*, p. 84 and p. 102.

[48] Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[49] Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 158-159. For details of this Caraga Revolt, see Juan de la Concepcion, *Historia de Philipinas* (Sampaloc: 1788-1792), Vol. V, pp. 163-179.

In spite of objections by the other religious orders who appeared to have been jealous of the Jesuits' increasing missionary activities and consequent influence, the government heeded the proposal to build a fort in Zamboanga. On April 6, 1635, a strong force of three hundred Spaniards and 1,000 Visayans, landed in the area of Zamboanga and set up camp. On June 23, work on the fort commenced. Little or no opposition to the project was evident from the local Samals, though the opposite may be true from Rajah Bongsu, since the people living in the fort area were always tributary to the Sulus. As for Qudarat, it would have been surprising if he did not see in the event a studied move to contain his activities if not to eventually destroy the Pulangi principalities, and to open new gates for the entry of Christianity to Western Mindanao.

The fourth stage in the Moro Wars began approximately with the Spanish fortification of Zamboanga in 1635 and ended with its abandonment in 1663 on account of Koxinga's threat. The close of the third phase doubtless proved that the Muslim attempt to wean away the loyalty of Visayans to Spain or get tribute from them had failed. In the fourth phase, the war between Qudarat and the Spaniards was in effect a contest for the control of the whole island of Mindanao. More than this, the Spaniards, through a series of campaigns, tried to impose their rule over the Muslim chiefs of Sulu and Mindanao even as they began a systematic attempt to convert the Muslims as well as their non-

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[50] Cf. Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, p. 325.

Muslim tributary peoples into Christianity. To further make secure their gains, the Spaniards capitalized on dynastic or political rivalries between the Pulangi chiefs. Meanwhile, the Sulu resistance was aided by Muslim allies from neigboring Makassar and the tributary peoples from Basilan. But, defeated in battle, the Sulus were unable to prevent the construction of Spanish outposts and missions in Sulu. They once more looked to the Dutch for assistance. In any case, neither the Sulus nor the Maguindanaos were really conquered. In recognition of this fact, the Spaniards concluded peace treaties with them. Concessions given to the Spaniards became inoperative with the withdrawal of the Spanish garrison from Zamboanga. Sulu was abandoned by the Spaniards. Except for a few points in the north of Mindanao where the Spaniards had missions, practically the whole island remained subject to Qudarat.

The value that the fort at Zamboanga could play in Spanish colonial designs was well demonstrated in the destruction of a fleet under Datu Tagal, the kapitan-laut of Qudarat. In April 1636, Tagal was reportedly authorized and aided by Qudarat to prepare a fleet of four *caracoas* and three smaller vessels to spend a season of plundering in Mindoro and the Calamianes. The route that he took going north was between the islands of Jolo and Basilan, but on his return, laden with a booty of gold, religious ornaments, and more than a hundred captives, he decided to pass through the narrow channel between Basilan and Zamboanga during the darkness of the night. But still the Spaniards would not have been the wiser were it not for a friendly Samal who told them about it. In a few days the naval squadron at Zamboanga was able to catch up with Tagal at Punta de Flechas (Panaoan), about halfway between Zamboanga and the mouth of the Pulangi. It was in December 1636, when Tagal and about three hundred Muslims perished in a series of fierce encounters. One hundred of the Christian captives were liberated while a great deal of gold coins and Church ornaments were recovered. However, one of the *caracoas* managed to escape.[51]

It is apparent that the people of Sulu and Basilan clearly understood the meaning of the Zamboanga fort when they refused, in spite of the good relations with Qudarat, to join Tagal. Why Qudarat allowed such a raid is not easy to determine, considering that, except for an occasion or two, he had not cared to make any incursion into Spanish-held territories outside the island of Mindanao. A guess might be that he could not keep all of his datus in check and that anyway he was confident of success. In any case, he was not happy about Zamboanga. On June 17, 1636, he wrote to the Dutch informing them about the establishment by the Spaniards of a garrison around La Caldera (that is, Zamboanga) and that consequently he needed guns and the assistance of the Dutch.[52]

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[51] "Defeat of Moros," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 215-226, and "Events in Filipinas," *ibid.*, pp. 316-320.

Earlier, on February 16, the Spanish King decreed that Mindanao be pacified in order that the Christian natives of the Philippines may be further spared from the attacks of the Maguindanaos. This was in response to continual reports from Manila about the audacious attacks of Muslim warriors. A letter from the Manila Archbishop, for instance, claimed that in a space of thirty years, no less than 20,000 captives were taken by the Muslims from Spanish-held territories. Actually, the successful evangelization of Mindanao or Sulu would be impossible without eventually destroying the Muslim principalities. This job fell to Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera who became Governor General of the Philippine Colony in 1635. His plan was clear: defeat and capture Qudarat in Mindanao and temporarily put a Spanish puppet as ruler in Maguindanao, destroy the so-far still impregnable *cotta* of the Sulu ruler, capture him, put strong garrisons in Jolo, and then attack Borneo, more specifically, the Camucones there, who were subjects of the Brunei sultan. These were to be done one at a time and under his personal command.

From Zamboanga, Corcuera decided to attack Qudarat. He had by that time already trained about eight hundred soldiers, consisting of Spaniards and native allies, principally Visayans and Pampangos. The first object of attack was the port town of Lamitan, the new capital of Qudarat, in the site of the present Baras, a few kilometers south of Damitan. That the site of Qudarat's new capital was in an Iranun area and close to the Maranao peoples of the Lake Lanao, was significant. The Iranuns and Maranaos, two closely related peoples, had become allies of the Sultan; some of their chiefs having entered into marriage alliances with him. Moreover, many of the Iranun datus were related to the Sultan's grandfather Bangkaya, and uncle, Dimansankay. In turn, the Maranao datus were related to the Iranun chiefs.

Landing in Lamitan with an advance force on March 13, 1637, Corcuera captured the settlement and mosque without much difficulty the next day and destroyed a few minor *cottas* in the outskirts of the settlement. The Spaniards also captured two large Javanese vessels laden with merchandise and many captives probably intended for the market in Batavia. Except for those needed by the Spaniards, hundreds of vessels, of varying sizes, belonging to the followers of Qudarat, were destroyed. The Governor General discovered later that the main force of the Sultan, about 2,000 warriors, including Iranun datus, had retired to the neighboring Ilihan heights where three *cottas* had been constructed. Not having enough men to storm the fortified heights, the Governor had to wait for reinforcements from Zamboanga which soon arrived on March 16. He gave the order for the attack the next day, but one of the attacking columns was repulsed by Qudarat's men. They were more lucky on the second day of attack in spite of the determined defense and wanton sacrifice of lives. Qudarat himself was wounded. It is believed that one of his wives, holding an infant child, threw herself over a cliff to avoid capture. Under the protection of his faithful aides, the wounded ruler was brought to an inland Iranun settlement. In the meantime his *cotta* was razed to the ground, the artillery captured, while a great part of his treasury representing many years accumulation were taken by the invaders. To cap their campaign, Lamitan was razed to the ground together with its principal mosque, as well as a few Iranun villages in the nearby coast, and seventy-two Muslims were decapitated, their heads propped on spikes and displayed to inspire terror.[53]

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[52] *Dagh-Register (Anno 1636)*, p. 222.

Before returning to Zamboanga, Corcuera sent one of his commanders with a strong force to Datu Maputi, the Rajah of Buayan, to inform that ruler of the victory over Qudarat and of the plan to recognize him as the paramount lord of the Pulangi provided that he accept Spanish sovereignty, pay tribute, welcome Christian missionaries, and agree to other conditions. The Rajah was also told that if he accepted these conditions, he was to send an envoy to Zamboanga for discussion of the details. This move of Corcuera was a repetition of the old calculated move of his predecessors to foment the old rivalry between the rajahs of Buayan and Maguindanao and thus drive a wedge between the Muslims. He must have also known that Datu Maputi was still smarting under the political tutelage of Qudarat and would, therefore, seize any opportunity to regain the old predominance of Buayan over the Pulangi. In the meantime, although Qudarat was neither captured nor killed, he was immobilized anyway with the death of some of his Iranun datus. In any case, Datu Maputi must have been intimidated enough by the arrival of a strong Spanish force at his capital, bringing the news about Qudarat, the most powerful lord in Mindanao and in some manner Maputi's suzerain.

Datu Maputi sent his brother to Zamboanga offering to free all Christian captives, accept Christian missionaries, pay tribute, and even allow a Spanish fort to be built in his domains. The Governor General in appreciation for the offer of an offensive and defensive alliance took a further step. He offered the envoy a reward of two thousand pesos for a dead Qudarat or four thousand pesos if the Maguindanao ruler was delivered to him alive. A point significant in the negotiations was the envoy's request for some weapons, at least those previously belonging to and captured from Datu Maputi. But the answer of the astute and wary Governor was that Datu Maputi will have to show first, in so many ways, his friendly intentions. The envoy then promised to go to Manila in about four months time.[54]

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[53] Corcuera's attack on Lamitan and the Ilihan *cottas* is repeated in many Spanish sources. Two of the most useful reports are: "The Conquest of Mindanao," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 253-304; and "Fortunate Successes in Filipinas and Terrenate, 1636-1637," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 122-132.

Before returning to Manila, the Governor gave instructions to reduce all the Iranun and Samal coastal settlements to Spanish sovereignty or be destroyed. The datus of Basilan were among the first to submit. In the case of Rajah Bongsu, the Sulu ruler, he sent the formidable Datu Ache to Zamboanga with peace overtures. But faced with a rigid Spanish position, he left posthaste and returned to fortify Sulu against what appeared to be inevitable. The Spaniards had already made up their minds to conquer Sulu.

What the Datu did on his return is understandable since one of the conditions set by the Spaniards was for the Sulu Sultan to give up the island of Basilan in its entirety, and to stop exacting tribute from its inhabitants which would mean the loss of a few thousand tributes. Actually, Datu Ache even contacted Qudarat and the Sulu datus of Basilan regarding the possibility of putting up a united front against the Spaniards. All these must have abetted the Muslims in Spanish-held territories to show signs of resistance.[55] In the meantime Corcuera was given a hero's welcome in Manila on March 24. On August 20 of the same year, the Governor made his report to his monarch, in which he gave a full account of his achievements. He also bared his plans to explore the Maranao country, to attack the defiant *cotta* of the Sulu ruler, and probably to even send an expedition against the Brunei sultan, the sovereign of the piratical Camucones—all to be done in the following year.[56]

On January 1, 1638, eighty vessels loaded with six hundred Spaniards and 1,000 native allies, including Visayans, Pampangos, and Caragans left Zamboanga. Four days later, they landed in Jolo but found it abandoned. The Sulu ruler and his warriors had retired to their *cotta* in a nearby hill (probably in one of the foothills of Mt. Tumatangis) which was closely guarded by defenders composed of Tausugs, Samals, Taguimans from Basilan, Makassars, and other Malays. There were probably about 5,000 persons, including women and children, who sought the safety of the *cotta*. That warriors from Basilan were among them can be explained by the fact that a wife of the Sultan, entitled "Tuan Paduka," was from Basilan. The presence of Makassars was due to the fact that relations at that time between Makassar and Sulu were close, the latter remaining one of the few independent friends of the former who were trying to block Dutch ambitions in the area and, therefore, badly needed Sulu for trade purposes.

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[54] "Conquest of Mindanao," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 296-297.

[55] "Events in Filipinas, 1636-1637," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 325-326.

[56] "Corcuera to Felipe IV," *ibid.*, pp. 357-358.

At least four assaults on the *cotta* failed with great losses for the Spaniards. Nevertheless, after the enemies resorted to siege operations and the planting of mines along with continuous artillery bombardment, the defenses of the *cotta* began to weaken. In one of the explosions of a mine, Datu Ache was badly hurt. But in spite of the mine explosions, the *cotta* appeared as impregnable as ever.

What transpired thereafter cannot easily be explained except on the basis of happenings in the *cotta*. Epidemics, possibly cholera or dysentery and smallpox swept the *cotta*. Added to these was famine. By all indications, too, either the datus or, possibly, the allies of the Sultan fell to quarrelling. In any case, amidst the difficulties, two Basilan warriors were able to cross the lines and enter the Spanish camp. They carried the offer of peace of their datu; it was proposed that all the people from Basilan who were among the defenders of the *cotta* would peacefully abandon their posts if they would be allowed to leave for their homes. This request, however, could have been intended as a feeler sent by the Sulu ruler himself, who pretty soon sent some envoys requesting that peace terms be discussed. The Governor answered that he was willing to allow all the allies of the Sulu ruler to leave for their islands, but he insisted that the Sulus surrender unconditionally. Meanwhile, the ruler himself, unmindful of and undaunted by the objections of his datus and the previous refusal of the Governor to see him, came down to the Governor's camp to discuss preliminary terms of peace. One of the conditions of the Governor was that the Spanish flag would be flown over the *cotta*, presumably as a symbol of the Sultan's acceptance of Spanish sovereignty. The people of Basilan and the Makassars would be allowed to return to their homes, but that the Sulu warriors would have to come and personally surrender their arms in the camp of the Spaniards. Another condition was that the Sultan and his wife would stay in the camp of the Governor. The Sulu ruler responded that it was important for him to return to the *cotta* and persuade his datus to accept the conditions of the Governor. To this the Governor assented.

The allies of Rajah Bongsu were allowed to come down from the *cotta* and the Governor even permitted them to sail for home in some vessels, probably overjoyed to get rid of them. In the meantime, either under cover of darkness or the heavy rain, the Sulus, with their families, sneaked out of the *cotta*. Some of them feared that they would either be killed or be made captives for sale. Thus, on April 17, after more than a three-month struggle, the *cotta* was finally occupied by the invaders whereupon a great deal of artillery and property were confiscated. As before, the victors made it a point to burn all Qur'ans or Arabic manuscripts found. Shortly after, the beleaguered Sultan and his family fled from the *cotta* to another one situated farther in the interior part of the island. Datu Ache had probably preceded him, for he was to be next heard of in Tawi-Tawi, there busy devising means to harass the Spaniards.

The opinion had been expressed that the *cotta* was almost thoroughly impregnable to any assault and that its surrender must have been due to the Sulus' fear of the mines. That famine and epidemics played a major role, however, cannot be denied as demonstrated by what happened to many of the native troops aiding the Spaniards. Dozens of them, especially Visayans, died of dysentery. The same disease claimed the lives of hundreds of Sulus and their Basilan allies, probably on account of such close living under unsanitary conditions in the *cotta*.

Before leaving for Zamboanga, Corcuera had a stone fort built in Jolo with a garrison of about four hundred soldiers, half of them Spaniards and the rest mostly Pampangos, for he intended to have a *presidio* formed in Jolo. Two Jesuit missionaries were left behind; one of these, Alejandro Lopez, would later on play an important role in Spanish-Muslim relations in both Sulu and Maguindanao. In Zamboanga, the Governor appointed Admiral Pedro Almonte as the supreme commander of the Sulu-Mindanao area.[57]

In this campaign, 192 captives were taken in Sulu and most were sold as slaves in public auction, netting ₱20,815.00 for the Spanish government. Some of these slaves were forced upon the soldiers as part of their pay and at rates higher than those of the market. Added to receipts due from the sale of slaves, the value of the artillery, and other captured things, the total amount of ₱28,345.00 was supposed to have been gained from the Sulus. Since the expenses of the expedition were calculated at about ₱26,314.00, the net gain was ₱2,031.00. The Governor who was a good soldier also appears to have been a sound economist.[58] It is interesting to note that some of the bronze artillery captured in the *cotta* of the Sulu Sultan were of English, Portuguese, and Manila make. The cast-iron artillery were mostly of English and Dutch manufacture, although the origins of the firearms were of a more varied character.

Meanwhile, in spite of the loss of Lamitan and his personal treasure, Qudarat remained unconquered. He was even more resolute than ever in his determination to regain for himself not only the lands of his forefathers but also an even larger territory. As soon as he was well, he took up residence near the area of Sabanilla, a few miles south of Lamitan in what is now Malabang. He started anew, trying to build an army. He contacted Jan Van Broeckom, the Dutch governor of Ternate, reminding the latter of the existence of a friendly treaty between the Dutch and Buisan the "old king" and Qudarat's father; that, in said agreement, the Dutch were allowed to build a fort at the site of Zamboanga where the Spaniards had already built their fort. He implied that the Dutch may drive out the Spaniards from the fort and keep it for themselves. Qudarat then explained how the Spanish attack (presumably on Lamitan) had forced him to go into the interior. In consideration of Dutch assistance in driving the Spaniards from Mindanao, Qudarat promised to share with the Dutch one-half of all the booty and to enter into a commercial agreement with them regarding spices which, on account of the presence of the Spaniards, could not be readily made available. But he mentioned that wax was available in exchange for Dutch merchandise.[59]

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[57] For details about Corcuera's Jolo campaign in 1638, see "Corcuera's Campaign in Jolo," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 41-63; Combes, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-369, and Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, 92b-94b.

[58] "Value of Corcuera's Seizures in Jolo," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 135-138.

The growing threat from Qudarat did not escape the attention of Pedro Almonte, the new governor of Zamboanga. It was to check the Maguindanao ruler and, more importantly, to prevent a possible juncture between his forces and those of Buayan, that this Spanish official on March 2, 1639, sent Major Pedro del Rio to occupy the port of Sabanilla. As events were to show later on, this port was used not only to intimidate Qudarat but as a base for launching attacks against Buayan and for sending an overland expedition, across Iranun territory, to Lake Lanao.

A few years before Qudarat's defeat at Lamitan in 1637, he was able to extend his political sway not only over the Maranao inhabitants around the Lake but over the pagan natives north of the Lake, and even up to the area now called Cagayan de Oro. In the settlement of Bayug, around the site of the present Iligan, the Recollect priests established a mission among the non-Muslim inhabitants. As the priests themselves realized, this was something that Qudarat could not tolerate, for he must have clearly perceived that Bayug would serve as a gateway for the Spaniards to his northern dominions. Moreover, the presence of priests who would inevitably be followed by Spanish soldiers, meant the eventual termination of tribute payments to him and their collection instead by the Spaniards.

As would have happened under the circumstances, about 2,000 Maranaos under the proddings of Qudarat one day attacked some of the settlements in Cagayan, especially those in the area of the present city of Cagayan de Oro. In spite of the damage done, not much seemed to have been accomplished by the Maranaos, since the priests had disciplined and instructed the inhabitants on how to defend themselves. On one occasion, under the leadership of the Recollects, the people of Cagayan raided a Maranao village near the Lake and acquired some spoils to compensate for some of their previous losses.[60]

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[59] "Letter from Mindanao sultan to Governor of Ternate," 1639 II, 237-238, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren*, p. 237.

Urged by the Jesuits and as part of his project to destroy once and for all Muslim power in Mindanao and open it up to Christian evangelization, Corcuera decided to send an expedition to subdue the datus and people of Lake Lanao. As early as September 1637, he had promised the Lake area to the Jesuits, who would get it the moment it was conquered—to the resentment of the Recollects who presumed it to be their evangelical preserve on account of its proximity to their missions in Bayug and other points in Cagayan.

The conquest of the Lake people was entrusted to Captain Francisco Atienza, the alcalde-mayor of Caraga. With fifty Spaniards and five hundred Caragans, the Captain landed at Bayug and then proceeded to Maranao territory, reaching the Lake on April 4, 1639. According to Spanish reports, there were at the time about fifty settlements around the Lake under the rule of four datus. Also noted was that there were about 2,000 families or 8,000 inhabitants in these settlements. The Spaniards brought with them six collapsible boats which they fitted out in the Lake to the dismay of the Maranaos. It had been reported, too, that while the datus and leading families were Muslims, some of the Maranaos were still non-Muslims. Some of the datus were related to the Iranun datus in the area of Ilana Bay and, as is well known, the Iranun datus, like those of Maguindanao and Buayan, claimed common descent from the Sharif Muhammad Kabungsuwan.

The datus initially offered allegiance to the Spaniards, promised tribute, offered hostages and accepted the missionaries. But it became clear to the Spaniards that not all of these promises were meant to be redeemed. What appeared ominous was the movement of many inhabitants into the interior. At the same time, it was estimated that the Maranaos could easily muster 6,000 warriors from among their allies around the Lake. Lack of firearms was their disadvantage. To cope with what appeared to be imminent, Governor Almonte dispatched Major Pedro Fernandez del Rio with a part of the garrison of Sabanilla consisting of seventy Spaniards and five hundred Visayans to join the forces of Atienza. This expedition was not without hazards since it had to pass through the Butig area under the command of Nuni Amatunding (the Spanish Matundin), an Iranun datu married to Gayang, a sister of Qudarat. Amatunding, too, was a son of Umburung (the Spanish Borongan), who was Qudarat's cousin. After a most difficult passage made so by the fierce resistance of Amatunding, Pedro del Rio made it to the shores of the Lake where he joined the forces of Atienza around the middle of April. Within a week, Atienza and part of his troops left for Bayug, fortified it with a stockade, and finally sailed for Caraga. In October of the same year, an additional force of fifty Spaniards and five hundred Boholanos arrived under the command of Captain Pedro Bermudez de Castro who had orders to build a fort and effectively establish Spanish sovereignty. This time however things were to turn out differently, for Qudarat had decided to deal with matters himself. Calling all the Maranao datus, he presented to them the consequences of cooperation with the Spaniards and the presence of a fort in their midst. According to the report of the Jesuit Combes, the exhortation of the defiant Maguindanao ruler took the following form:

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[60] Cf. "Early Recollect Missions," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 231-236; and "Recollect Missions, 1625-40," *ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 93-97.

> What have you done? Do you realize what subjection would reduce you to? A toilsome slavery under the Spaniards! Turn your eyes to the subject nations and look at the misery to which such glorious nations had been reduced to. Look at the Tagalogs and Visayans! Are you better than they? Do you think that the Spaniards consider you of better stuff? Have you not seen how the Spaniards trample them under their feet? Do you not see every day how they are obliged to work at the oars and the factories with all their rigors? Can you tolerate anyone with a little Spanish blood to beat you up and grasp the fruits of your labor? Allow yourselves to be subjects (today) and tomorrow you will be at the oars; I, at least will be a pilot, the biggest favor they will allow a chief. Do not let their sweet words deceive you; their promises facilitate their deceits, which, little by little, enable them to control everything. Reflect on how even the minor promises to the chiefs of other nations were not honored until they became masters of them all. See now what is being done to these chiefs and how they are being led by a rod.[61]

This supposed speech appears authentic if the fact is considered that it represents a severe indictment of Spanish colonial rule and was reported by no less than a Spanish priest. However, Combes suggested that the reasoning in it was vulgar, and that the hearers failed to note that by assenting to it, they had, in effect, placed themselves under the tyranny of Qudarat. In any case, it was further reported that Qudarat pointed out to the Maranaos that their losses would amount to no more than a year's harvest, a trifle bit in comparison with the loss of their liberty. And when finally the Sultan noticed that his words had found their mark, he galvanized their anti-Spanish stand by promising them his help, as well as that of his brother-in-law, the Iranun datu Nuni Amatunding.

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[61] Combes, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

The Maranaos, who merely refused passively in the beginning to cooperate with the Spanish troops, pretty soon were up in arms against the newly built fort. They used ingenious means to get at the fort and set it on fire. Three of the Spanish boats brought from Bayug were captured. The scarcity of food, however, was the main problem of the besieged. It was Atienza, the alcalde mayor of Caraga, who formed a relief expedition and saved the situation for the beleaguered. The twenty-nine-day siege was thus lifted, and the Maranaos left their positions around the fort. It was the Spaniards' turn to revenge. Seeing that the inhabitants of the Lake had retired to the mountains in the interior, they set fire to all the settlements and fields they could lay their hands on. Afraid to experience once more the horrors of a siege, the Spaniards proceeded to burn their own fort, and then executed an orderly retreat back to Iligan, where another fort was built.

The Spaniards would make one more try to conquer the Maranaos. For a second time under Atienza, the Spaniards and their native allies appeared in the Lake in 1640. All the settlements were again abandoned by the Maranaos who had, as before, retired to the interior. No amount of threats, promises or pleadings could make them come back to the Lake. Only one chief appeared friendly and even this later on showed himself to be totally against the Spaniards. The Spaniards once again burned the fields and retired to the coast, but not without losing some men on the way due to the frequent ambushes. After this second attempt, it would take the Spaniards about two centuries and a half to return to the Lake. Spanish attempts to colonize and Christianize the Maranaos had utterly failed. In payment for their freedom, the Maranaos lost two harvests.[62]

It will be recalled that during Governor Corcuera's stay in Zamboanga after his destruction of Lamitan in March 1637, Datu Maputi, the Rajah of Buayan, sent his brother as ambassador to accept the terms of Corcuera. The Governor promised to deal with him as the paramount lord of the Pulangi and that after his planned conquest of Sulu, he would even send Datu Maputi a captain with seven artillery pieces to help him take over the territories which still recognized Qudarat as their lord. At the same time, Qudarat had an ambassador in Zamboanga desiring to discuss peace terms. Corcuera studiedly ignored Qudarat's ambassador while he went out of his way to honor the envoy of Datu Maputi. It was quite obvious that the Spanish Governor wanted to sow some more seeds of dissension between Qudarat and the Rajah of Buayan, while heaping humiliations on Qudarat to force him down to his knees. Thus, for the present Qudarat was ignored, and the problem for the Spaniards was how to deal with Datu Maputi on friendly terms.

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[62] For details of the three expeditions to Lake Lanao, cf. Combes, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-177; Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, pp. 109b-110b; and "Recollect Missions, 1625-40," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 98-113.

Around the middle of 1638, in accordance with the peace treaty earlier entered into by Corcuera and the Rajah of Buayan, the Spaniards asked for tribute from Datu Maputi, the right to send missionaries, as well as the right to build a fort in the settlement of Buayan. But the Rajah of Buayan now refused outright to pay tribute or even to accept missionaries. Concerning the building of a fort in his town, he was willing to allow the Spaniards to do so on condition that it be placed under his jurisdiction. Furthermore, he demanded that he be given some artillery for his own *cotta.* That ended Spanish flirtation with Buayan.

In the meantime, a new element appeared to the advantage of the Spaniards in their relations with Datu Maputi. Kdaw, a sister of Datu Maputi and married to Makadula, the chief of Taulan, whose followers inhabited the mountains some miles upstream northeast of Buayan, had a son called Balatamay. Before Makadula's death, he designated his son as heir and charged his brother, Manakior, to carry out his wishes. However, Manakior himself dispossessed his nephew and assumed the chieftainship. Datu Maputi, who was also an uncle of Balatamay and who was accustomed to getting some tribute from the people of Taulan looked with disfavor upon the state of affairs. He then attacked some of the settlements of Manakior. Later, to keep a check on Manakior, Datu Maputi demanded that the former keep close to the latter's court in Buayan. It was this state of strained relations between Datu Maputi and Manakior that obviously favored the Spaniards who, therefore, were in no time dealing with the enemy of their enemy. Manakior was promised the return of lost lands as well as those of Maputi if he would help the Spaniards drive away the Rajah of Buayan.

It will be recalled that Sabanilla was occupied by Spanish troops on March 2, 1639, under an expedition led by Major Pedro del Rio. This move was calculated to check the activities of Qudarat in the Iranun area and at the same time use Sabanilla as a base for attacks against the Rajah of Buayan, the Iranun datus loyal to Qudarat, and the Maranaos. On March 21, Almonte appeared in Sabanilla. But shortly after leaving a strong garrison to check the activities of Qudarat, he left with the main force to attack Buayan. To forestall the invasion, the people of Buayan cut the dikes on the river and inundated the fields surrounding the approaches to their capital and nearby *cotta.* After much difficulty, the invaders consisting of about one hundred twenty Spaniards and six hundred native allies, and warriors from Siao, the Moluccas, were able to reach higher ground, march to Buayan, and completely raze it to the ground. The *cotta* of Datu Maputi, which was not far away and situated on the shore of a lake, was then surrounded. After the *cotta* was abandoned by the Datu in May, it, too, was destroyed by the Spaniards. All along Manakior with about two thousand of his men was helping the Spaniards. In recognition of this aid, the Spaniards promised to consider Manakior as lord of Buayan provided that Datu Maputi was kept out of it. The Spaniards then began to build a new fort in Buayan where a small garrison was left to stand by. Almonte returned to Zamboanga.

Datu Maputi was not daunted by the loss of his *cotta* which he perhaps thought would only be temporary. He went deeper into the interior where he collected the customary tribute. In the meantime, he was reorganizing his band of warriors even as he proceeded to recruit some more men. Meanwhile, Qudarat had the Spanish garrison at Sabanilla surrounded or at least prevented from sallying forth into the neighboring area. It seemed that actually he had recovered enough to be able to threaten Spanish shipping near the fort. An advantage which Qudarat had over Maputi was that many of the sea-faring Iranuns and Samals around Ilana Bay were his partisans who continually constituted a danger to the Spaniards. There was a time when two Spanish brigs were enticed into the river adjoining the fort where they were captured by Qudarat and his warriors. The Spanish marines who were not killed were carried into captivity. It would take the efforts of the Jesuit chaplain of the fort to go to Qudarat's temporary capital and persuade him to release the survivors. For a time, the Sultan appeared as if he was also going to keep the priest a prisoner. However, Qudarat released them all after entering into a sort of peace treaty with the Spaniards through the mediation of the priest. This was all that the Sultan needed—more time to consolidate his position and build a stronger army without the perennial Spanish harassment. From another view, the peace treaty was also convenient to the Spaniards who feared a friendly juncture between Qudarat and Datu Maputi with whom they were still having problems.

The peace treaty, however, must have disturbed Datu Maputi as may be inferred from his friendly overtures to Qudarat around September 1639. The Sultan's answer was that it was first of all necessary for the Rajah of Buayan to mend his broken relations with Manakior. Once this was accomplished, he assured that the *cottas* would be garrisoned against the Spaniards. Not long after, both Qudarat and Datu Maputi were persuading Manakior to abandon his alliance with the Spaniards. It soon became apparent that Manakior was won over by his woers. He became lukewarm to the Spaniards, and a month later he left Buayan with his warriors. It is equally significant that the Rajah of Buayan was progressively becoming stronger to the extent that he actually captured some of the settlements of Manakior. Without the warriors of Manakior, the Spanish garrison and its native allies thus became more isolated. There were no more doubts that Manakior had defected and joined Qudarat who might yet help him regain his lost territories. By December 1639, Datu Maputi and his warriors were attacking the Spanish fort. Although they failed to take the fort, they succeeded in keeping it relatively isolated while they were busy repossessing the lands around it. In the last week of the same month, a brig with twenty Spaniards and supplies intended for the fort was captured. At this juncture Datu Maputi invited Juan Lopez de Lucero, the fort commander, to have a conference with him ostensibly for the purpose of discussing the fate of the Spanish captives. To this the commander imprudently and unwisely assented. With an official, the Jesuit chaplain, and an armed escort, the Spaniards went to the site agreed upon. Once outside the range of the fort's artillery, they were ambushed by a few hundred Buayan warriors. The Spanish official was instantly killed while the dying commander was brought back to the fort, like the gravely wounded chaplain who died a few days after.

While the warriors of the Rajah of Buayan kept the garrison busy Qudarat and his Iranun allies left the lands of the Iranuns and trekked southward towards the Pulangi. The Spanish expedition of 1639 to conquer the people of the Lake was an utter failure. Qudarat, who was instrumental in forging Maranao unity and resistance, successfully contained the Spanish danger from the North. It was time that he turned his attention southwards. With the help of Datu Nuni Amatunding and other Iranun allies, Qudarat settled on the banks of the river Simuay. This site was about ten miles from the old settlement of Maguindanao, close to Slangan, the capital of his father Buisan. This old settlement had great strategic value, since at this point they could easily cut the supply lines of Buayan which was situated about thirty-two miles upstream.

Meantime, Manakior, who had disappeared from Buayan and deserted his Spanish allies, appeared in Simuay to finalize his marriage arrangements with a sister of Qudarat. This marriage alliance was meaningful to Qudarat in two ways: the weaning of Manakior away from the Spaniards and gaining him as a possible ally against the Rajah of Buayan. As for Manakior, his marriage could mean the possibility of recovering his lost lands from Buayan with Qudarat's help. His line would also acquire the legitimacy to rule on account of common descent from the ancestors of the rulers of Maguindanao and Buayan. It appears from a report that part of the dowry for the bride was to be the Spanish fort at Buayan which was to be given to Qudarat. This report must be true, for it was then also heard that Manakior attempted to capture the fort by deception. Posing as a friend, he tried to gain entry into it only to be hurled back by the Spaniards who were now more wary and alert. Manakior's unsuccessful attempt cost him the death of 80 warriors which made him furious enough to swear revenge. But what now appeared disconcerting to the Spaniards was the fact that Qudarat, Datu Maputi, and Manakior had arrived at an understanding, which may not as yet mean a united front against the Spaniards, but at least it meant at that moment the end to internicene dissensions among them.

Although hemmed in their fort in Buayan, the Spanish garrison and their native allies, protected by their artillery and reinforced by occasional supplies from the Sabanilla fort, were able to hold their own. The supplies, however, did not come as regularly as they desired. One of the difficulties faced was that the fort was about thirty-six miles inland from the mouth of the Pulangi, and the supply boats had to navigate upstream. In any case, there seemed to be no immediate possibility that Qudarat would block any of the supply ships, something which he could have done with little effort by just going southward to a distance of less than ten miles from his capital of Simuay. But Qudarat would rather have the peace pact concluded in 1639 respected until an incident which occurred in May 1642.

The task of bringing supplies to Buayan was entrusted to Agustin de Marmolejo, a naval officer, with specific instructions to desist from any belligerent action against Qudarat. With one *champan* and two smaller boats heavily loaded with fifty Spaniards, a chaplain, an undetermined number of native servants or allies, and six artillery pieces, he left Zamboanga for the Sabanilla fort. Here he transferred all the personnel and five artillery pieces to the *champan*, but instead of proceeding directly to the Pulangi, he sailed to the mouth of the Simuay river hurling challenges at Qudarat even to the extent of sending him an offensive letter. Qudarat made no answer. Undismayed, the impetuous official sailed deeper upstream, waiting for an answer to his challenge. Possibly, he intended to go as far as the Sultan's capital. The heavy *champan* sailed upstream for almost seven exhausting days. This plus the crammed quarters and cautious refusal of the leader to be moored at any time were all to tell on the crew. On June 1, close to a bend of the river, the Spaniards caught a glimpse of the Sultan's settlement. Suddenly, upon the Sultan's order the Muslims attacked. The *champan* soon found itself surrounded by two *caracoas,* one commanded by the Sultan and the other by Manakior, as well as by more than a hundred boats of various sorts and sizes. Qudarat was directing operations when one of the sons of Manakior was killed by the Spaniards. This infuriated the father who was soon among the first to board the *champan.* With his own hands, he slew the chaplain. Only six Spaniards, including Marmolejo, surrendered in time to be taken alive as prisoners.

Upon hearing of the massacre, the commander of the Sabanilla fort immediately offered an explanation to Qudarat. He said that Marmolejo had exceeded and disobeyed his superior's orders. For his part, the Sultan explained how he had done his best to keep the peace but that the provocation had exceeded its limits. Qudarat accepted the explanation whereupon he released the captive Spaniards and even refused to accept the ransom offered for them, including the enormous one for Marmolejo, as a sign of his good will. Peace terms were discussed with the Sultan who assumed that the treaty would be permanent in character. It is not known whether one of things considered was the abandonment of the fort of Buayan. In any case, the Spaniards arrived at the conclusion that the risk involved in sending supplies was not worth it and, therefore, they decided to abandon the Buayan fort. Instead they strengthened the one in Sabanilla. The retreat from Buayan was accompanied by the Spaniard's burning of settlements and plantations on their way to the coast, a practice that had already become part of the Spaniard's policy to cause poverty and strike fear and terror among the Muslims. Soon after, even the fort at Sabanilla was likewise abandoned.

In Zamboanga, the brave but luckless Marmolejo was publicly executed following his conviction at a court martial. The Muslims who went to the public plaza to witness the execution and who, presumably, always had an admiration for bravery, whether that of a believer or an enemy, must have left the plaza probably both impressed and wondering at the strange ways of Spanish justice.

News of Qudarat's presence in Simuay sent the Maguindanaos of the Pulangi flocking to the place and to his standard. He also received increased support from the Iranuns inhabiting the coasts of Ilana Bay as well as those from the Bay of Sibugay some of whom even gave him tribute. The Maranaos were likewise beholden to him. The peoples inhabiting the area between the Butig mountains and the Pulangi became his vassals, while the sea-faring peoples from the mouth of the Pulangi round up to the Davao Gulf, including the peoples of the islands of Sangir and Sarangani, became tributary to him. With the relative weakness of the Sulu ruler, Qudarat appeared as the logical protector of the peoples of Basilan, as indeed he believed he was, and, therefore, he invited them to establish settlements in the area of Sibugay. He even asked them to help populate his capital. Concerning his relations with Manakior, this was secure by virtue of the previously arranged marriage-alliance. He was also collecting tribute from settlements of seafaring peoples in Baruw (Barong, Suaco, Sawacan) in the Kuran area in the Northeast coast of Borneo.[61] Under the circumstances, Qudarat formally assumed the title of Sultan. The only obstacle was his relative, Datu Maputi, the Rajah of Buayan, who was now back in his old capital. However, with the Spaniards out of Buayan and Sabanilla, there appeared nothing, at the moment, to prevent Qudarat from dealing outrightly and directly with Datu Maputi. Qudarat was soon building a string of *cottas* along the Pulangi that controlled the entry to Buayan. One of them was in Kabuntalan, just where the Pulangi forks into a northern branch that goes to the coast and the Tamontaka river. Another was at Tawiran, on the banks of the latter river. For all practical purposes, after the construction of the *cottas,* Qudarat was in control of the Pulangi river from its two mouths to Kabuntalan. Cut off from the coast, equally so from the north because of the mountain people's alliance with Qudarat and from the south, this time due to the team-up of the mountain people in Talayan with Manakior, the Rajah of Buayan found his position becoming progressively more difficult. It was then that the Spaniards, who never had any love for Datu Maputi, came to his rescue.

The Spaniards generally tended to blame Qudarat for all their reverses. They had not forgotten nor forgiven him for his victory against Marmolejo. They were consequently out for revenge. The missionaries viewed him as the greatest single obstacle to their efforts to Christianize the whole island of Mindanao. It was a fact that the Sultan was powerful enough to intimidate the sea-faring peoples in Spanish-held territories to effectively stop the use of these people against him. Many of these people were actually willing to become Christians and do practically anything the Spaniards wanted them to do except take up arms against the Sultan. Worse, the Sultan was in contact with the hated heretical Dutch who entertained some ambitions in the Philippines. That the Sultan should not become any more powerful than he was already or that he should not be given the chance to conquer Buayan, a decisive step in the increase of his power, appeared important to the Spaniards. Without any provocation on the part of the Sultan, the Spaniards proceeded to block the mouth of the Simuay River to prevent any vessel from entering or leaving it. They tried to capture all trading vessels coming from the Moluccas enroute to the Sultan's capital. But the Sultan refused to be provoked. That was why his antagonists had to switch to another course of action.

Swallowing their pride, the Spaniards went on to deal with the Rajah of Buayan. Through the emissary Alejandro Lopez, the Rajah complained to the Spaniards about their previous dealings and support of Manakior. Soon after, the Spaniards decided on a two-pronged offensive. A Spanish expeditionary force was to destroy all the *cottas* built by Qudarat in the Pulangi area, and another was to capture his capital in Simuay. But to protect his capital, the Sultan abandoned his *cottas* in the Pulangi which were easily destroyed by the Spaniards. He then directed an inquiry to the Spaniards concerning the attack despite his being at peace with them. In reply, the Spaniards claimed that they had never entered into any permanent peace treaty but only had effected truces. Well aware of his past experience in Lamitan, the Sultan decided on new tactics. He abandoned the idea of defending his capital but instead retired to the interior from where he planned to harass the Spaniards at any given opportunity, lengthen their supply lines and stir up trouble among the subjects of the Spanish King who may willingly lend him an ear. In the last week of February 1643, the Spaniards entered Simuay without much difficulty, and found it almost intact and surrounded by well-kept plantations. The Sultan was already gone with his still complete army. More than ever, the Sultan was determined to avoid as much as possible a large scale battle with the Spanish forces. Instead he offered to negotiate for a permanent peace and not a truce this time. In response the Spanish told the Sultan and his heir to come to Manila, to give up all his Christian captives, to surrender all his arms and artillery, and to allow the preaching of the Catholic Faith in all his lands. Since the Sultan was simply seeking for Spanish recognition of his sovereignty over part of the island of Mindanao, he was not prone to accept all the Spanish conditions. It can be presumed that he must have been well informed of the fate which befell the Ternate Sultan Said Din Berkat, who, once brought to Manila, was never allowed to return to his home. (This once powerful ruler, having previously refused to embrace Catholicism with the remark that "it was not fitting for a king to change his religion while being a prisoner," died a faithful Muslim in Manila in 1628). Qudarat consequently then decided to bide his time until the Spaniards would recognize him as a sovereign in his own lands. Meanwhile, he was spreading the word to the Samals of Basilan and the Iranuns of Sibugay that the Dutch were coming anytime to help him drive out the Spaniards. Thus previously friendly and peaceful inhabitants became uncooperative and then menacing. By the end of 1644, the Spanish soldiers and missionaries had to abandon Sibugay and Basilan in fear of their lives. The Sultan, too, was back in his capital in Simuay.

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[61] Van Dijk, *op. cit.,* p. 276. Also cf. Combes, *op. cit.,* p. 31.

In 1640, the Dutch renewed their drive to consolidate their colonial possessions in Malaysia and extend them. They poured more power into their military offensive against Spanish and Portuguese possessions in the area. In 1641, Malacca fell to them and in the next year they took over Formosa where all Spanish missionaries were expelled. It was then that the Spanish colony in the Philippines appeared in danger of being completely isolated by the Dutch. A Dutch attack on Manila ceased to be a remote possibility. It had become a rather frightful, immediate threat. It was clear that the Spaniards were not in a position to tackle the Dutch and simultaneously face a hostile enemy in Sulu and Maguindanao. Not only did they pose a danger to Spanish possessions in the Visayas but also a real and formidable enemy if and when they allied with the Dutch. This was the situation as seen by the new Governor General Alonso Fajardo. He had no choice but to abdicate from the government's former stand and abandon the truculent tactics of Corcuera. The Jesuit Alejandro Lopez was sent to sound out Qudarat on the feasibility of concluding a treaty. Actually, this was what the Sultan had hoped for. Consequently, the Jesuit ambassador returned to Zamboanga with a draft of the treaty. Francisco de Atienza, governor of Zamboanga and famous veteran fighter against Muslims, found the draft satisfactory to the Spanish government, probably in terms of the criteria previously given to him by Fajardo. On June 24, 1645, Atienza himself went to Simuay to have the treaty ratified.[64]

In this treaty, the Spaniards recognized that the whole territory from the river Sibugay (which flows to Sibugay Bay in the present province of Zamboanga) to the Tagalook Bay (the present Davao Gulf) was tributary to Qudarat. The interior mountain tribes (in the present Cotabato and Bukidnon) were considered part of his sphere of influence, although they might not yet have been reduced to vassalage by the Sultan. However, the people living in the area of the Taraka, Bansayan, and Didagun, river settlements in the Maranao area, were to remain within the Spanish sphere of influence. There was to be established an offensive and defensive alliance between the sovereigns of Spain and Maguindanao and spoils taken in joint operations were to be divided equally. However, Christian captives were to be set free. Subjects of the Spanish King were to be allowed to enter the territories of the Sultan for commercial purposes in the same manner that the Sultan's subjects would also be allowed in Spanish territories. However, Maguindanao traders will have to pay a five percent duty on all merchandise they brought to Zamboanga. Muslims who had been converted to Catholicism would be permitted to enter Maguindanao for trade purposes without being required to re-embrace Islam. The Jesuits would be allowed to build a church in Simuay to minister to the needs of Christians. Christian slaves who could ransom themselves in accordance with specified rates were to be automatically released. Datu Manakior (now brother-in-law of the sultan) was to be considered a friend by the Spaniards. The treaty was signed by the Sultan, Atienza, Lopez, and some other Spanish officials. What is significant is that the treaty is silent about the Rajah of Buayan.[65]

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[64] The Spanish offensive against Buayan, Qudarat's attempt to surround the Sabanilla fort, the ambush of Marmolejo, the Spanish attack on Simuay, the abandonment of Buayan, Sabanilla, Sibugay, and Basilan by the Spaniards, and the peace treaty of June 24, 1645 have been culled from many sources specially Combes, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-348, 425-433, and 670-680; Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, 97b-99b and 114b-116b; and Montero y Vidal *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 182-189, and pp. 212-218.

With the peace terms signed, no matter how temporary it may be, since it is doubtful that both parties believed it was or intended it to be lasting, Qudarat proceeded to consolidate further his power and position in Mindanao. For the moment his possible antagonist was Datu Maputi who would for some time yet remain master of Buayan.

The narrative regarding events in Sulu must now be resumed from the time Governor Corcuera sailed from the island of Jolo for Zamboanga after the fall of the *cotta* of Rajah Bongsu in April 1638. Captain Gines Ros de Aviles was left behind as Governor of Jolo with a force of four hundred Spaniards and Pampangos with instructions to gather tribute from the Sulus and to capture the Sulu Sultan who had gone into the interior of the island. Around the Jolo fort, registration for the tribute lists appeared brisk. Everything seemed to be going on smoothly, reason enough, it seems, for the Jolo governor to be optimistic and complaisant. Things were simply too good to be true. At least the Jesuits thought so.

Actually in the middle of 1638, the situation in Sulu was hard on the native population as well as on the Spanish garrison. While famine stalked the land, epidemics continued to take away lives. Disease and death visited the garrison. Meantime, the disruption of normal trade activities on the island led many Sulus to leave. Unrest set in once more. Datu Ache and a son of Rajah Bongsu, with other warriors, had left for Tawi-Tawi where they recurited new allies, built a *cotta,* and amassed a new fleet to meet the Spanish challenge. The Rajah of Sulu, in the meantime, stayed in a *cotta* in the interior of the island (probably Bud Dato), devising schemes to recapture his old *cotta* and possibly even the Spanish fort. In September, on the pretext of registering for the tribute, a few hundred Sulus, under the leadership of a certain Kahapitan, tried to enter the fort, probably to capture it from within. Since the governor could not receive them at the time they had set, their plans did not succeed. It was believed by some Spanish priests, that the author of the plot was Rajah Bongsu himself. The frustrated Kahapitan then tried to snatch some captives of the Spaniards who were working in a quarry near the fort. In their attempt to capture them, they killed two Spanish guards and were able to take away some of the captives. It became clear that, in spite of the friendly policy of Gines Ros, the Sulus had not changed their mind. They still refused to pay the tribute indefinitely or to accept Spanish domination.[60] The Jesuit missionaries, always suspicious of the intentions of the Sulus and consequently not disposed to favor the policies of Ros, made efforts to explain their misgivings to the Zamboanga Governor. It was under these circumstances that Almonte arrived in Jolo on June 7, 1639, to inaugurate a new policy against the Sulus—submission or death. He forthwith demonstrated what he meant when he sent an expedition around some coastal areas, which burned settlements and plantations, captured and made slaves of fifty Sulus, some of whom were sent to work at the oars.

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[65] A copy of this treaty is found in "Testimonio de los Autos sobre la providencia para mantener en paz los Reyes de Mindanao y Jolo y cesen sus armas de una y otra parte," Legajo 127, *Audiencia de Filipinas, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla.* A less accurate copy is found in Combes, *op. cit.*, pp. 430-433.

The plan to capture the Sulu Rajah dead or alive came next. An expeditionary force of six hundred men, divided into two columns, under the command of Captains Agustín de Cepeda and Gaspar de Morales respectively, cautiously inched their way to the Rajah's *cotta* one evening. But plans went awry due to the accidental firing of an arquebus. The alerted Rajah along with some faithful followers, slipped across enemy lines to reach the coast where they fitted a boat and sailed for Tawi-Tawi. In frustration and anger over the escape of the Rajah, the Spaniards had many Sulus killed including some who had already surrendered. The Sulu Rajah's flight to Tawi-Tawi explains the existence of many royal datus on that island, especially in the settlement of Dungun, which continued to serve as a sort of second capital even after the Rajah's return to Jolo.

Then a certain Major Luis de Guzman, on instructions from Almonte, and supported by some naval forces scoured the island, burned coastal settlements and carried away captives. In the meantime, the Spanish Admiral Pedro de la Mata went with a squadron to different islands in the Sulu Archipelago, burning, pillaging, and capturing Sulus, including Samals, destined for the oars or the slave market. It was during this occasion that the Spanish squadron was able to destroy a newly formed fleet by Pangiran Bakhtiar, a son of the Sulu ruler. However, the Pangiran was able to escape alive.

As if these punitive expeditions were not enough, Captain Diego Sarria Lazcano was ordered to join and reinforce the fleet. It seems that this reinforced fleet chalked up five hundred Sulu casualties, some of whose chiefs were publicly executed even as one hundred twelve Christian captives were rescued and freed.

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[60] For the famine in Sulu and the activities of Kalupitan, see "Events in Philipinas, 1638-39," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 142, pp. 152-155, p. 158, and p. 160.

Although the coastal settlements of the Sulus appeared to have been only for that moment completely subdued, the Spaniards now turned their attention to the Buranuns (Guimbahanuns) living in the interior of the island of Jolo, as distinguished from those of the coastal areas. Their haughty response to the Spanish demand for submission called attention to the big difference between them and those coastal peoples who had already submitted.

On July 16, Major Luis de Guzman was sent on a punitive expedition against the Buranuns. In one fierce battle where, according to reports, about two hundred Buranuns were killed, eight Spaniards, including Guzman, who was speared twice, died. Cepeda, who was second in command, took over and continued to pursue the policy for the extermination of the Buranuns. In another expedition, it is said that another four hundred Buranuns were killed. Considering the Jolo campaign closed, Almonte left for Zamboanga on the last week of July.

Before his return to Zamboanga, Almonte appointed Morales to replace Ros as governor of Jolo. Although a brave soldier, Morales would, however, fail to be a good administrator. He tried to use his position to enrich himself. Furthermore, he alienated Datu Salibanza because of what he did to the daughter of his powerful chief of Tandu. And thus to avenge his daughter's honor the datu tried to kill Morales, but this only ended in failure and the death of about eighty of the datu's warriors. Morales, himself, paid for his abuses. He was returned to his old rank in the army and replaced as governor by Major Ruiz de Maroto. The restiveness of the Sulus once more became manifest, causing Admiral Mata to resort to his usual manner of quelling similar disturbances.

In order to prevent the Buranuns from taking common cause with the Tausug coastal peoples and the Samals, in the latter part of 1642, Morales with 150 Spaniards and 450 Visayans went on an expedition to Parang. But Morales did not come back alive from this mission. The men of Parang maneuvered them deeper into the interior where he challenged and called them "dogs," till a well-aimed bamboo spear silenced him forever. Thirty-nine Spaniards perished with him in this battle where only seventy Sulus faced and defeated 600 Spaniards and native allies.

Within a few months, Agustin de Cepeda, now governor of Jolo, decided to avenge the death of his former fellow officer, Morales. With thirty Spaniards and 300 native allies, he led another expedition to Parang in December 1643. His object was to exterminate the enemies of the Spaniards, but all he managed to accomplish was the capture of a few. Not satisfied with the depopulation of Parang, in February 1644, he led another expedition to finish what appeared to him an as yet uncompleted work.

What emerged as a clear policy to exterminate the people of the island of Jolo simply increased the hatred of the Sulus for all Spaniards, Christians, and the natives who were used to perpetuate Spanish domination. It caused the Sulus to become more stubborn and more unyielding in their determination to expel the Spaniards from their ancestral lands. For this reason, the Jolo fort and garrison, more than ever, faced imminent and greater danger.[67] Sulu traditions on this phase of the struggle against efforts to Christianize and conquer them are full of heroic stories about ambushes and about how they caused even members of the garrison to unwittingly commit corruption. The general optimism of the missionaries to convert the Sulus after the defeat of the Sulu ruler by Corcuera in 1638, was now reduced, barely showing itself in a few and isolated instances of baptisms of pagans and inoffensive sea-faring peoples.

In any case, aware of their meager resources and their inability to completely push out the Spaniards, the Sulus decided on a new course of action. On March 25, 1644, the Pangiran Sarikula (Salicala), the Rajah Muda and older son of Rajah Bongsu, arrived in Batavia where he asked for a conference with the Dutch Governor General. The next day the Pangiran was escorted to Casteel Batavia where, after being honored with the firing of five cannon shots, he presented the Governor a letter written in Malay by the Datu Bendahara of Sulu. The letter recalled the old friendship between the Dutch and the Sulus, and how the latter, in spite of enjoying peace with the Spaniards, sided with the Dutch as against the Spaniards (possibly referring to the events in 1616) an action for which they, the Sulus, were now dearly paying for. The Bendahara then recounted how the Castillans were ruining the land of Sulu and then brought up the need for help and assistance from the Dutch in the form of weapons. A gift of one black slave, a gold chain, and two pearls "whose value were to be disregarded for they were simply to be likened to flowers," accompanied the letter.

The Governor General in reply asked the Pangiran for vital information concerning the layout of the island of Jolo and the strength of the Spanish forces. The Pangiran revealed that the Spaniards had two forts there: one at the coast and the other in a nearby mountain (possibly the old *cotta* of Rajah Bongsu). The Governor appeared sympathetic and had a few more conferences with the Pangiran.[68] Finally, given the assurance of Dutch help in the near future, although no specific date was mentioned, the Pangiran left for Brunei in the last week of May of the same year.[69]

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[67] For details on the arrival of Almonte, the attempt to capture Rajah Bongsu, the death of Morales, and the Cepeda expeditions to Parang, see Combes, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-395, 402-415, and pp. cix-cxv.

[68] *Dagh-Register* (*Anno 1643-1644*), pp. 46-48.

It would not take time before the consequences of the trip of the Sulu Rajah Muda would show its effects. In July 1645, a Dutch squadron appeared in Jolo. The Dutch landed some troops and bombarded the Spanish fort by land and sea on the 27th, helped along by the Sulus. Nevertheless, they failed to make the garrison surrender. Leaving the Christians to fight one another, the Sulus retired from the fighting but stayed on to watch. When they saw that the Dutch did not seem to make any headway, they even attempted to capture one of the artillery pieces which the Dutch had landed. After three days, the Dutch squadron sailed away, its mission unaccomplished.[70]

But the Dutch attack on the Jolo Spanish fort inflicted enough damage. The Spaniards themselves were not sure that they would be able to survive a stronger attack. Actually at this time, Rajah Bongsu had returned to the island of Jolo and his warriors had once more appeared menacing. As a consequence, the war Council at Manila decided to abandon the Jolo fort and concentrate most of its forces in Manila to meet a possible Dutch attack. The Spaniards figured out, too, that inasmuch as they were going to abandon the two forts in Jolo, they might as well make something of their plans to pull out from there. It was presumed that the Sulus would not fully know about the predicament of the Spaniards so that the latter could perhaps make it appear that they were willing to abandon Jolo provided that they got some concessions for this action. The Jesuit Alejandro Lopez was once more sent to Jolo to negotiate a peace treaty with the Sulu ruler. He tried to communicate with Rajah Bongsu but the latter, aware of the presence of the Dutch fleet in Philippine waters, was not so naive as to conclude that this had not actually disturbed the Spaniards. Moreover, his sons were now equipped with a new fleet. Furthermore, the people of Basilan were becoming restive. To strengthen their position and make the Sulu ruler amenable to peace, the Spaniards were able to secure letters of intercession addressed to the Sulu Ruler from Sultan Qudarat (who had previously entered into a peace treaty with them on June 24, 1645). Nevertheless, the Sulu Rajah, who had opposed the Spaniards for about thirty years, and who had considerably suffered from their attacks, refused to have anything to do with, nor even to see the hated face of, any Spaniard. But somehow the Jesuit Ambassador, by sheer courage and perseverance, was able to go into the interior safely and actually persuade Rajah Bongsu to discuss with the Spaniards. It was thus on April 14, 1646, that a peace treaty was entered into by Atienza, the Zamboanga Governor, and the Sulu ruler in the presence of Qudarat's ambassadors.

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[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59 and p. 83.

[70] Combes, *op. cit.*, pp. 433-435.

The peace treaty proclaimed perpetual friendship between Sulu and Spain and provided for an offensive and defensive alliance. The jurisdiction of the Sulu Ruler was to include the island of Jolo and the islands between it and Tawi-Tawi. The Spaniards were to have certain rights in Siassi, Tapul, Balangingi, and Pangutaran. The Rajah's successor was to be Pangiran Bakhtiar who was to be protected by the Spaniards. The Jesuits could come and preach in the Sulu dominions. Christian captives among the Sulus taken during the coming of the Dutch were to be released while other captives were to be allowed to be ransomed. Vassals of the Spanish King in Jolo were to return to Zamboanga while those who refused to leave would not be forced to do so and would be allowed to keep their Christian faith. Should the Spaniards help the Sulus subdue their rebellious vassals, the spoils were to be divided equally. The same would apply to help given to the Spaniards, except that there was to be no division of Christian vassals of the Spaniards who may have rebelled. Every year, joint expeditions were to be made against the Camucones of Borneo and the spoils of war and captives were to be divided equally, except regarding Christian captives who were to belong solely to the Spaniards. The Sulu Ruler also promised to contain the activities of his sons Pangiran Satikula and Pangiran Katchil against the Spaniards and make them accede to the treaty, and to send to Zamboanga every year three *joangas* filled with rice as a sign of brotherhood. Finally, the Spaniards pledged to abandon their forts in Jolo.[71]

Not long after the Spaniards abandoned their forts in Jolo a Dutch squadron arrived. But there remained nothing for it to do since the Sulus already got what they wanted. It was to take the Sulu Ruler some time to convice his sons to accept the peace treaty. Pangiran Katchil died in a naval battle with the Spaniards. Pangiran Sarikula in due time made peace with the Spaniards and kept it till 1648 when he also died after co-reigning with his father. In the following year, the aging Rajah Bongsu turned over his rule to his son Pangiran Bakhtiar.

On January 11, 1649, a Spanish squadron attacked the Camucones on the Northeast coast of Borneo. The Spaniards were able to capture two hundred of those professional pirates, free some Christian captives, destroy about three hundred boats of different sizes, and return with much booty. In this undertaking some Sulu Samals helped the Spaniards.

Meanwhile, hostilities broke out anew in 1648 between Datu Maputi and Sultan Qudarat. The latter who had a peace treaty with the Spaniards, possibly to test its efficacy, asked for Spanish aid.

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[71] For a copy of the treaty see Combes, *op. cit.*, pp. 443-447.

Atienza, the Zamboanga governor, did send him help. Thus, Datu Maputi had to flee to the interior where after a year he died under mysterious circumstances. He had, however, made peace with Qudarat just before he died. He was succeeded by his nephew, Rajah Balatamay, who was married to one of his daughters. With the death of Datu Maputi and the accession of Balatamay, who was always in the court of Qudarat as an apprentice or junior partner, Qudarat finally became the supreme lord of the Pulangi.

In the latter half of 1649, on account of Spanish abuses in Samar the so-called Palapag revolt took place with repercussions in other parts of the Philippines, including Caraga, and which nearly caused the break-up of peace ties between the Spaniards and Qudarat. Some of the rebels, hunted by the Spaniards, went to take refuge in territory under the suzerainty of Qudarat. Spaniards from Caraga crossed over to the Sultan's territory where, it appears, they captured not only the rebel refugees but also a few of the Sultan's vassals. The Sultan who became more and more furious with the prodding of his datus, soon began to collect a fleet even as he contacted all his vassals, as far as Sangil, for ships and warriors. With rebellion in the Visayan provinces, the Spaniards were in no position to face the imminent danger of an attack from Qudarat on their possessions in Mindanao. In a desperate move, the Spanish government, once again, commissioned Alejandro Lopez to seek the Sultan and explain matters to him. A new peace pact was concluded which had as one of its signatories the new Rajah of Buayan.[72]

All this show of accord would, however, tend to lessen by 1655. The Sultan had become so strong by then and his datus so restless, that the Maguindanaos could and would disregard provisions of the 1645 treaty by refusing to accept missionaries in their territories. The new Spanish Governor General, Sabiniano Manrique de Lara, beset by ecclesiastical controversies as well as dissensions among colonial officials, was not inclined to complicate his woes with additional troubles with Qudarat. One of the first things he did was to notify the Sultan of his arrival with an appeal that the peace be kept. The Sultan informed the ambassadors that he had always desired peace and was satisfied being sultan of his dominions. He emphasized to the Spaniards that he did not ally himself with the Dutch when they appeared in Philippine waters in 1646, although he had a lot to gain from such an alliance, he added. As if to reassure the Spaniards, he also said that he had absolutely no intentions of fighting the Spaniards once again. However, as an aside, he remarked, that he did not mind the burning of his settlements in case of war since there was enough wood in the forests to rebuild them.

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[72] Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

The Sultan further demonstrated his show of goodwill by designating a certain Banua, son of a Tagalog captive, as his emissary to Manila who took along friendly letters to the Governor as well as a handsome kris for a gift. It is significant that the ambassador was neither a member of the royal family nor even an important chief of the realm. Anyway, in his capacity he presented certain demands to the Spanish government such as the return to the Sultan of the artillery pieces which former governor Corcuera had taken away. Another was the return of all captives who formerly belonged to the Maguindanaos. In reply the Governor tried to explain that the cannons had already been melted and that it was difficult to return the captives since many of them had become Christians or were still in the possession of influential families in Manila. However, he promised to do his best to see what could be done about both requests. Clearly, it was not possible for the Spaniards to fully accede to the demands of the Sultan's ambassador. And, therefore, from a practical point of view, the Banua embassy failed in spite of the attempts to grant him all the courtesies befitting his position and facilities for his return.

Spanish historians tended to view Banua as a spy as well as an ambassador making impossible demands to justify the resumption of hostilities on the part of Qudarat. What they failed to see was that the Maguindanaos were merely insisting on what they considered their property rights in the manner the Spaniards had adopted in viewing things for themselves. The Maguindanaos could have also interpreted a provision of the 1645 treaty to mean that the captives of the Spaniards must be returned to them in the same manner that the Spaniards expected that those captured among them would be released.

What therefore happened was that Banua returned empty-handed to Simuay in the company of the Jesuit Alejandro Lopez, the ambassador of the Spanish government to Qudarat, who was bearing a strong letter from the Spanish Governor General, and two others, one of them also a priest, Juan de Montiel. As they were about to reach the capital of the Sultan, Banua decided to go ahead, most probably, to make a report before the Sultan saw Lopez. Ominously, Lopez and his companions did not receive the usual welcome and friendly demonstrations the Jesuit had been accustomed to. Lopez had been on friendly terms with the Sultan for about fifteen years and he had received many personal favors from the Sultan who often called him "brother." Instead of the usual welcome, the Maguindanaos met him with the request that he turn over to them the letter of the Governor, but the priest insisted on delivering them personally to the Sultan. The Sultan finally granted him the much desired interview but only after Lopez had insistently refused to be denied the request. The Jesuit was certain, proceeding from past experience, that he would be able to pacify the Sultan regarding the contents of the Governor's letter, and perhaps even succeed in making him listen to other matters pertinent to his mission.

But in his letter the Governor was far from conciliatory. He complained about the low status of the Sultan's ambassador who was not even a member of the royal family, accused the Sultan of breaking the peace terms, demanded that he mend his ways and allow the building of a church in his territory in accordance with the treaty of 1645. He concluded with the threat that if these demands were not satisfied, the Sultan would be visited by fire and blood, a veritable ultimatum.

It was reported that the Sultan reacted strongly and was visibly irked after the letter was read to him. The priest, however, made an effort to make the letter appear less commanding and imperious than the way it was intended to be. Recalling how in previous times the Sultan had always attentively listened to him on matters regarding religion, he stated that a motive for his coming was to convert the Sultan to Christianity in the hope of giving a glorious end to his long life (the Sultan was at least 75 years at this time). But at this point, according to a report, on account of the threatening character of the letter of the Governor or because he felt he was being treated like a vanquished person, (but in all likelihood because of the missionary zeal of the priest), the Sultan made a threatening move to throw the fan he was holding at the priest. Only the presence of the Sultan's wife near the priest prevented this and the kris blows from the datus and warriors present. The Sultan then pulled his kris and laid it down some distance away and angrily exclaimed to the effect that there was something that had to be avenged but that he was not armed to carry it out. He then warned the priest against bringing up the matter of conversion again on pain of being ordered to be executed. (The priest failed to appreciate the fine gesture of the Sultan. He did not seem to understand that by putting aside his kris, the Sultan implied that he was not willing to retaliate to what appeared to him as an insult but that he was expecting the ambassador at the same time to be equal to the occasion by either apologizing or dropping the problem of conversion.) The priest countered that execution was all well with him since he would then become a martyr. To this remark the Sultan returned with a query as to whether the priest came as ambassador or to become a martyr. The answer was that the problems of the Faith were the most essential in his coming and that he was, in this manner, following the rules of the embassy, and thus prepared to take all risks. Livid with fury, the Sultan ordered the priest to remove himself as far away as possible from his presence.

The priest went back to his *caracoa*. In spite of the warnings of his Samal companions he took his time about leaving in the hope that the

Sultan might in time be rid of his anger, summon him and take him back into his favor. But matters now were in the hands of Balatamay, the Rajah of Buayan. He sent a notice to the priest that the wife of the Sultan wanted to see him. But on arriving at the designated place he saw instead Balatamay with some of his warriors. Others soon appeared. Suddenly a spear flew whistling by and struck the priest, followed by two strokes of a campilan. His companion Montiel, who was nearby, fell with one stroke of a kris. The escorts were either killed or taken captives. The warriors of Balatamay then proceeded to the *caracoa* of the priest, lured the captain to the shore, and finished him off. Only two Spaniards managed to escape with their lives on this occasion which took place on December 13, 1655. The lives of the Samal oarsmen were spared since they were probably vassals of the Sultan.[73]

Sultan Qudarat immediately wrote the Governor of Zamboanga, disclaiming responsibility for the killings even as he laid the blame on Balatamay whom he said was beyond his capacity to punish since this man was powerful. He wrote another letter to the Governor General in Manila saying that the whole affair was due to the imprudence of the Jesuit ambassador, and that since none of the parties concerned was entirely blameless or solely the aggrieved one, matters could be considered as they were before.[74] However, since the Spaniards were not then ready to avenge an affront, they merely tried to make it appear that they had accepted the Sultan's explanations. Actually they were just biding their time until they could put together a sufficiently large force to destroy once and for all the most powerful native leader in the Archipelago.[75]

By then the Sultan counted with quite a number of loyal followers in Zamboanga who could not fail to inform him of any significant Spanish move. Expecting the worst, he prepared himself by trying to reestablish closer connections with the Dutch. Since trade seemed to have slowed down, he went so far as to offer the Dutch a trading place in the Simuay river, near his capital.[76] Meanwhile, still resentful of past Spanish incursions in his territories in Borneo, the Brunei sultan in 1655 was also trying to contact the Dutch for material help.[77]

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[73] For the Banua embassy and the events concerning the Lopez return embassy, see Combes, *op. cit.*, pp. 538-549, and Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, p. 235a-235b.

[74] Combes. *op. cit.*, p. 570. Whether the Sultan had a direct hand in the killing of the priests is problematical. A letter of his to the Sulu sultan in June 1656, six months after the incident, stating to the effect that "we have killed the priests," need not imply more than some sort of communal responsibility. Moreover, to claim credit with a certain motivation for an action is not the same as being the author of the deed. For a copy of this letter, see Murillo Velarde. *op. cit.*, p. 245a.

[75] Combes, *op. cit.*, p. 571.

[76] Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

Qudarat had no second thoughts about what the Spaniards intended to do once they had the necessary fleet and forces. The actuations of the Jesuit ambassador Lopez must have convinced him that the missionaries would not rest nor hesitate to use their political influence to convert the Muslims to Christianity. In 1656 he wrote to all of his vassals to take up arms against the Spaniards and sent letters to the sultans of Sulu, Ternate, Brunei, and Makassar, exhorting them to fight in defense of the Islamic Faith and the Shari'ah. In his letter of the Sultan of Ternate he pointed out that the main objective of the Lopez embassy was for the Christians to do away with the faith of the Muslims. His message to the Sulu Sultan Bakhtiar exhorted him to be a good Muslim and perform his obligations as provided by the Shari'ah. The Sulu Sultan, who was at peace with the Spaniards, was fearful of another traumatic attack from them. He transmitted the letter addressed to him to the Spaniards. In the case of the letter to the Ternate Sultan, this was intercepted by the Spaniards. The response of the Borneo and Makassar sultans is so far not known.

But Sultan Qudarat's declaration of a veritable *jihad* was soon to have its effects.[78] Very shortly thereafter, the Samals in his territories apparently emboldened by the stand of the Sultan attacked the settlements around Zamboanga to the extent of posing danger to shipping in the area. Balatamay, on the other hand, set off with a fleet and went as far as the Calamianes, after intimidating the people of Basilan. Soon, Ternatan warriors came to help Qudarat. All these made it necessary for Francisco de Esteybar, the Spanish governor of the Moluccas, to be sent to command the post at Zamboanga. Arriving on December 2, 1656, he forthwith began equipping a new fleet. Hearing that there was a Maguindanao fleet ready to sail from Simuay, he sent Fernando de Bobadilla to intercept it. Bobadilla blocked the entrance to the river but failed to give battle, since the Samals who were faithful to Qudarat had informed the Sultan about the Spanish moves. Bobadilla was able, however, to capture some boats carrying food supplies for the Sultan. He was nevertheless hampered from accomplishing more, on account of the refusal of many of his Samal crew members to fight the Sultan. In 1657, Balatamay again raided Mindoro, Marinduque, and other nearby places. Laden with many captives and rich with spoils, he proceeded to Sulu where he married a sister of Sultan Bakhtiar, thus fostering closer relations between the Maguindanaos and the Sulus.

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[77] *Ibid.*, p. 309.

[78] "Recollect Missions," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 112-113; and "Moro Pirates," *ibid.*, p. 302. Also cf. Murillo Velarde, *op. cit.*, p. 236a.

It was a desultory warfare which took place between the Spaniards and Qudarat. The Spaniards were able to enter the river Simuay and burn one of the Sultan's settlements there. Sibugay was attacked by the Spaniards, thus cutting off provisions meant for the support of the Sultan. In January 1658, an armada under Esteybar was directed to capture the Sultan's capital. Before attempting this, the Spaniards sent an expeditionary force to reduce the lord of Butig, the faithful brother-in-law of the Sultan, burning rice fields and destroying everything that lay in their path. Failing to capture Datu Amatunding, the Spaniards then retired and attacked the Iranun settlement in the area of the old Sabanilla fort. At the Sultan's capital they ran into formidable defenses garrisoned with Makassars and Malays aided by a few Dutch. The river was so ingeniously blocked that the Spaniards were left with no other alternative but to abandon the whole plan. The armada then proceeded to Buayan which was burned by the Spaniards. A few more expeditions to the area also resulted in the burning of settlements like Tawiran on the Tamontaca river. A similar fate befell the settlements of Tampakan whose fields and plantations were among those destroyed. In all of these punitive expeditions, the Maguindanaos and people of Buayan offered very little resistance since most of them had retired to the interior. The Spaniards, however, found a place which withstood all attacks; it was one of the *cottas* built by the Sultan and it was close to Buayan. Upon realizing that with their resources the *cotta* was impregnable, Esteybar and the other Spaniards retired to the Sabanilla site. The Sultan, except in his *cottas*, offered no resistance. Once again, he refused to be persuaded into meeting with the Spaniards. He made no fuss about the burning of his settlements for, as he once said to the Spaniards, there was enough wood in the forests to rebuild them.

In Sabanilla where he had retired on February 17, after a two-month expedition, Esteybar received his orders to return to the Moluccas. Fernando Bobadilla succeeded him as governor of Zamboanga. The Sultan, happy that Esteybar had gone, but prepared for any eventuality, ordered the people of Buayan to build another strong *cotta* close to his, and at the same time charged Datu Amatunding with the task of defending the entrance to the Simuay river. Some Basilan datus, loyal to the Sultan, were also asked to build *cottas* near the entrance of the estuary of Zamboanga.

In 1655, a couple of Sulu datus emboldened by the state of affairs, fitted thirteen vessels, went to Bohol, Masbate and Leyte to get captives and spoils. They successfully eluded the Spanish squadron sent to catch them. To show that he did not have a hand in the affair, the Sulu Sultan returned the eighty captives collected in this raid and punished the datus. Sultan Bakhtiar knew well the value of peace. Besides, he needed more time to consolidate his position further. Meanwhile, on June 16, 1659, Augustin de Cepeda, now a general, took over the governorship of Zamboanga. Soon, there were no more dramatic conflicts with the Muslims of Sulu or Mindanao. The fact was that the sultans of Sulu and Maguindanao sincerely desired peace provided that the Spaniards did not interfere with them and their territories. Yet, at this time, Sultan Qudarat kept on trying to build his influence on the island of Mindanao, for now the people of Butuan (in the Davao area) were paying tribute to him and its Rajah had become his vassal.[79] Butuan was of considerable value to the Sultan, for it was where he got a great deal of wax, an item much in demand by the Dutch. The Sultan appeared to be in better circumstances in 1660-61, when reports said that he was paying his debts to the Dutch in rice and tobacco.[80] Left alone in peace by the Spaniards, the aging sultan was more interested in building the trade of Maguindanao, especially with the Dutch. The Spaniards must have learned, too, that their policy of blood and iron coupled with attempts to force Christianity on the Muslims was not paying well. Leaving them in peace to carry out their commercial enterprises was to the advantage of all.

In early May 1662, an event with great consequences for the Muslim sultanates in the Philippines took place in Manila. An embassy of Chinese accompanied by a Dominican, Vittorio Ricci, arrived from Formosa carrying a letter from Koxinga, the conqueror who wrested Formosa from the Dutch. Stating that he had thousands of ships and men that could in a single day come and invade the Philippines, he demanded the Spanish colony pay him tribute or suffer the consequences. This threat caused panic among the people of Manila even as the Spaniards made strenuous efforts to build up their defenses. The situation was such that it appeared imperative to recall the garrisons assigned to various parts of the Philippines and the Moluccas, and concentrate them in Manila. On November 8, Bobadilla, the governor of Zamboanga, was instructed to leave the fort to the Christian Samals and send the garrison back to Manila. This order was not immediately complied with, since the Christianized Samals and other peoples complained that they were being abandoned by the very Spaniards who had pledged to protect them. The governor tried to calm them with the assurance that some of them could go to other islands while those who remained need not fear Qudarat who was now on friendly terms with the Spaniards. The Jesuits appealed to the Governor General Manrique de Lara not to abandon the fort but to no avail. A compromise solution to leave about fifty Spanish soldiers in the fort was abandoned, since the Jesuits opposed the plan on the grounds that such a small force would expose them all to danger.

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[79] Van Dijk *op. cit.*, p. 274.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 273.

Knowing the difficulties of the Spaniards and learning of how they were concentrating most of their forces in Manila, some Sulu datus, probably on their own responsibility and without the sanction of the Sulu Sultan, attacked some points of the Visayas. The Sulu Sultan, however, was after bigger game. He tried to convince Sultan Qudarat and his brother-in-law Balatamay to join him in capturing the Zamboanga fort. Qudarat not only refused but convinced the Buayan Rajah not to get involved in the affair. Sultan Bakhtiar, left to his own resources, fell short of his objective. The fact was that all that the Sulu Sultan wanted was to get back Zamboanga which, in the first place, belonged to his ancestors who were wont to use it as a point for collecting tribute from nearby sea-faring inhabitants. It was not, however, in the interest of Qudarat to allow the Sulu Sultan to regain his old domain since many of the Samals in Zamboanga were not only related to the Samals in his territories but had become his vassals. Besides, the old astute Sultan figured out that with the Spaniards out of Zamboanga, it would, by default fall into his hands.

The situation in Zamboanga seemed to have deteriorated to such an extent that a minor Spanish military officer even plotted to betray the fort to Qudarat. When the plot was discovered, he escaped to Basilan believing that some of the Samal vassals of Qudarat there would protect him, only to receive an opposite reception. His severed head was sent to Zamboanga.

On January 4, 1663, the Zamboanga governor received anew the instructions to abandon the fort, this time without any delay or excuse. Three days later the job of pulling out the garrison began. It had been reported that just before it was dismantled, the Zamboanga fort had a garrison of 600 soldiers, of whom about 400 were Spaniards while the rest were mostly Pampangos. The fort was also equipped with sixty pieces of artillery.[81]

Before leaving, the Zamboanga governor turned over the fort to Alonso Makombon, the Christian-convert chief of the Samals who had helped suppress the Palapag rebellion in 1649. Swearing to defend the fort against the enemies of Spain, except Sultan Qudarat, whom the chief claimed he was not strong enough to fight, the Samal chief took over the fort which had been divested of its artillery. The Spaniards feared that, like most of the other Samals who would stay, the Samal chief would eventually recognize the Maguindanao Sultan as his sovereign.

It was reported that about 6,000 Christians were left behind in Zamboanga. Some Samals decided to cast their lot with the Spaniards by following them to a few points in the Visayas or to Dapitan which was a Visayan settlement that the Spaniards continued to hold. Most of the other Christian Samals went to Muslim areas in Sulu and Mindanao where they reverted to their former religion.[82] To be sure, a Dutch report dated June 15, 1663, a few months after the Spanish abandonment of Zamboanga, stated that two-thirds of the Christian population of the town reverted to Islam, and that the Spaniards had brought with them the most prominent Christian leaders to prevent them from joining the Muslims, an action which probably prevented the whole population from becoming Muslim.[83] Contrary to expectations, except for a few unimportant small scale raids in Spanish-held territories, there was to be peace between the Spaniards and the Muslims for the next fifty-five years, to be broken only when the Spaniards decided once more to fortify Zamboanga.

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[81] From a document attached to a Real Cedula dated August 9, 1681. *Bureau of Records Management*, Manila.

It can be clearly seen that the so-called Moro Wars from the coming of the Spaniards in 1565 to 1663 passed through at least four distinguishable phases. The first represented the conflict between the Spaniards, who were out to transform the Philippines into a colony of Spain and Christianize its inhabitants, and the Borneans who were accelerating their political, economic, and religious influence over the Archipelago. In this conflict, the Sulus played the role of allies to the Borneans—their royal families being intimately related. In this phase, the Spaniards were successful in eliminating the Borneans from the Archipelago.

The second phase saw the Spanish exert efforts to reduce the peoples of Sulu and Maguindanao into vassalage. The Muslim peoples were forced to admit Christian missionaries, and they were strongly urged not to admit anymore Islamic influences from Brunei and Ternate. Efforts to establish Spanish colonies in Muslim lands failed. In this phase, it was Spanish policy to discourage the Muslims from leaving for other islands. They were instead persuaded to remain and engage in useful economic activities, like pearl fishing and agriculture, and to participate in interisland trade, especially with the Spaniards.

The third stage, covering a period of about thirty-five years from 1599 to 1635, was when the Maguindanaos contested the rule of Spain in the Archipelago by attacking or intimidating those natives utilized by Spaniards to strengthen their hold on the islands. In the early part of this stage, the Maguindanaos actually competed with the Spaniards over the collection of tribute from people of the Visayas. When it seemed that the Spaniards were winning in the contest, the Maguindanao and the Sulus did all they could to weaken the Spanish position while consolidating their political power and strengthening their economic base to face a greater challenge in the future from the Western invaders. Ternate aid to the Maguindanao was understandable since Spanish ambition in the Molucoas was part of their overall plans in Malaysia. Dutch commercial ambitions in the area provided the Muslims with a potential ally against the more immediate Spanish danger.

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[82] The best account of the events that led to the abandonment of Zamboanga is still Combes, *op. cit.,* pp. 610-640.

[83] *Dagh-Register (Anno 1663)*, p. 242.

The fourth stage, conceived as beginning with the establishment of the Zamboanga fort in 1635 in a site that formed part of the dominions of the Sulu ruler, clearly revealed Spanish intentions—the conquest of Muslim lands and the eventual conversion of the people into their religion. The Spanish victory in Maguindanao in 1637 and in Sulu in 1638 made them optimistic about the future of their designs. Missions were established and some conversions were made especially among the non-Muslim peoples living in Muslim lands. The Muslim resistance grew more bitter and determined, forcing missionary activities to slow down. The ensuing and more aggressive Spanish policy to make a final conquest was accompanied by a studied plan to depopulate Muslim settlements and destroy farms and plantations. Failing to attain their objectives and facing the threat of a Dutch attack on Manila, the Spaniards found it expedient to make peace treaties with the more powerful Muslim rulers who needed a respite themselves to recover from the devastating and cruel enemy attacks. The Muslim's memory of bitter experiences, the refusal of Muslim rulers to accept Christian missionaries in their land, mutual incursions into each other's spheres of influence, and mutual accusations of breaches of peace treaties and bad faith, all contributed to the breakdown of the peace. The Spaniards continued their retaliatory policies of death and destruction of settlements, fields and plantations. However, the abandonment of Zamboanga in 1663, in the face of Koxinga's threat, brought about relative peace in Muslim lands for some time at least. For the next half century, there was no significant Sulu or Maguindanao incursion or raid into Spanish-held territories. Neither did the Spaniards appear in Muslim lands in any military capacity.

The prominent aspects of the conflict in all the above-mentioned stages was that of imperial conquest and Christianization. The moral problem of taking captives as slaves was not of crucial importance. Both Spaniards and Muslims took captives to be enslaved, to be sent to the oars, or to get ransom for them. The difference between them was that the latter happened to make more captives and sold some of them to neighboring principalities, unlike the Spaniards who kept most of them in the territories they administered. Captives were usually used by the Muslims to strengthen their war machinery by making them work at the oars of their *caracoas* and thus free their warriors to do the fighting, to help them with their household chores, field and plantation work, to prevent them from being used by the Spaniards against them, and to weaken the manpower in Spanish-held settlements which tended to strengthen the Spanish presence in the Philippines. All of these is understandable, since the natives under Spanish rule in the Philippines were transformed by their conquerors into enemies of the Muslims. The raids into Spanish-held territories could not have been initiated simply to get captives for the slave market. The taking of captives was a response to what the Spaniards did to the Muslims. The purchase of slaves for the Dutch plantations, which made captives a commodity in much demand became more perceptible only after the abandonment of Zamboanga in 1663. However, not to be denied, was that the Spaniards deeply resented the capture of Christian slaves who, besides being their vassals, were subjects they had pledged to protect. In this respect, they did everything to free them. In this connection, it should be pointed out that slaves captured from the Muslims and who were converted to Christianity, were, in general, never returned to the Muslims. Likewise, Muslims never returned Christians who had become Muslims. Muslims, in general, found it repugnant to sell other Muslims they owned as slaves, even to fellow Muslims.

Important to note in most of these phases of the conflict between the Spaniards and the Muslims is the role played by the Jesuits. The Jesuits, more than any religious corporation in the Philippines, had their minds set on converting the Muslims as well as all the non-Muslims in Sulu and Mindanao. They used their influence with the Spanish Governor Corcuera to gently ease out the Recollects from Maranao territory to make it their evangelical preserve. They invariably accompanied Spanish expeditions against the Muslims, serving as chaplains as well as ambassadors to the Muslim chiefs. They were the ones who suggested the establishment of the Zamboanga fort even to the extent of helping in its planning and construction. It was natural, too, that they would object vehemently to its abandonment since, presumably, they must have felt great responsibility for those whom they had converted to Catholicism and whose lives would be complicated by the withdrawal of the garrison and the mission. The peace treaties of 1645 and 1646 were negotiated by them and they saw to it that they included provisions that would enable them, in particular, to preach in the dominions of the Muslim rulers. As for Muslim territories where there were still non-Muslims, and where they hoped to effect conversions, the Jesuits saw to it that these lands fell under the Spanish sphere of influence by treaty rights. They were, in general, the beneficiaries of Muslim respect for men of religion, in accordance with Qur'anic injunctions. However, their inability to sympathize with the religious views of members of other historic religions and their lack of both tact and tolerance brought a few of them to an ill fate. In an age where the religious motive was dominant and inflexible, they did not appear to have appreciably moderated the brutalities of the wars, the punitive actions of the Spaniards and the studied extermination of Muslim peoples. On the contrary, they complicated the lives of the inhabitants by their missionary zeal. What is difficult to understand, much less appreciate, is that most of them had come from a country that had experienced centuries of Muslim domination and yet appeared not to have known much about Islam or the Islamic temper which this religion engenders.

V

Interlude

The complete abandonment of the Zamboanga fort in 1663 and the withdrawal of Spanish garrisons from other points of Mindanao as well as the earlier pull out from Spanish fortified positions in Jolo, left to their own devices the Muslim sultanates and other lesser principalities in the Muslim south. However, a few Spanish missions remained in places like Caraga and Dapitan, but since their missionary activities were among non-Muslim peoples and no Spanish garrisons were there to protect them or menace the Muslims, they were tolerated and left unmolested. Zamboanga reverted to a small fishing settlement, and its inhabitants, mostly Samals, became, by all indications, tributaries of Sultan Qudarat. The people of Basilan, like their ancestors, became tributaries of Sultan Bakhtiar of Sulu. With the elimination of the Spanish danger, at least for the moment, the sultanates began to consolidate further their institutions and territories while directing their efforts at commercial ventures—an activity previously interrupted by destructive wars. In their long struggle against Spanish attempts to subdue them, scores of fishing and inland settlements were razed to the ground and depopulated, hundreds of vessels of all sorts and sizes destroyed or captured, farms and plantations burned, and thousands killed by war and disease. Unfortunately for the Muslims, their former commercial ventures could not be fully recaptured. Worse than this, over and above civil wars that were mainly dynastic in character, the different sultanates on some occasions fought one another.

The desire of the Maguindanaos to trade freely with other Malaysian islands met the wall of Dutch commercial monopoly. For example, a time came when it became difficult for the Maguindanaos to bring rice to Amboina since it appears that the Dutch did not approve of it. At various times, Qudarat had to ask permission from the Dutch to allow this. To illustrate, on April 3, 1661, the Sultan had to write to Governor Hustart in Amboina asking that his vessels be allowed to frequent the island for trade.[1] There is a report to the effect that in 1666, however, the Maguindanaos were definitely prevented from frequenting Amboina.[2]

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[1] *Dagh-Register (Anno 1661)*, p. 135.

[2] Francois Valentyn, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 27.

One item found in Mindanao which the Dutch appeared very much interested in was wax. They wanted to deal with the Sultan to monopolize its trade. The fact is that the old Sultan saw to it that the Dutch did not have direct access to its sources in Butuan (south of the Davao Gulf).[3] It will be recalled that Butuan was tributary to the Sultan. According to Dutch records, however, Maguindanao vessels did frequent Ternate and Batavia. For example, in June 1661, three Maguindanao boats arrived in Ternate with rice and tobacco but with no wax, as the entry disappointingly reported.[4] If the records are comprehensive, it will seem that, at this time, the trade was a modest one. In 1663, the Dutch themselves had to go to Mindanao to collect 104 *lasters* of rice which the Sultan appeared to have owed them. The Dutch were also instructed to get 2,756 cans of coconut oil.[5] Examples of the merchandise traded in Batavia can be known from the following entries in the *Dagh-Register*. On June 30, 1677, two Maguindanao boats with 20 men arrived with rice, 23 1/2 piculs of wax, 47,000 manobos of tobacco, and some turtle shells. What was asked in exchange were cloth, porcelain, copper and iron. On the same day another Maguindanao boat left with cloth worth 320 rijksdaalders, porcelain valued at 10 rijksdaalders, copper ore worth 15 rijksdaalders, iron ore valued at 105 rijksdaalders, and 12 rijksdaalders worth of saltpeter.[6] On June 30, 1678, a Maguindanao boat arrived with 5,000 manobos of tobacco.[7] On August 31, 1680, another Maguindanao boat arrived with 10,000 manobos of tobacco and 3 piculs of wax. Cloth was the major item traded in exchange.[8] Regardless of what might be regarded as a relatively modest trade, the Dutch always exerted pressure on the Maguindanaos not to trade with other European merchants. In 1689, Barahaman, the Maguindanao Sultan, was actually threatened by the Dutch Governor of Ternate with a punitive expedition of 100 ships and the destruction of his lands as what happened to Ternate and Makassar should he and his council not exclude other Europeans from trading with him.[9] The Dutch feared the possibility of English competition.

The Sulus, too, wanted to trade with the Dutch. On March 15, 1666, Sultan Bakhtiar wrote to the Dutch Governor General at Batavia offering to trade products like pearls, turtle shells, shells, and rice. He

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[3] *Dagh-Register (Anno 1664)*, p. 291; and *ibid., (Anno 1665)*, p. 15.

[4] *Ibid., (Anno 1661)*, p. 159.

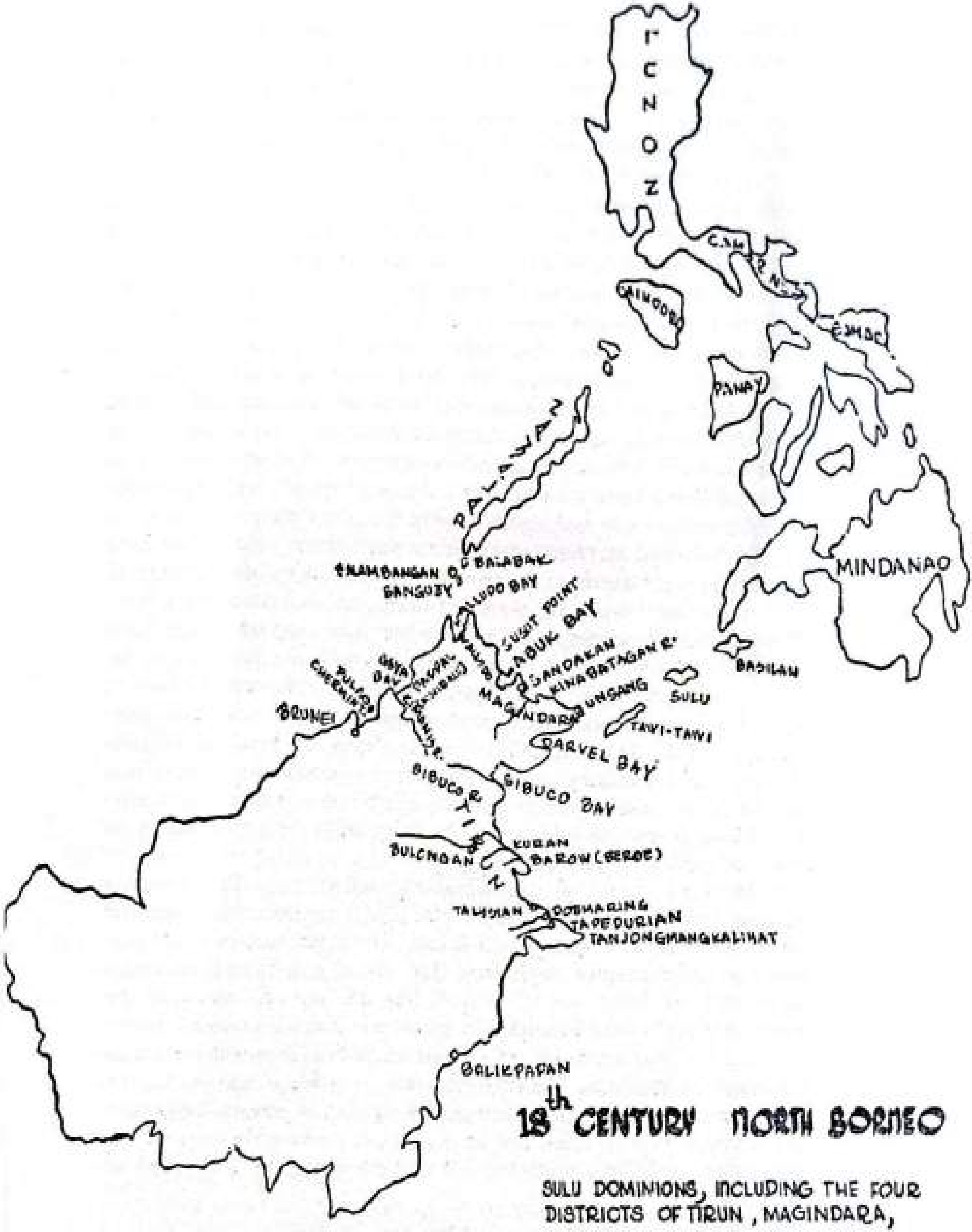
[5] *Ibid., (Anno 1663)*, p. 246.

[6] *Ibid., (Anno 1677)*, p. 201 and p. 204.

[7] *Ibid., (Anno 1678)*, p. 333.

[8] *Ibid., (Anno 1680)*, p. 573 and p. 625.

[9] "Letter of Joan H. Thim to the Mindanao sultan and his Council dated Oct. 24, 1688," 1691 XIX, No. 14, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*


LUZON
MINDORO
C.SM
PANAY
MINDANAO
PALAWAN
BALABAK
TAMBANGAN
BANGUEY
MALLUDO BAY
SUGUT POINT
LABUK BAY
SANDAKAN
KINABATANGAN R.
UNSANG
SULU
BASILAN
TAWI-TAWI
GAYA BAY
PULAU CHERMIN
BRUNEI
PAPPAL (KINIBALU)
MALLUDO
MAGINDARA
DARVEL BAY
SIBUCO R.
SIBUCO BAY
TIRUN
KURAN
BAROW (BEROE)
BULCNGAN
TAWISIAN
DOBMARING
TAPEDURIAN
TANJONGMANGKALIHAT
BALIKPAPAN

18th CENTURY NORTH BORNEO

SULU DOMINIONS, INCLUDING THE FOUR
DISTRICTS OF TIRUN, MAGINDARA,
MALLUDO, AND PAPPAL (KINIBALU)

did not mention what products he wanted in exchange from the Dutch. What he asked was the purchase of eight artillery pieces on a loan basis if their cost exceeded his offer of 400 reals.[10] For this period, the *Dagh-Register* does not have many entries for Sulu trade except that in 1669, a Sulu boat arrived at Batavia with 180 pieces of Negros cloth, 114 pieces of Javanese cloth, and 40 silk belts.[11] What is significant about these items is that they were not Sulu products but must have been the result of a local trade, which the Dutch on account of their commercial policy had almost eliminated in Malaysia. The Sulus had always traded with the people of Makassar, but in 1669 the people of Makassar lost in a war with the Dutch United Company and Dutch influence there then became predominant—thus restricting Sulu trade in the Celebes. In general, when the Dutch made treaties with local rulers, for example, those of Sangil, Celebes, and the Moluccas, they would ask the rulers not to allow the people of Sulu, Mindanao, Amboina, Makassar, Java, Acheh, etc., to come and trade. Included in the prohibition were all other Europeans. In brief, the Dutch spice monopoly and their attempt to restrict or control all local trade, while making those islands under their power more dependent on them for their economic survival, served as an obstacle to the time-honored commercial activities of the still independent principalities in the area, especially Sulu and Maguindanao. As a relief from Dutch restrictive policies, it would have been more natural for the Sulus and Maguindanaos to increase trade relations with the Spaniards in the Philippines. Actually, in the early part of the eighteenth century, efforts to accelerate trade in this direction were taken. Important to note in these examples of the limited trade between the Dutch and Sulu and Maguindanao is that the leading traders in the latter sultanates were the sultans themselves or at least members of the aristocracy. Commercial transactions along international lines were, for all practical purposes, mainly an affair of the sultan's family or relatives.

With the absence of such formidable enemies as the Spaniards, the sultanates of Maguindanao and Sulu were able to further consolidate their control over areas tenuously held before. The most extensive sultanate was that under the rule of Qudarat. The coastal area from Zamboanga to the gulf of Davao was tributary to him. He was acknowledged the paramount lord of the Pulangi. His sphere of influence extended to Iranun and Maranao territories and even as far as Bukidnon and Butuan in the north of Mindanao. His rule held sway over Sangil and Sarangani. Except in points like Dapitan, Caraga, and the sites of present day Butuan and Cagayan de Oro cities, and in the almost inaccessible parts of the interior of the island, practically all the inhabitants of the Island of

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[10] *Dagh-Register* (*Anno* 1666-1667), pp. 93-94.

[11] *Ibid.*, (*Anno* 1668-1669), p. 347.

Mindanao had accepted him as suzerain. In the Philippine Archipelago, there had never been a native dominion as powerful and as extensive as that of Sultan Qudarat. No other native ruler had earned more love, respect, awe, and fear from his subjects, and hatred and animosity from his enemies, the Spaniards, who nevertheless had on occasion grudgingly admired him. All early efforts to capture him dead or alive, in spite of a handsome reward, failed. Attempts to convert him to Christianity were fruitless, for those interested in his conversion failed to take note that the Sultan was, in his own right, a *pandita* and a pious Muslim. In the end, the Spaniards were led to recognize him as a ruler in the Archipelago—a tacit recognition that not all natives were of the stuff that could easily be conquered. And in his intransigence towards the Spaniards, an attitude that in the long run paid off for his freedom and independence, what loomed large was his Islamic consciousness. It was then at the end of 1671, after a long and strenuous life, that the Sultan died.[12] Reports about his age at this time varied from 80 to 90 years. The probability is that his age was closer to the latter estimate since it is on record that he ruled for half a century and that he was already a mature man when he succeeded his father, Buisan, as a ruler in Slangan around 1619. Dutch reports mentioned that in the last few years of his life he was quite old and was already being considered a "holy" man.[13] The idea that the Sultan had some sort of magical power had also been reported by some missionaries who ascribed these, naturally, to demonic forces.[14] What could be reasonably attributed to the Sultan was simply his charismatic leadership; he was learned, astute, resourceful and highly intelligent.

A few years before his death, the Sultan was likened by a friar historian to Gustavus Adolphus, the Protestant king of Sweden who had at various times defeated Catholic armies, that is, as "the thunderbolt of Lucifer, the scourge of Catholicism, and the Attila of the evangelical ministers, who never practised courtesy towards them except when force or some reason of state compelled him to do so."[15] This historian blamed the Sultan for the killing of the Jesuits Lopez and Montiel, suggesting that the friendly acts of the Sultan to Lopez in the past had all been mere show. Also that the war declared by the Sultan in 1656 on the Christians under the banner of the religion of Islam utilized religion as a mere cover for his personal fury and impiety.

The fact was that Sultan Qudarat, being a *pandita* well versed in the fundamentals of Islamic jurisprudence, was always respectful to men of religion in accordance with Qur'anic prescriptions (Sura V, verse 82). At bottom, the Sultan and his Jesuit friends were, in theological matters, all *panditas* and therefore colleagues. He always enjoyed theological disputations with people with similar religious inclinations. There was no pretense in the Sultan's friendly or respectful attitudes towards priests. These attitudes might have led the missionaries to develop a few presumptions about him. That the Sultan maintained friendly if not correct relations with the Spanish missionaries up to the very last years of his life is evidenced by a letter of Dutch officials to Sultan Seif ud-Din of Makassar in 1667, asking him to write to Qudarat not to be too courteous to Spanish priests.[16] Whatever might have been his personal motives, the launching of the *Jihad* against the Spaniards in 1656 was valid, for there were clear attempts to convert the Muslims and the Sultan himself. In the long run, the war launched against the Spaniards was also a defense of Islam. It was on the basis of this that the Sultan could correctly appeal for help from other sultans as fellow Muslims.

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[12] Casimiro Diaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 566-567.

[13] Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

[14] Combes, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[15] "Recollect Missions," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XLI, p. 112.

Upon his death, Qudarat was succeeded by his son Datu Dundang Tidulay whose regnal title was Seif ud-Din. The new Sultan must have been quite old when he started his reign; in any case, he had a short reign. He was succeeded by his son Barahaman (Arabic, ʿAbd ur-Rahman) around 1675. Barahaman, who knew Spanish and had many Spanish acquaintances, was inclined to be correct in his dealings with the Spanish government in Manila. He also tried to keep up as much as possible his trade commitments with the Dutch United Company especially on the item of wax. It was during his reign that the English first appeared in Maguindanao.

From what may be gathered from some accounts, it was Sultan Barahaman, known to the English as "Almo Sabat" (Arabic, Al-Muthabbat), who contacted English traders to come and trade as well as to establish a factory in Mindanao. Thus in the end of January 1686, an English vessel from the East India Company arrived in Maguindanao after a two month voyage from London. A modest trade took place with the English taking cassia bark (*cassia lignum*), sand gold, clove bark, wax, ebony wood, and tortoise shells, in exchange for cloth and other household items. The Sultan reiterated his offer to the English for them to establish a factory in his domains while not forgetting to ask for guns in the meantime. In June, a little more than two months after the English traders left for India, another English ship arrived with commercial motives. It was this ship that carried William Dampier, to whom is due a description of the political, social and economic system of the Maguindanaos during the last part of the seventeenth century.

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[16] Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

After more than six months in Maguindanao, the ship sailed off without Captain Swan, the original captain, who was ordered to be killed on account of some differences with the Rajah Muda who was also the Rajah Laut. Because of the belief that a more intensive and profitable trade with the Maguindanaos did not appear feasible at the time, the British East India Company did not follow up the offer of Sultan Barahaman to have a factory built. It would take about 75 years for the English to return; this time, however, to Sulu in 1761.[17]

The Maguindanao Sultan's move to invite the English was clear. Not only did he find the commercial policy of the Dutch too restrictive, but he had come to realize that the Dutch were staying as colonialists interested in empire. He saw too well that many of the sultans and petty rulers in Malaysia had become subjects of the Dutch. Barahaman was also afraid that in no time the Spaniards would again try to exert [illegible] their political influence over Maguindanao. Possibly, he believed that with strong English friends he might be able to neutralize what he considered the two immediate threats to his kingdom.

Throughout his reign, Sultan Barahaman generally kept the peace with Spain, although in 1681 Spanish authorities thought he would break it when they refused to return to him some of his slaves who had escaped and were baptized by the Spanish priests.[18] The tributary domains of Maguindanao began to shrink, too, as evidenced by the fact that on September 10, 1688, Datu Buisan, ruler of Kandahar (Sangil island, now also known as Balut), entered into a treaty with the Dutch East India Company, giving it some rights in the area of Butuan (south of the Davao Gulf) in exchange for protection.[19] It will be recalled that Butuan was a source of wax from which Qudarat jealously tried to keep others away. Although the Dutch did not take full advantage of this treaty, the fact that a former vassal of the Maguindanao sultan could without authority of the Sultan enter into such a treaty showed that the Maguindanao Sultan was not as powerful as his grandfather. However, Sultan Barahaman appeared to have full control of the area around the Pulangi, for in 1689 he refused the offer of 2,000 rijksdaalders by the Dutch Meindert de Roi to have a trading port erected there.[20]

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[17] For details of the coming of the first English traders to Maguindanao see Serafin Quiason, *English "Country Trade" with the Philippines, 1644-1765* (University of the Philippines Press, Quezon City: 1966), pp. 112-121.

[18] From a letter to the Spanish King dated June 11, 1681, Legajo 11, Ramo 6, No. 83, *Audiencia de Filipinas, Archivo General de Indias,* Sevilla.

[19] Cf. "Corpus Diplomaticum Neerlando-Indicum," door J. E. Heeres, Der de Deel, 1676-1691, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-and en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie,* No. 91, 1934, pp. 470-471. Also cf. 1690 V, 324-325, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*

[20] Valentyn, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, p. 29.

At this time there appeared some differences between the sultans of Sulu and Maguindanao. Since Spanish reports are vague on the cause, it may be speculated, on the basis of later incidents, that the matter had something to do with the control of Basilan or the collection of tribute there. Sultan Barahaman's reign was somewhat marred by rivalry with his brother Kuda, the Rajah Muda, whom he suspected of trying to seize the throne away from him. Sultan Barahaman died on July 6, 1699, and he was succeeded by his brother Kuda who assumed the regnal name of Kahar ud-Din.[21]

In the meantime, with relations with the Spaniards reduced to a minimum, Sulu was trying to keep those with the Dutch amicable. When in 1669 a son of Pangiran Sarikula of Sulu became Rajah Bendahara of the realm, one of the first things he did was to write to the Dutch about his position and how close his late father was to the Dutch and whose advice was always for the Sulus never to forget Dutch friendship.[22] Twelve pearls and a female slave accompanied the letter as a gift to the Governor General at Batavia. The Dutch authorities responded with a letter and gifts for the Sulu Sultan.

It was in the middle of the second half of the seventeenth century that the Sulu sultanate acquired dominion over the North Borneo territories of the Brunei sultan or what is now called Sabah.

It will be recalled that there had always been familial relations between the rulers of Brunei and Sulu. However, this had not prevented the Sulus from attacking territories claimed by the Brunei sultan. According to Chinese sources, around 1368, Sulu warriors went as far as to attack Poni, in the northwest of Borneo, retiring only after Madjapahit soldiers came to its succor.[23] The reported "conquest" of Sulu by the Brunei Sultan Bulkeiah, according to the Brunei *Selesilah,* which took place around 1500, must have taken the nature of such a "raid." According to Spanish sources, around 1637, Sulu warriors raided the Northeastern part of Borneo capturing hundreds of Camucones as well as about 100 of their Christian captives. Many of the Camucones were sold in Zamboanga while the Christian captives were ransomed from the Sulus at a modest price by the Spaniards.[24] In the seventeenth century, there had been other occasional conflicts between the peoples of Brunei and Sulu, but it appears that no attempt to impose the sovereignty of one over the other was ever made.

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[21] 1701 X, pp. 87-93, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*

[22] *Dagh-Register* (*Anno* 1668-1669), p. 311.

[23] W. P. Groeneveldt, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[24] "Defeat of Moros," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 225-226; and "Victories against Moros," *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 100.

It was in 1662 C.E. (14 Rabiul Akhir, 1072 A. H.) that an event with significant political results for Brunei and Sulu took place. Because of a strong grievance resulting from the killing of his son by a son of Muhammad ʿAli (the twelfth Brunei sultan), the Bendahara ʿAbdul Mubin with his followers, went to the Sultan's palace and after voicing their complaints but not believing that justice would be rendered, killed the Sultan. The Bendahara ʿAbdul Mubin was a nephew of the murdered Sultan as well as grandson of Sultan Hasan (the ninth Brunei sultan). Possibly on account of his lineage and following, the Bendahara was able to have himself proclaimed sultan. Upon assumption to office, the new Sultan nominated as bendahara a cousin, called the Pangiran Bongsu, who was also a grandson of Sultan Hasan. After a few years, egged on by some leaders of the Kadeians, a tribe living close to Brunei, and other discontented subjects of the Sultan, the Bendahara Pangiran Bongsu raised the standard of revolt and took over the title of Sultan Muaddin (or Muhyiddin, in other versions). Sultan ʿAbdul Mubin, now called "usurper" for having killed Sultan Muhammad ʿAli, fortified himself in Pulao Chermin, an island strategically situated close to the mouth of the river in Brunei. The base of Sultan Muaddin was in the town of Brunei and its environs. Thus did Brunei come to have two rajahs.

A desultory war, interspersed by a few truces, was fought between the two rajahs; the conflict is reported to have lasted ten years. In order to break this impasse, for commercial activities had reached a standstill and the economic situation had deteriorated, the Sultan Muaddin sent an envoy to the Sulu Sultan asking his aid and promising him the Brunei territories in North Borneo as a grateful compensation or reward. According to a Brunei *selesilah* or history version:

> The people of Bruni...made the Pangiran Bendahara Sultan MUADDIN, so that there were two Rajas, one at the island, and one at Bruni. The Sultan of Bruni's cause was espoused by the people of the territories to the westward, and that of the island Raja was supported by the provinces to the northward. The war having lasted for some time, dissensions arose among the people of Bruni, who insisted on peace, so that peace was established.
>
> As soon as they had recovered themselves, they went to war again, and the people of the island were worsted, and fled to Kinarut, where they were followed by the Brunians, and the war was continued there. Then Bruni met with reverses, and the war ceased for some time.
>
> After this Sultan ABDUL MUBIN came back to Pulau Chermin and recommenced the war. Famine soon appeared in Bruni, for all trade was prevented coming up the river by the people of the island, and the Sultan MUADDIN sent a letter to the Batara of Soolook, asking for assistance, and he came with five boats, and on arriving at the island went up and had an audience of the Rajah (ABDUL MUBIN). The Raja of the island did not know that the Batara of Soolook would support Sultan MUADDIN, and the Batara of Soolook told him that the reason he had come was that he

> had heard that they were fighting amongst themselves, and that it was, in his opinion, very unfortunate that Islams should be at war with one another; he would, if possible, advise that peace should be established. The Raja of the island said: "This war was not of our seeking, the Pangiran Bendahara has brought it about."
>
> The Batara of Soolook then said: "I will pass on to Bruni and see the Pangiran Bendahara." The Sultan ABDUL MUBIN said: "Very well, I am very anxious for peace." The sign of bad fortune had come upon His Majesty, his devils and kafirs and shadows would no longer come at his call.
>
> The Batara of Soolook went up to Bruni and met the Sultan MUADDIN, and having feasted and drank, the Sultan asked the Batara for his assistance to destroy his enemies at the island, promising that if the island should be conquered, the land from the North as far westward as Kimani should belong to Soolook. The Batara of Soolook accepted this with delight, and the people of Bruni all got ready to attack the island, and posted their forces on Bukir Chindana and Didaliton, and the Soolooks took possession of the island of Kayang Arang, and carried on the war. After a time the people of the island became straitened, for the guns fired down upon them from the top of the hills, and the Raja of the island, perceiving that his chances became less, destroyed all the insignia of royalty, as the crown from Johor and the *kamanah* from China, and rammed them into a cannon, which he fired out to sea, and thus it was that the crown from Johor was lost.
>
> Pangiran Kawat assaulted the palace, and killed the people and women of the Raja, together with the Raja himself, who had run into the mosque; the people of Bruni and of Soolook rushed on the island and finding the Raja in the mosque, garroted him there. About half of the Rajas in the island asked to surrender as captives and became prisoners, and those who remain at the present time are called Raja Raja Pulao.
>
> Sultan MUADDIN then returned to Bruni carrying all the captives from the island, and the Batara of Soolook returned to Soolook carrying his captives and plunder, including the guns which were at the island, all of which were left to the Batara of Soolook; even the royal guns, which had been taken to the island, were given to the Batara of Soolook.[25]

The above version was made public to the English-speaking world in 1880 by Hugh Low, a British official who spent many years in Malaysia. At this point, what is important to note in this version is that the Sulus were stated to have taken a major part in the civil war and that the artillery they brought back with them to Sulu were given to them, presumably as part of the compensation for their martial efforts. However, there is another version of the role of Sulu in the war, which appeared in 1957. This second version, although giving additional details, reduces the role of the Sulu Sultan and his warriors in helping Sultan Muaddin defeat Sultan ʿAbdul Mubin. This other version appears to be mainly based on the *selesilah* owned by the Brunei sultan which Hugh Low was not allowed to see while in Brunei.

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[25] Hugh Low, "History of the Sultans of Bruni," *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18.

According to the second version, Sultan Muhyiddin (Muaddin of the first version) sent an envoy to the Sulu Sultan, promising him that should the Sulu warriors help him defeat the forces of Sultan ʿAbdul Mubin at Pulao Chermin, the whole territory of Sabah would be given to the Sulu Sultan as grateful recompense. This offer greatly pleased the Sulu ruler, who, according to this version, had always coveted the area. The Sulu ruler thus went to see Sultan ʿAbdul Mubin at Pulao Chermin and after convincing him that his mission was to bring peace among the warring parties, he got permission to pass into Brunei, for, it will be recalled, Pulao Chermin guarded the entrance to Brunei. Once in Brunei, Sultan Muhyiddin and the Sulu Sultan decided on a three-pronged attack on Pulao Chermin, and it was agreed that the Sulu warriors would form one of the prongs. The version then continued that the Bruneis did all the fighting with the Sulus merely watching. Also it reported that the Sulus landed on the island only after the forces of ʿAbdul Mubin had raised the flag of surrender. All the Sulus then did was to loot property and take captives, including a concubine of the recently executed Sultan ʿAbdul Mubin. It is further stated that Sultan Muhyiddin allowed the Sulu Sultan to cart away property as well as artillery, since his forces, still recovering from the fight, could not be expended for another conflict.[26] In brief, unlike the first version, the second one asserts that the Sulus did not do any fighting and that the artillery they brought with them to Sulu were not given to them but merely appropriated.

Clearly, it is quite improbable that the Sulus did not do any fighting or did not contribute to the victory of the Rajah of Brunei, who, in the first place, had failed to win in the civil war with his own resources. It is not so much that Sulus, in general, have not been known to run away from a fight, but rather that they had come ready for a fight in Brunei, that makes the second version not very reliable in all its details. The first version, clearly, but grudgingly, admits that the Sulus played an important role. However, both versions agree that the Sulu Sultan was invited by the Brunei Rajah and offered Sabah should the requested help be given. Characteristically, the Sulu versions claim that the Sulus did all the fighting, with the Bruneis and their Sultan just standing by.

Sulu oral traditions agree, in general, that it was the Rajah at Brunei who requested the Sulu Sultan for aid against his rival at Pulao Chermin, and that Sabah was the price paid to the Sulu Sultan for his part in the victory. Naturally, these traditions emphasize the role and fighting qualities of the Sulu warriors. It is also reported that two brothers, Nakhoda Sangkalang and Nakhoda Angging (Anggil), were the naval commanders who led 600 warriors into the fray. After the victory, some of these warriors settled in the coastal areas of the newly acquired territory. The two *nakhodas* were also asserted to have been *mantris*. Not all Sulu versions agree on the number of warriors that participated in the battle. In some cases, the number had been exaggerated possibly to enhance the epic and heroic character of the whole affair.[27]

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[26] Yura Halim and Jamil Umar, *Sejarah Berunai* (Brunei: 1958), pp. 76-82.

It is understandable why the first of these Brunei versions would try to reduce the fighting role of the Sulu warriors and why the second version should deny it entirely, and why, contrariwise, the Sulu traditions would assert that the Sulus (including Samals and Buranuns) did all, if not most, of the fighting. It was not only that all parties would naturally try to get credit for the victory, but that Brunei pride and frustration were involved in reporting the incident. On this point, Hugh Low's observations are revealing:

> The tradition in Soolook is that both sides asked for the assistance of the Soolook fleet, and that the Commander sided with the Bruni Sultan because he offered the countries which, belonging to his enemies, lay near to Soolook. They say the Soolooks did all the fighting, the Bruni people only looking on. The present Yang di Pertuan and the Selesilah of the Pangiran Kasuma all deny the assistance of the Soolooks, or that any agreement was made with them for the surrender of territory, saying they did not arrive till the island was taken, and that they stole the royal guns *Si Membung* and *Raja Andei,* which the Soolooks say were given to them in token of the agreement. These guns were subsequently taken by the Spaniards from Soolook to Manila. The Soolooks also took with them as prisoner the Orang Kaya Malik, who, although not noble, was a person of great consideration on the side of the island. The present Yang di Pertuan would never let me see the copy of the Selesilah, which he is known to possess, and Pangiran Kasuma when he heard I had obtained the authentic copy from which the text is taken, said that it contained the true version, that at present adopted having been invented to conceal the shame of the Brunians.[28]

According to Alexander Dalrymple, who was in Sulu in 1761 and 1764 and who had travelled in Borneo, the territory of Sabah passed over to the hands of Sulu as compensation for its role in the civil war:

> Although Sooloo was an independent sovereignty so early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, its Dominion was not then so extensive as is above

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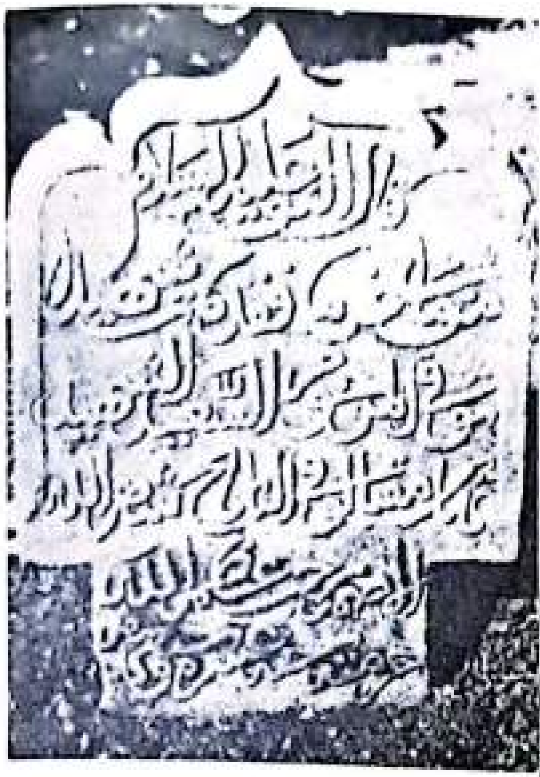
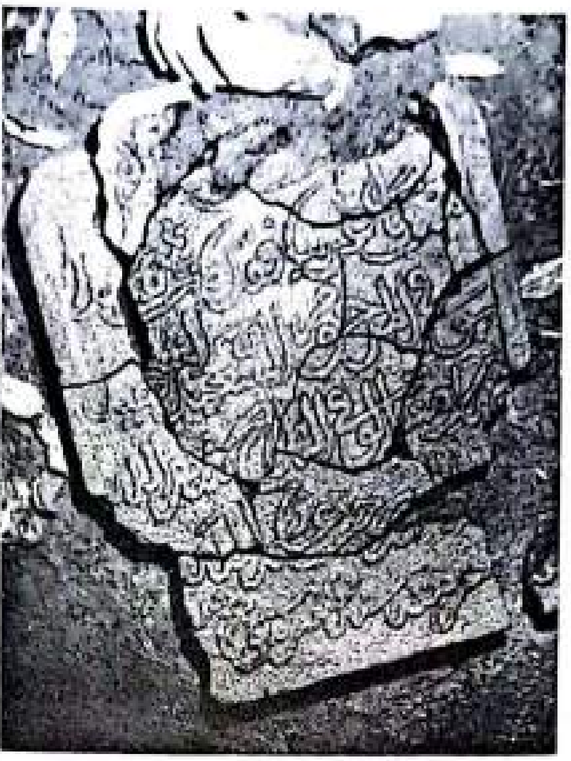
[27] For written reports of the Sulu versions cf. "Letter of Governor Harrison to Judge Regala dated September 26, 1946," *Department of Foreign Affairs*, Manila, pp. 6-7; and Damian Lomocso, "The Acquisition of British North Borneo by the Sultan of Sulu," *Visayan-Mindanao-Sulu Culture and Progress*, pp. 254-256. Some of the elements in this second report can be disregarded as fable. One exaggerated version states that 600 boats and 10,000 Sulu warriors were involved. See Muhammad Kurais II, "A Historical Account of North Borneo as claimed by the Sultan of Sulu," *Proceedings of the International Conference of Scholars*, November 25-30, (Manila: 1960), pp. 353-354.

[28] Hugh Low, "History of the Sultans of Bruni," *op. cit.*, p. 17.

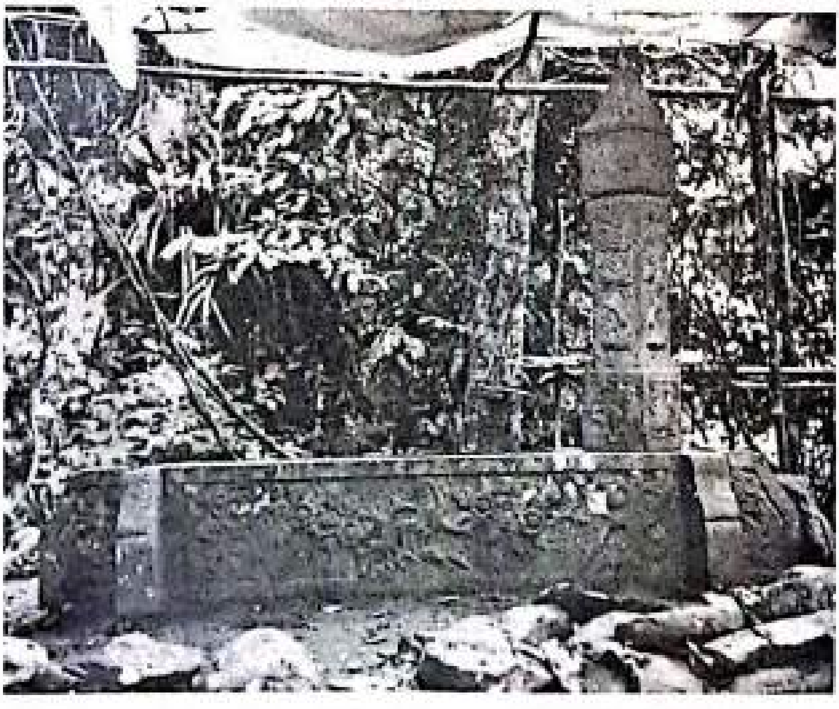


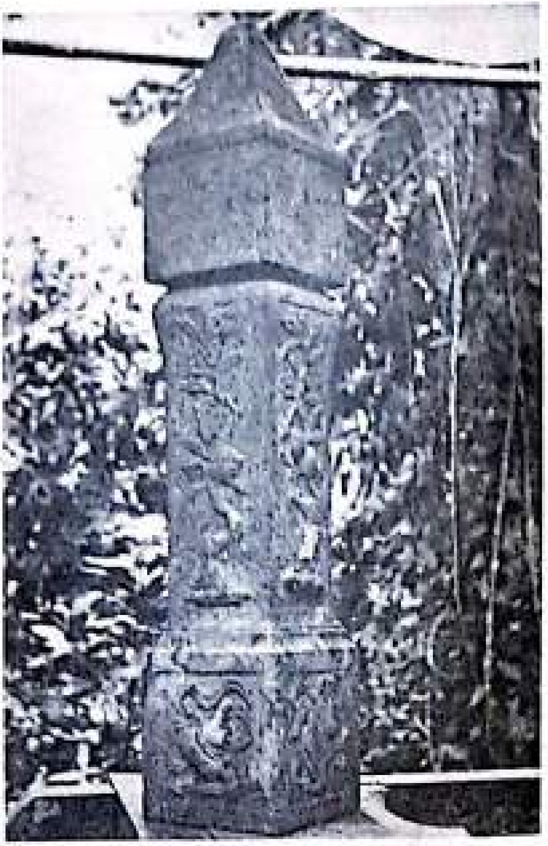
The tombstone of Tuhan Muqbalu in Bud Dato, Jolo, before its destruction
—Photo courtesy of William Beyer



The tombstone after its destruction

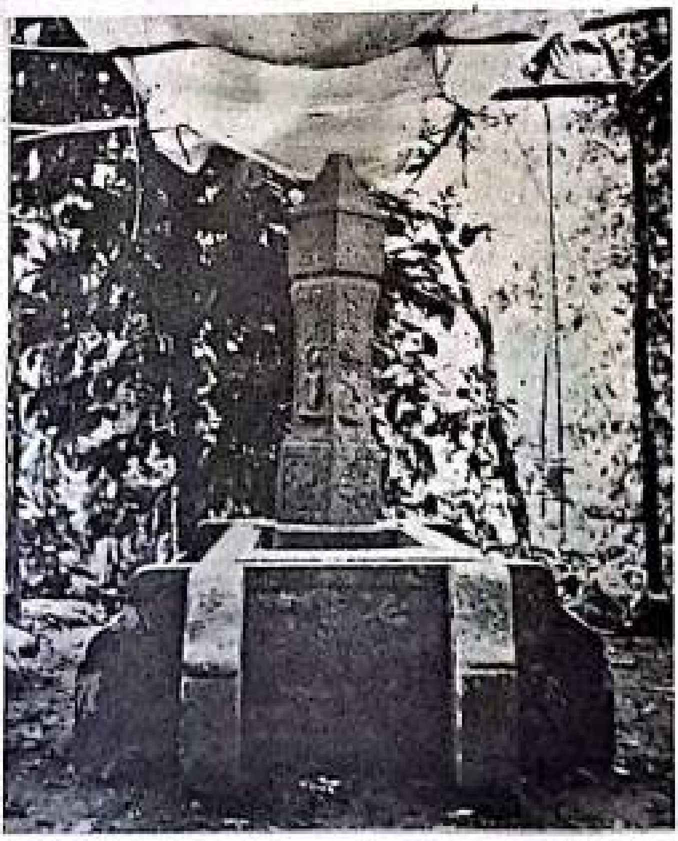
The tomb of the Sharif ul-Hashim in Bud Tumangtangis, Jolo



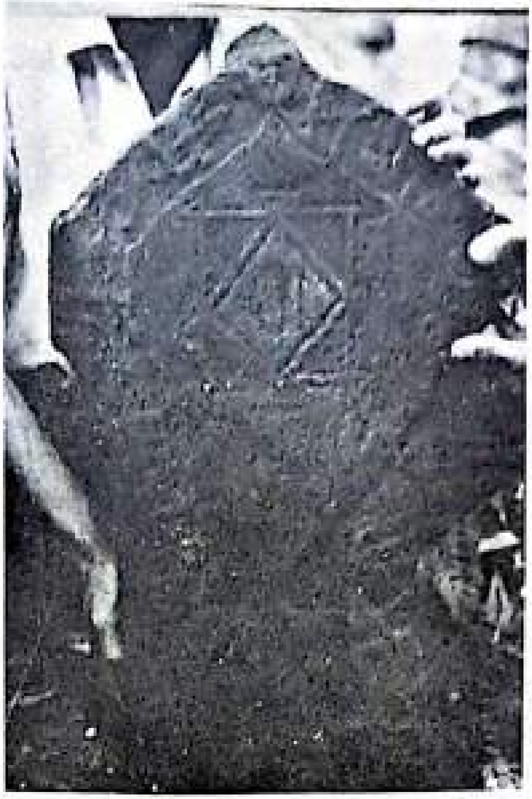


Stone column on the tomb of the Sharif ul-Hashim

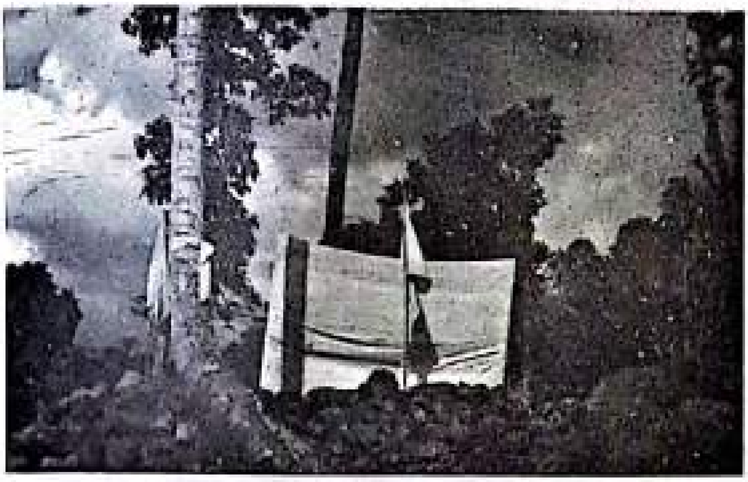
The stone slabs in the foreground of the tomb of the Sharif ul-Hashim have been pointed to as the site of the grave of his son, Sultan Kamal ud-Din



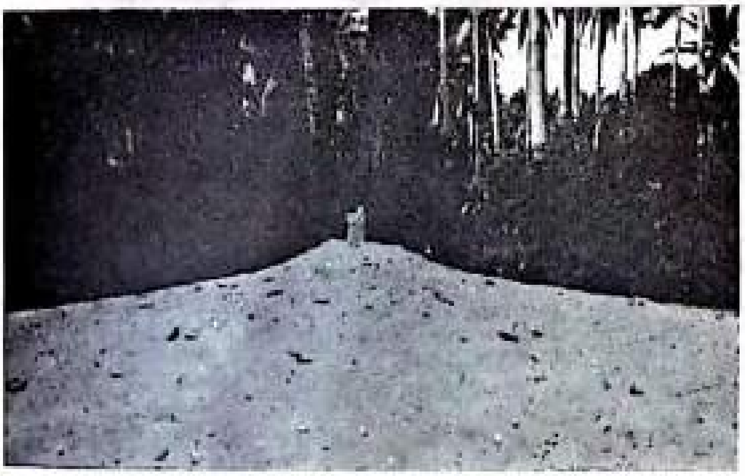
The tomb of the Sharif ul-Hashim



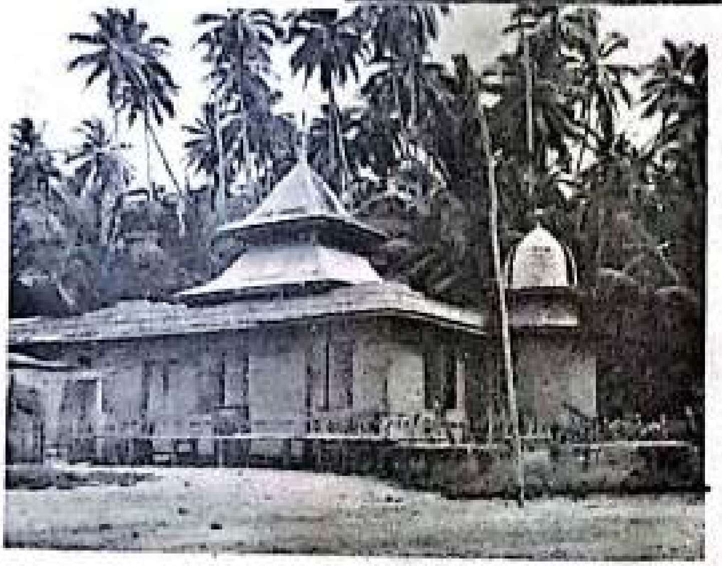
An ancient tombstone in Bud Agad, Jolo, with the name "Allah" and the *Kalimah* (Profession of the Faith)



The tomb of Sayyid ʿAlawi Balpaki near Tubig Dakula, Tawi-Tawi



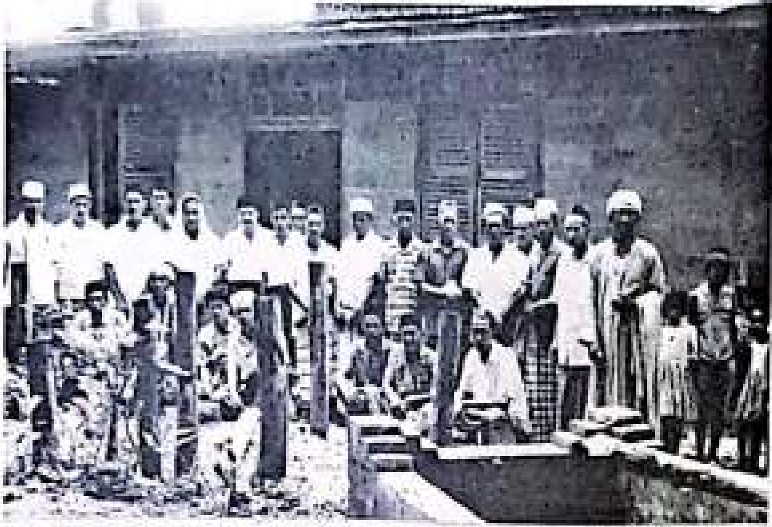
Stone marker for the grave of the Makhdum Karim in Tandu Banak, Sibutu Island



The oldest mosque in the Philippines at Tubig Indangan, Simunul Island. The original mosque is attributed to Makhdum Karim (fourteenth century). It has been reconstructed at various times.

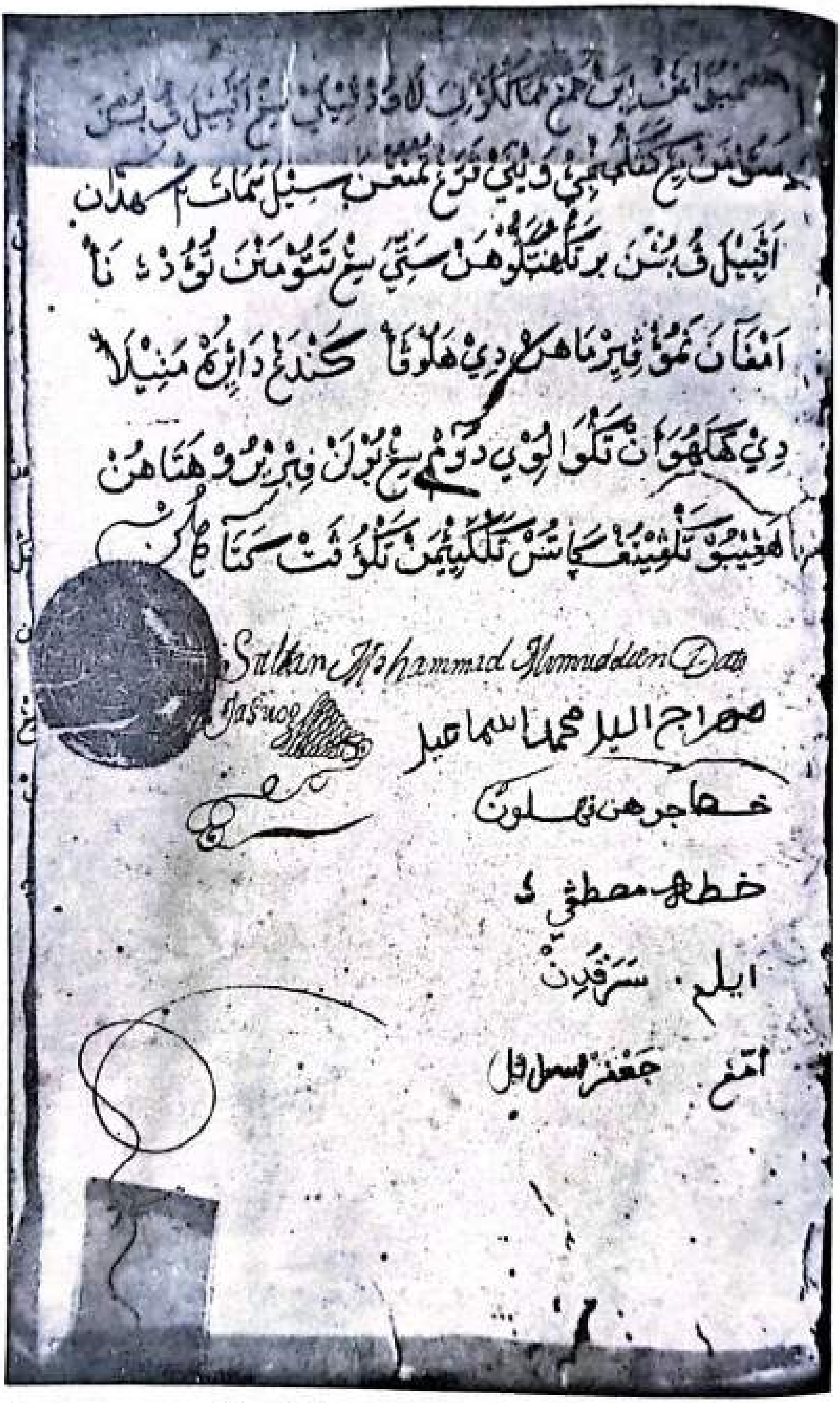
One of the hardwood pillars inside the mosque

Detail from the tomb of the Sharif ul-Hashim



After Friday prayers outside the oldest mosque in the Philippines

The grave of Mohadum (Makhdum) Aminullah Sayyid an-Nikab, in Bud Agad, Jolo



Sultan Mohammed Alimuddin Dato Jasnoe

مهراج اليلا محمد اسماعيل

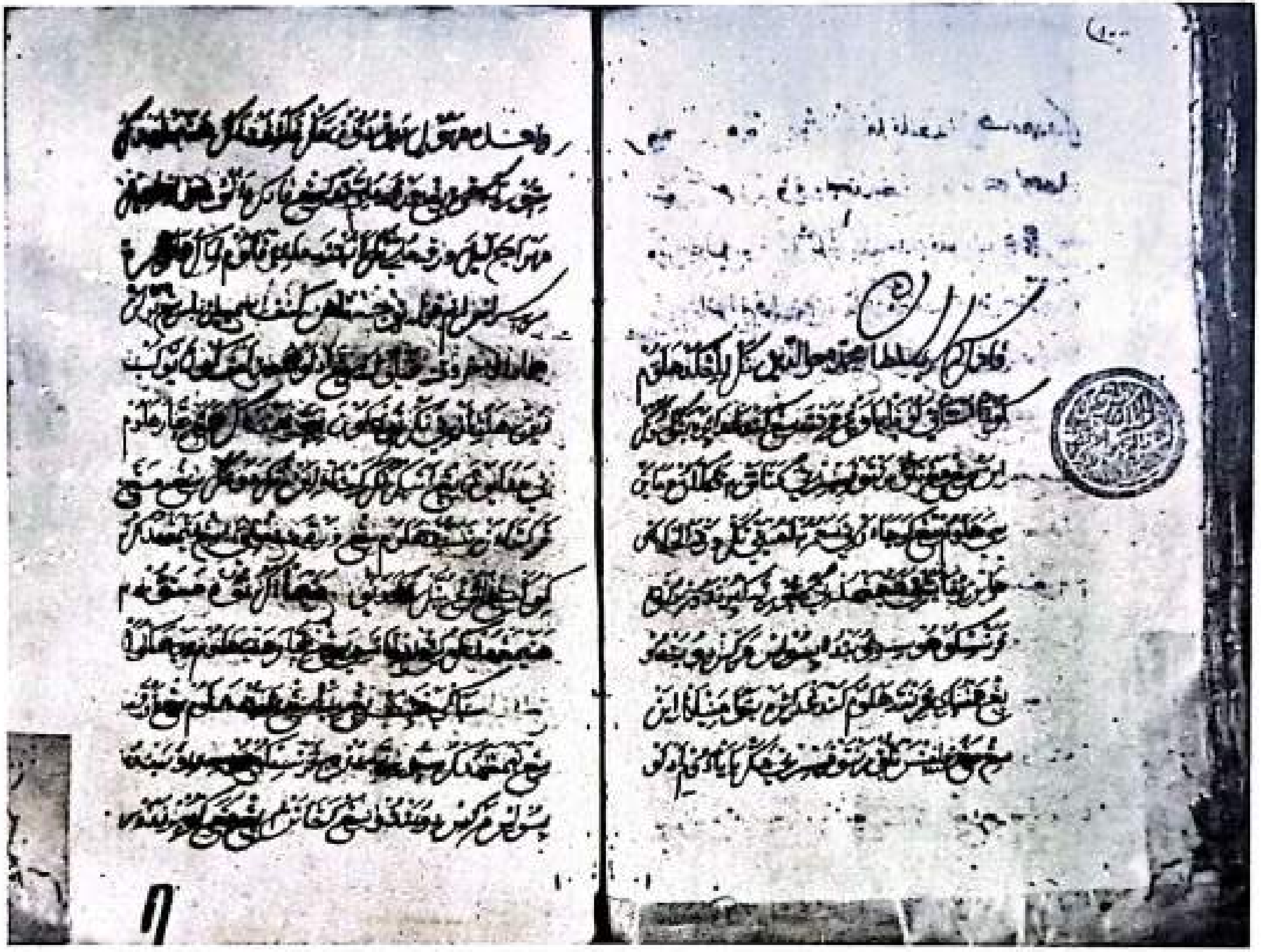
خطا جرهن ڤهلون

خطه مصطفى د

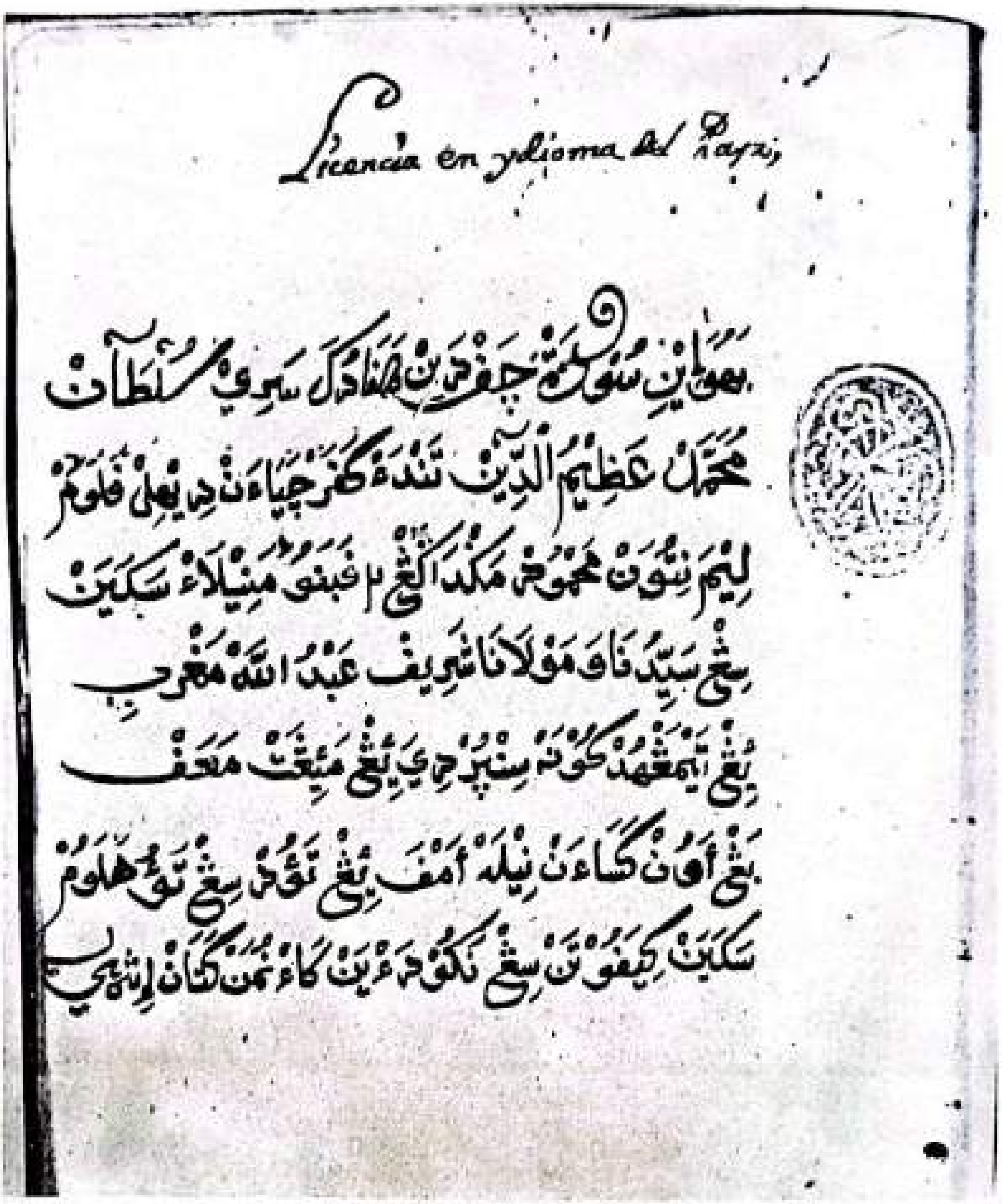
ايلم شرفدين

امڠ جعفر اسرائل

Document executed by ʻAzim ud-Din in 1754 in favor of the Spanish Government. Also signed by Datu Muhammad Ismaʻil (Maharajahlela and Ambassador of Sultan Muʻizz ud-Din), the Juhan Pahalawan, Datu Mustafa, and four sons (Isra'il, Ja'far, Sharaf ud-Din, and Aman) of ʻAzim ud-Din — Bureau of Records Management, Manila

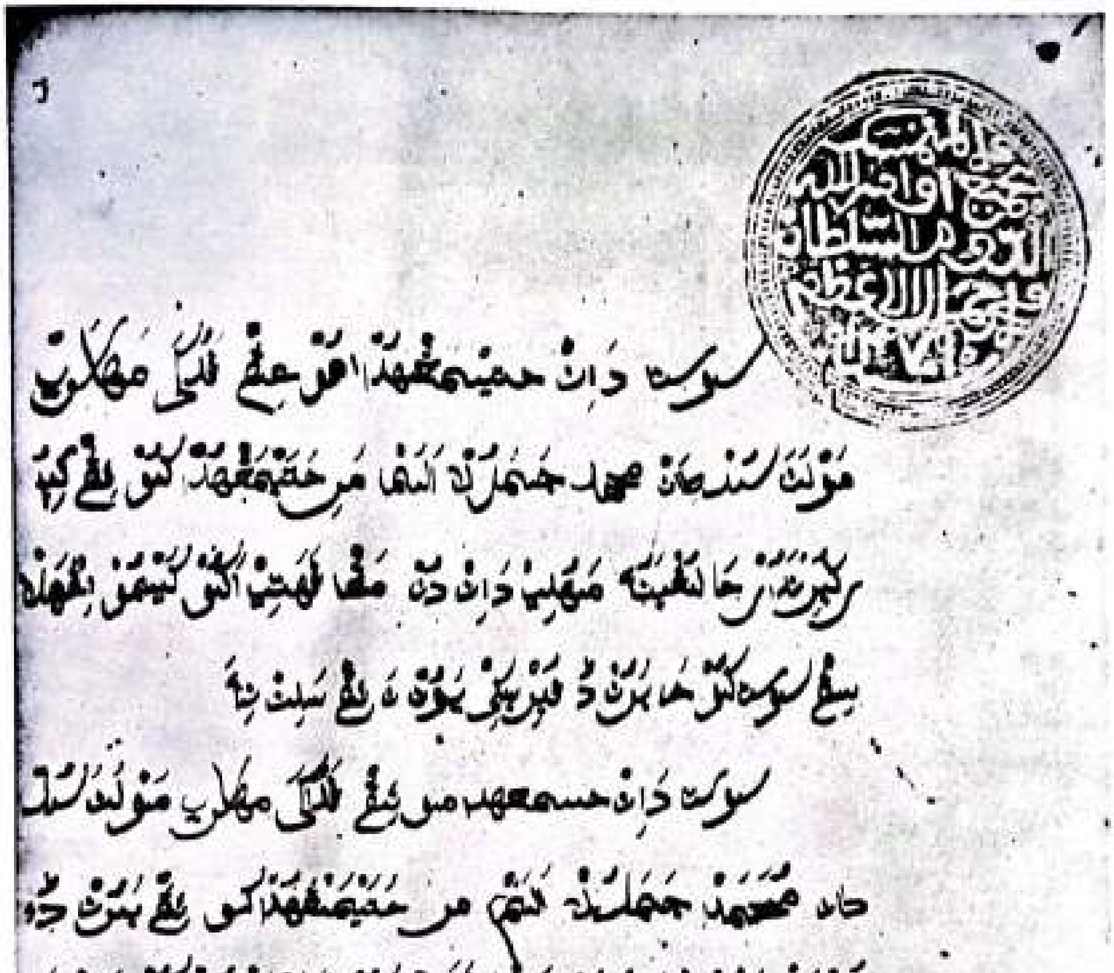


Letter of Sultan Muʿizz ud-Dīn (Datu Bantilan) to the Spanish Governor — Bureau of Records Management, Manila

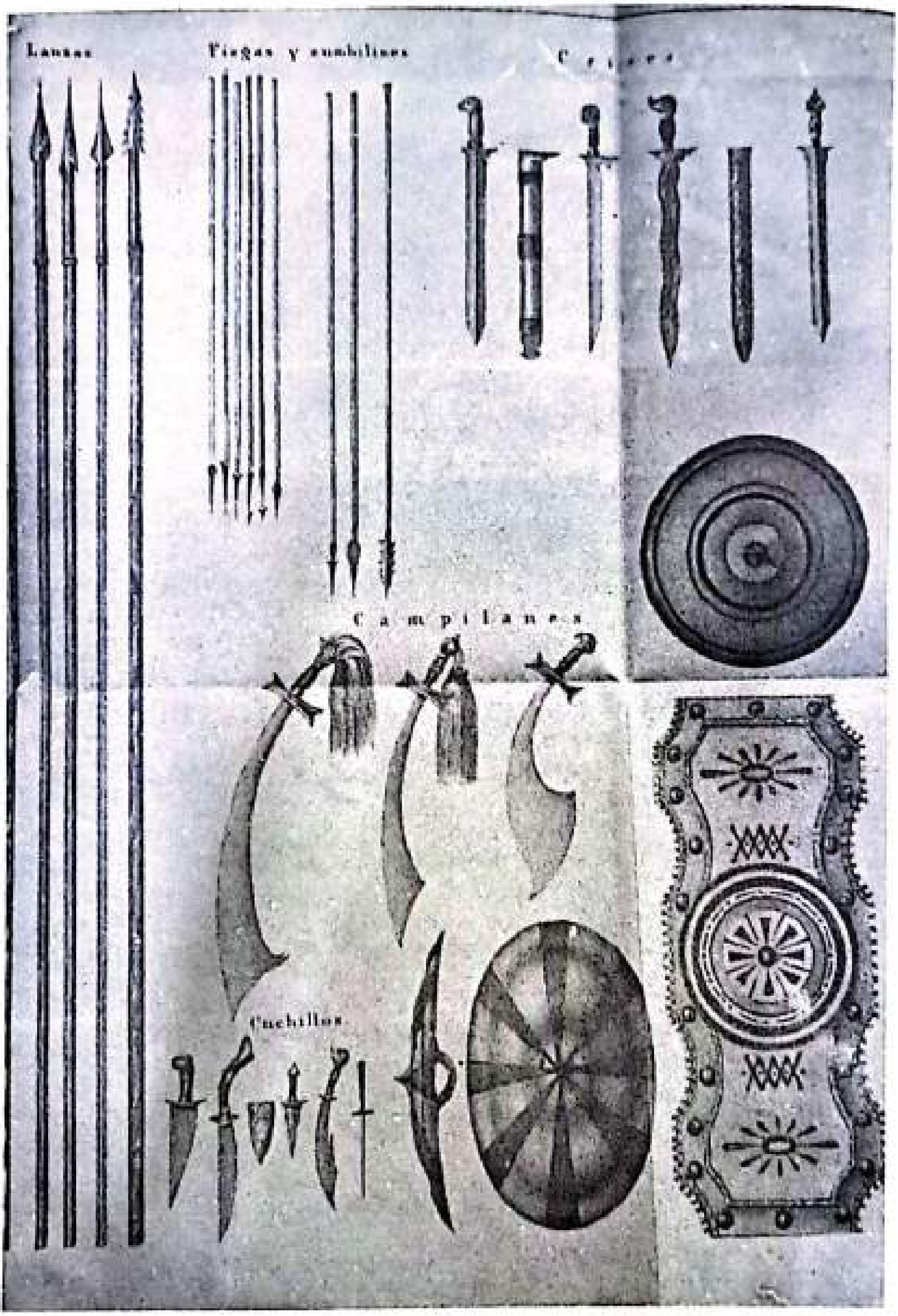


Licencia en ydioma del Payz

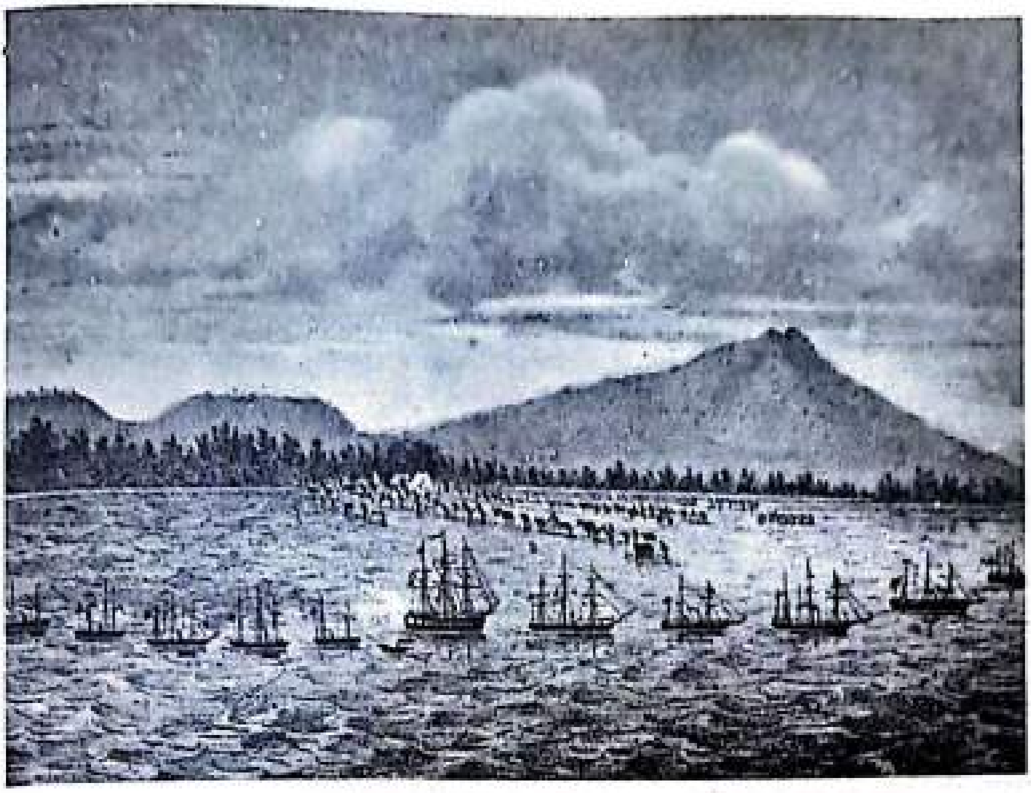
Letter of Sultan ʻAzim ud-Din II to Manila officials
— Bureau of Records Management, Manila



Letter of Sultan Jamal ul-ʿAzam to Spanish authorities
— Bureau of Records Management, Manila

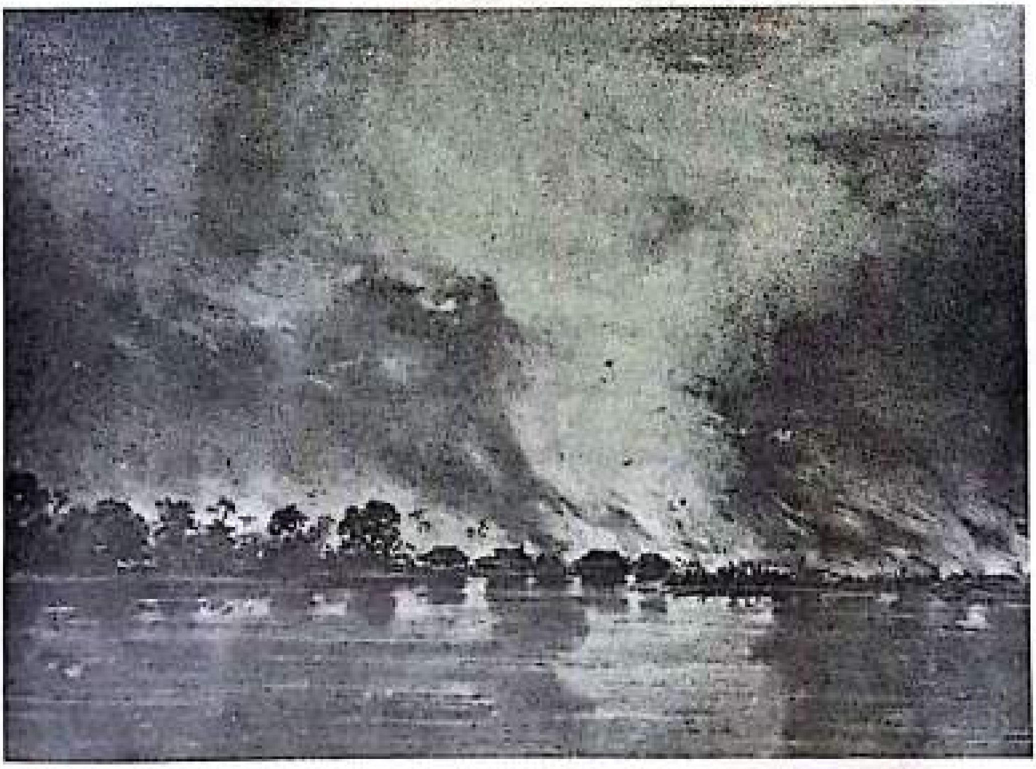

Lanzas
Fisgas y sumbilines
Crises
Campilanes
Cuchillos

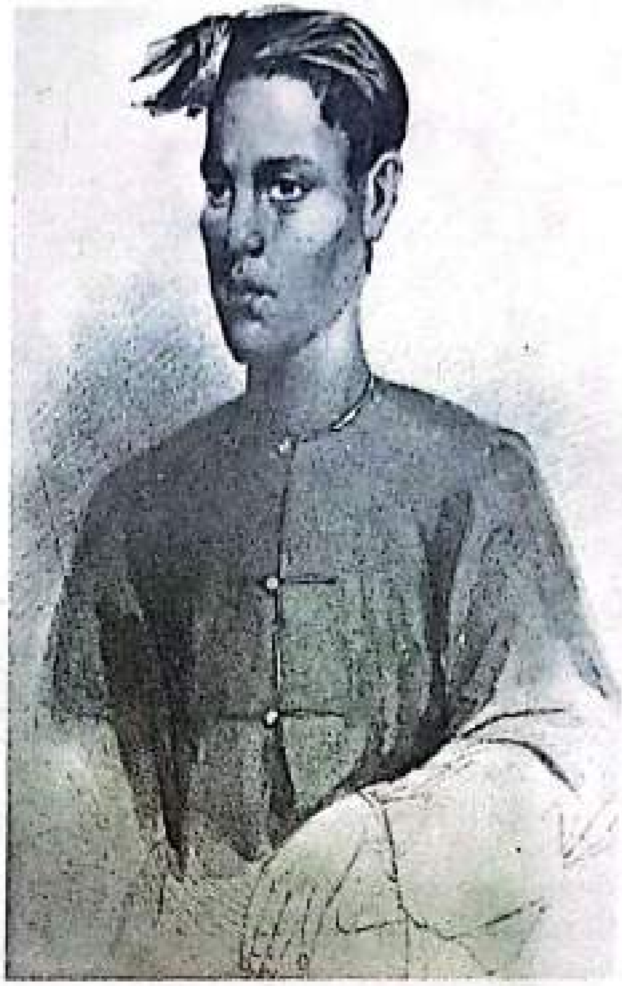
Moro weapons during the eighteenth century —Emilio Bernaldez, *Reseña Historica de la Guerra al Sur de Filipinas* (Madrid, 1857)



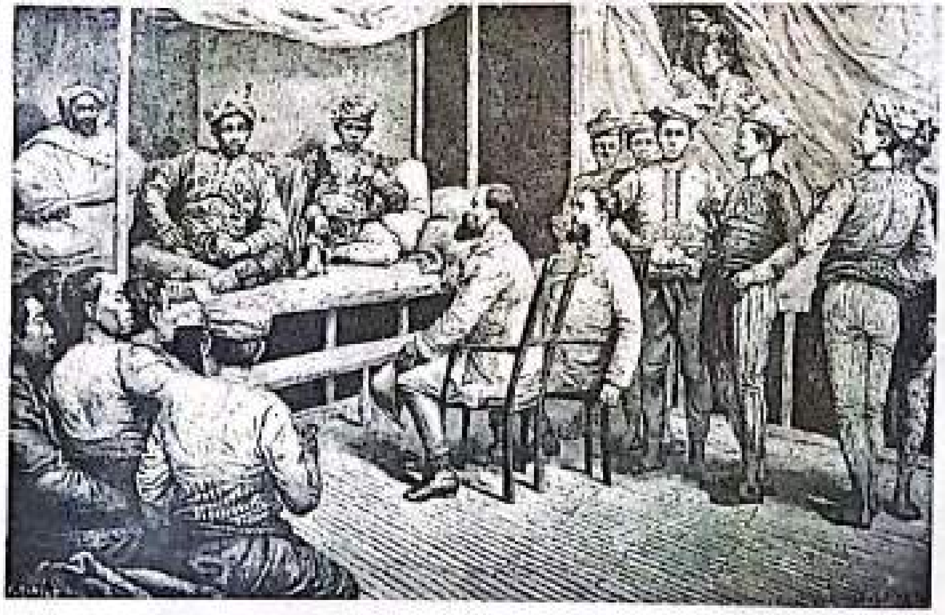
The Spanish fleet surrounding Jolo during the 1876 Expedition
—*Expedicion a Jolo 1876; Bocetos del Cronista del Diario de Manila,* Baltasar Giraudier (Manila, 1876)

The burning of Jolo by the Spanish Expedition in 1876
—*Expedicion a Jolo 1876; Bocetos del Cronista del Diario de Manila,* Baltasar Giraudier (Manila, 1876)

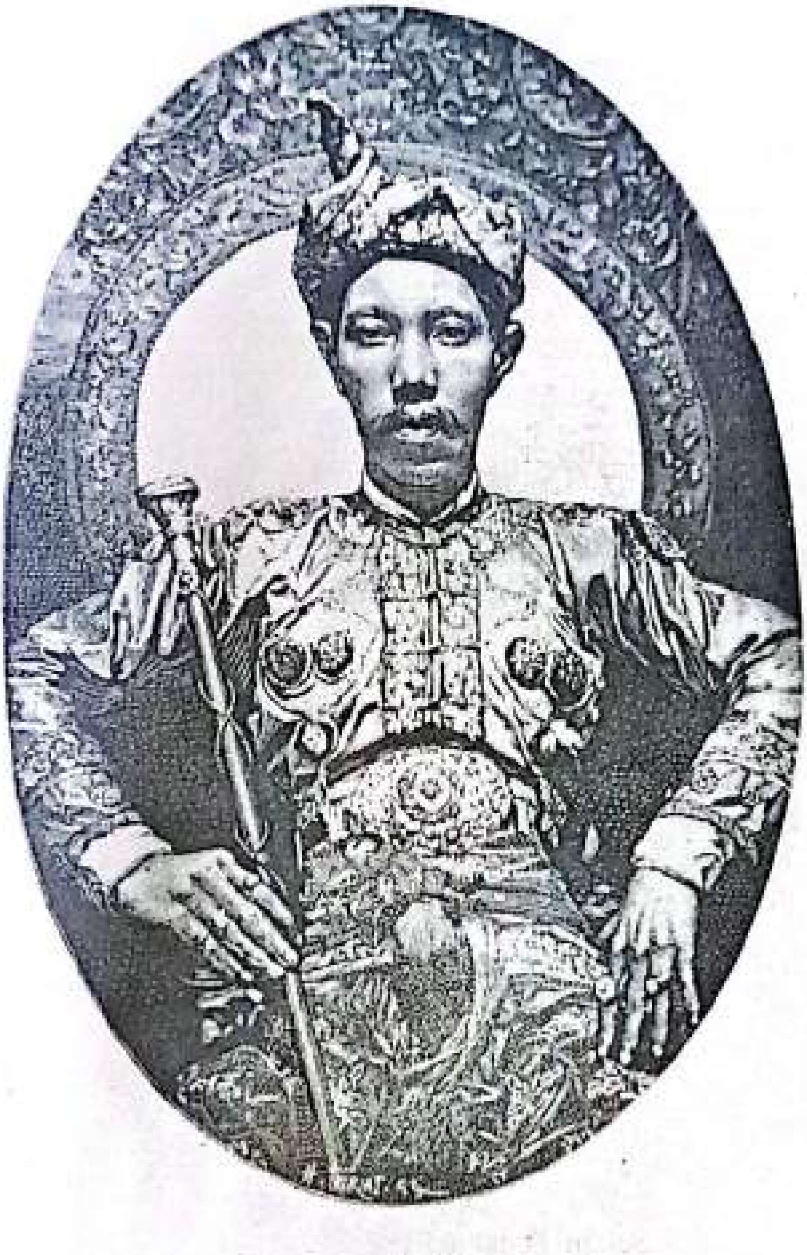




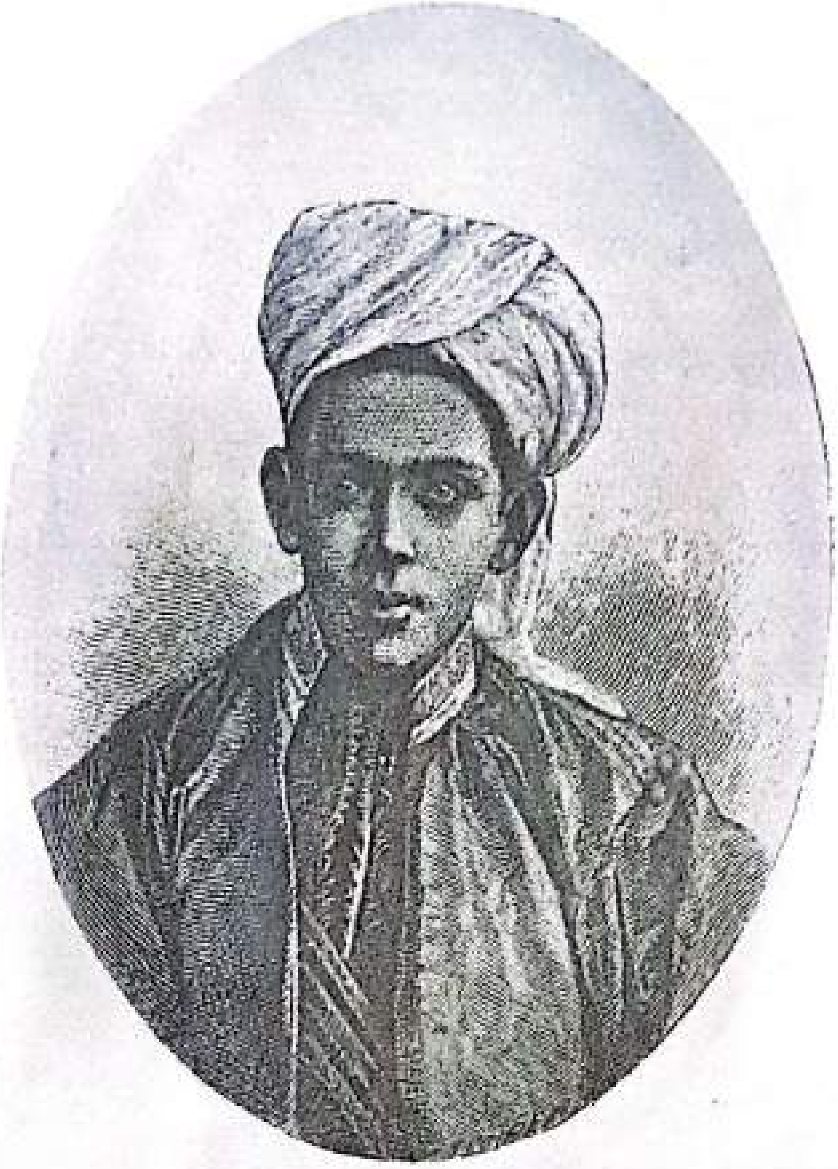
Sultan Pulalun as Rajah Muda
—*Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition 1838-1842*, Vol. V (N.Y., 1856) by Charles Wilkes



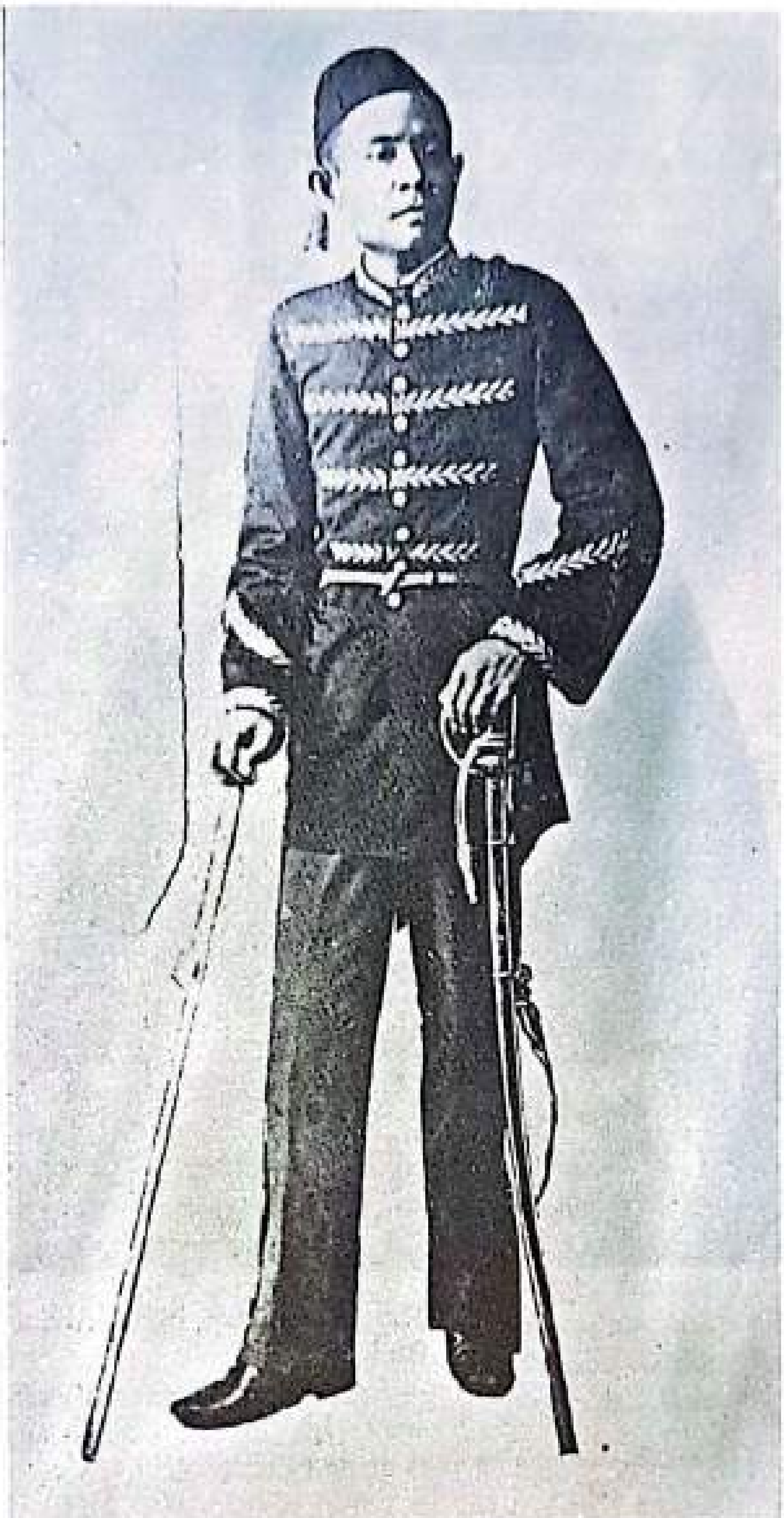
An interview granted by Sultan Jamal ul-ʿAzam to some French visitors.
The chief *qadi*, an Afghan, sits behind the Sultan
— J. Montano, *Voyage aux Philippines et en Malaisie* (Paris, 1886)



Sultan Jamal ul-ʿAzam
—J. Montano, *Voyage aux Philippines et en Malaisie* (Paris, 1886)



Sultan Badar ud-Din II
— F. H. H. Gillemard, *The Cruise of the Marchesa* (N.Y., 1889)



Sultan Harun ar-Rashid
—John Foreman, *The Philippine Islands* (London, 1899)

The Wazir Haji Butoh Abdul Baqi
—Sydney A. Cloman, *Myself and a few Moros,* Doubleday, Page and Co., N.Y., 1923

> described. Palawan, the NW. and N. parts of Borneo, and the intermediate islands, were acquired from the King of Borneo in the beginning of the present century and were the price of the Sooloo aid in a civil war in the kingdom of Borneo.[29] About the year 1704, the Sultan of Borneo made a cession of the north parts of Borneo from Keemannees northward, with the Islands of Palawan, Banguey, Balambangan, etc., to the Sooloos.[30]

By all indications, after the civil war in Brunei, neither Sultan Muaddin nor his successors contested or questioned that Sabah then belonged to Sulu. According to Hugh Low:

> Mr. Jesse, who was resident in Bruni for the East India Company in 1774, and Sir Stamford Raffles, who was familiar with the history of the Malay States, (see p. 268, Vol. I, third para.) seem to have considered the cession to the Soolooks as unquestioned by the Brunians at the time the same countries were made over to the English by these latter people.[31]

The pertinent portion of Raffles' work referred to by Low is as follows:

> On the north-east of Borneo *proper* [Brunei] lies a very considerable territory, the sovereignty of which has been long claimed by the Sulu government; a very considerable part of this, together with the islands off the coast, have been for upwards of forty years regularly ceded to the English by the Sulus, and has also at different periods been assumed by them, without any objection on the part of the government of Borneo *proper*. This ceded district, extending from the river Ki-manis on the northwest, which forms the boundary of Borneo *proper*, to the great bay on the north-east . . . .[32]

The cession of the North Borneo territories to Sulu was unquestioned at the time Sulu took them over, not only because it was the result of an understanding entered into by a Sultan who was in a desperate position in a civil war, but also because Brunei's political and economic power was slowly deteriorating by the middle of the seventeenth century while that of Sulu appeared to have been relatively well consolidated. Apropos to the commercial decline of Brunei, it is even believed that due to the Dutch monopoly which restricted the time-honored Bruneian trading activities, many members of the Brunei royalty began to increase the tribute on the up-country tribes in Brunei to fill their coffers. Matters went from bad to worse such that unrest among the Chinese settlers and the up-country people was believed to have been contributive to the existence of two Rajahs and the ensuing civil war.[33] In any case, it is doubtful whether at the time of the cession of Sabah, the Bruneis exercised effective political control over a great part of the ceded territory. Furthermore, after the cession, the Sulus had to subjugate some of the coastal peoples and put some of their datus there in control. For example, even after the cession, Sultan Badar ud-Din I (reigned from ca. 1718 to 1732) had to pacify the Tiruns in the north-east coast of Borneo during the earlier part of his reign and even before that.[34] Again, around 1769, the Sulus under the leadership of royal datus had to wage war on the Orang Tedong (Tiruns) of Kuran and Berow (Buru) and force them to pay tribute.[35] The point here is that after the cession, it was necessary for the Sulus to demonstrate that they had the effective power to keep the territory tributary to them. The Bruneis, too, before, the cession, had to send occasional expeditions to gather tribute from some of the peoples in the territory. But during the long civil war, it is doubtful whether any of the two rival Borneo Rajahs was able to exercise any coercive power there.

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[29] *A Full and Clear Proof that the Spaniards can have no Claim to Balambangan* (London: 1774), pp. 18-19.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 31-32.

[31] "History of the Sultans of Bruni," *op. cit.*, p. 17 (Footnote).

[32] Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java* (London: 1880), Vol. I, Second Edition, pp. 267-268.

[33] Cf. Owen Rutter, *British North Borneo* (London: 1922), p. 93; and J. Hunt, "Sketch of Borneo, or Pulo Kalamantan," in Henry Keppel, *The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido* (London: 1846), Vol. II, Appendix II, p. xxiii.

It is important to note here that the *Selesilah* version presented by Hugh Low stated that "the land from the North as far westward as Kimani should belong to Soolook" should the Sulu Sultan give the aid requested by Sultan Muaddin.[36] This suggests that not all of the territories in Borneo which the Sulus had controlled or came to control were necessarily identical or limited to the cession from Brunei. British travellers to Sulu and Borneo in the second half of the eighteenth century as well as the earlier part of the nineteenth century had taken it for granted that the domains of the Sulu sultan on the island of Borneo included all the coastal areas from the Kimanis River to the present Doemaring (called "Dumaring" by Dalrymple) or even up to the Tapedurian river close to what is now called Tanjong Mangkalihat, a cape where the Straits of Makassar meets the Celebes Sea.[37] Moreover, the Sulu sultans claimed that they once even had dominion up to Balikpapan which is much farther south than Tanjong Mangkalihat.

Dalrymple divided the Sulu dominions in Borneo into four: Tirun, Mangidara, Malludu, and Kinneballu (or Pappal). The first extended from around Tapedurian River to Cape Unsong, the second extended from Unsong to the area of Labuk Bay, the third goes up to Tanjong Sampanmangio, while the fourth extends from this cape to Kimanis River which is a few miles east of Brunei city.[38] Although more research is needed on the matter, the probability is that even before the Brunei cession, Sulu was already exercising some dominion over parts of northeastern Borneo. If this is the case, then the meaning of the Brunei cession was that the Sulus could further extend the dominions they already had in Borneo towards a westward direction, that is, up to the Kimanis River.

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[34] "Suceso de la Mision de Jolo," A Jesuit report written around 1749 and found in manuscript form at the *British Museum* (Add. 13, 976). Page 50.

[35] Thomas Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

[36] Hugh Low, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[37] Cf. J. Hunt, "Some Particulars relating to Sulu, in the Archipelago of Felicia," *op. cit.*, p. 32; Henry Keppel, *op. cit.*, xxiii; and Dalrymple, "Essay towards an account of Sulu," *op. cit.*, pp. 525-526.

According to some contemporary scholars, the cession of Sabah to Sulu took place in 1704. Probably, this information is ultimately traceable to Dalrymple who wrote that the cession took place "about the year 1704"[39] which was clearly a calculation based on his interviews with Sulu datus when he was gathering data preparatory to writing a history of Sulu. The authors of the *Sejarah Berunai* wrote that the civil war in Brunei ended in 1672.[40] But again, this date is, at best, an estimate, although possibly not very far from the actual date. If the authors had made a more careful calculation based on their own data, they would have stated 1674 as the date.

Taking into consideration that Sultan Muhammad ʿAli was killed in 1662, that the civil war between Sultan Muaddin (Muhyiddin) and Sultan ʿAbdul Mubin, according to the *Selisilah*, lasted about ten years, that the Pangiran Bongsu served as bendahara for about two years before he raised the standard of revolt and proclaimed himself as sultan, and adding a few months to cover the time before the bendahara served as such, it can be estimated that the cession to Sulu took place around 1675. That the cession took place before 1690 is confirmed by a Spanish report that a Brunei sultan died in 1690, and was succeeded by his nephew, the bendahara.[41] This sultan who died is probably Muaddin who, according to the Brunei *Selisilah*, was succeeded by his nephew Nasr ud-Din. It could not have been ʿAbdul Mubin, since, Muaddin, who can be said to have succeeded him, was a cousin.

Another clue that can help in fixing the date is the report of a letter of the Sulu Sultan Jamal ul-ʿAzam to the Spanish Governor General Domingo Moriones dated September 17, 1879, where the Sultan claimed that "from the year 1105 Hegira [1693 C.E.] during the reign of the late Sultan Shahab ud-Din, the coast from Kimanis to Balikpapan, including Sandakan, paid him tribute."[42] This letter while revealing the extent of Sulu dominions in Borneo before the end of the seventeenth century, does not imply that the cession was identical to it. But certainly the ceded portion must have included at least lands as far south as Serudong (Celudon, Solodon), in the area of Darvel Bay, which Brunei had once added to its dominions during the early part of the sixteenth century.

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[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 525-531.

[39] Dalrymple, *A Full and Clear Proof that the Spaniards can have no Claim to Balambangan*, p. 31.

[40] *Op. cit.*, p. 82.

[41] From a letter of the Licenciado Alonzo de Abella to the Spanish King, dated June 20, 1690. Legajo No. 14, Ramo 4, *Audiencia de Filipinas, Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

Once Sultan Muaddin became the sole sultan of Brunei, he tried to reestablish relations with the Dutch and Spaniards, probably to recapture part of Brunei's former commercial prosperity.[43] In October 1682, an embassy from Brunei appeared in Manila offering friendship and the reestablishment of commercial relations. The Spanish Governor General was interested in having relations with Brunei not only on account of the possibility of introducing there the Catholic religion but to settle once and for all the problem of sovereignty over some settlements in Palawan and in the Calamianes where some of the inhabitants were still wont to pay tribute to the Brunei sultan. The Governor believed, too, that the Sultan might be able, by treaty, to contain some of the piratical activities of his subjects in Borneo. The Spaniards were interested, too, in trading for wax, pearls, camphor, and spices.[44] It took more than a year for the Borneans to respond to some of the Spanish proposals. In 1685, the Spanish government at Manila sent a general, Juan de Morales, and a Jesuit, Pedro Vello, to Brunei to finalize the treaty.[45] Peace with Brunei was to follow for many years. But for all practical purposes, Brunei was not to have any political influence in the Philippine Archipelago, whether in Spanish-held territories or in the sultanates of the south. On the contrary, it was Sulu now that was exercising an increasing influence over the island of Borneo.

Returning to Maguindanao, it will be recalled that Sultan Kahar ud-Din Kuda became sultan there in 1699 and held his court at Simuay. He was once the commander of the Maguindanao fleet and appeared to have had peaceful relations with Spaniards, but it was with the Dutch that he seemed closer to or more in need of. In one of his letters, he assured the Dutch that he was continuing the friendly policy of his father and grandfather towards them while requesting the purchase of 100 muskets and two artillery pieces of five to six hundred pounds each. Sending two piculs of wax to the Dutch Governor General as a gift, he explained that once the Maguindanaos had traded with, and sold wax to, a Chinese ship coming from Japan on the belief that the vessel belonged to the V.O.C.; thereby revealing Maguindanao apprehension on the jealousy the Dutch exercised on the wax trade which they wanted to monopolize.[46] The Governor's return gift were twelve muskets, five ells of black cloth, ten ells of Dutch cloth, etc.[47]

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[42] Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 586. Also cf. Victor Maria Concas, "Informe al Gobierno de S. M. acerca de las costas de Jolo, Borneo y Mindanao." (Manila: 1882). Manuscript copy, Main Library, University of the Philippines, p. 167.

[43] Van Dijk, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

[44] From a letter of the Governor to the Spanish King dated June 10, 1683, Legajo 13, Ramo 1. *Audiencia de Filipinas, Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

[45] Letter of the Governor to the Spanish King dated June 26, 1684, *ibid.;* and Letter of the Governor to the Spanish King dated May 22, 1685, Ramo 2, *ibid.;* Letter of the Governor to the Spanish King dated May 24, 1688, Legajo 14, Ramo 2, *ibid.* A description of the Bornean embassy and the Spanish return is found in "Augustinians in Philippines," Blair and Robertson, Vol. XLII, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-184.

It was the misfortune of Sultan Kahar ud-Din that his nephews, sons of his brother, the late Sultan Barahaman, did not get along well with him. A charge against the Sultan was that he had disregarded tradition and the wishes of the council of the realm. Possibly, this charge, made by the older nephew, was that the sultanate should have gone to him instead.[48] What resulted was that the sons of Barahaman left Simuay for Slangan, the old site of Maguindanao. The oldest one, Bayanol Anwar (Arabic, Bayan ul-Anwar), even went to Sibugay, where the inhabitants offered him their vassalage. It appears that the Iranuns at the Sabanilla area considered him their ruler. Once again Maguindanao was beset by dynastic troubles. A civil war seemed imminent. It was then that the Sulus appeared on the scene to complicate matters.

A study of contemporary records suggests that the following events ensued. Kahar ud-Din, faced with the enmity of his nephews, asked for aid from the Sulu Sultan Shahab ud-Din. The Sulu Sultan with seventy-five vessels (another report says seventy-three) first went to the Sabanilla area and defeated Bayan ul-Anwar (another report says that the Sulu Sultan had, however, offered him peace). From there, the Sulu fleet proceeded to Simuay. The warriors of Kahar ud-Din, seeing a strong force and fearing it or suspecting a trick, blocked the river in the night, thus preventing the fleet from leaving the next day. The Sulu Sultan, angry at this, complained to the Maguindanao Sultan who, unable to offer a satisfactory explanation, merely gave him a cold answer. It was reported that the Sulu Sultan in anger struck the Maguindanao Sultan with his kris. The latter, in turn, tried to fire his pistol at the Sulu Sultan, but failed. With Kahar ud-Din mortally wounded, general warfare ensued between the Sulus and Maguindanaos with victory eventually going to the Sulus. According to a report given by a son of the late Sultan a week after the event, this battle took place at 7 A.M., Friday, August 10, 1702.

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[46] 1701 X, pp. 87-93, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*

[47] 1701 X, pp. 267-270, *ibid.*

[48] 1703 XII, Ternate, 175-176, *ibid.;* and 1703 XII, pp. 321-323, *ibid.*

The Sulus were complete masters of the field, and they stayed ten days in Simuay and then left with the artillery and goods of the late Sultan. They did not also fail to get a few captives for ransom purposes. They must have spent some time cruising in the area for it took them at least two months to return to Sulu. Accompanying the Sulu Sultan was a younger brother, Badar ud-Din, a warrior who as sultan was to later give the Spaniards some of their most difficult times in Sulu and Mindanao.

A son of Kahar ud-Din communicated with the Spaniards asking their help against the Sulu Sultan, but the Spaniards, being at peace with Sulu, did not desire to embroil themselves in a trouble that could not have profited them at the time. They wrote, however, to Sultan Shahab ud-Din asking him to keep the peace with Maguindanao and interceding for the return of the booty to the heirs of the late Maguindanao Sultan. On October 20, 1702, the Sulu Sultan explained to the Spanish Governor General that one reason for the trouble with the Maguindanaos was that he had once sent seventeen persons on a boat to Sangil island to trade but instead of a peaceful reception, they received an attack by subjects of the Maguindanao Sultan. Then to reduce whatever sympathy the Spaniards might have had for the late Maguindanao Sultan, the Governor General was also informed that Kahar ud-Din had constant dealings with the Dutch. Another letter from the Sulu Sultan followed on December 7, stating that he was sorry about the whole affair, probably suggesting that the Spaniards forget the whole matter. With the death of Kahar ud-Din, Bayan ul-Anwar, with the title of Jalal ud-Din, became the sultan of Maguindanao and held court in Slangan.[49]

Sultan Jalal ud-Din Bayan ul-Anwar tried to follow a policy whereby he could be on good terms with both the Spaniards and the Dutch. In 1703, he wrote to the Spanish Governor General stating that the Sultan of Brunei had some time before given to his older brother one-half of the island of Palawan (possibly the northern part) which now he (Bayan ul-Anwar) was giving to the Spaniards.[50] Not to be outdone on the matter, the Sulu Sultan Shahab ud-Din, in 1705, offered part of Palawan, (probably the same part claimed by Bayan ul-Anwar to have been given to his brother by the Brunei sultan) as well as the island of Balabak to the Spaniards.[51] The Spaniards failed, however, to avail themselves of the opportunity presented by this offer.

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[49] For Dutch sources on this battle between the Sulus and Maguindanaos as well as the succeeding events see 1704 VII, pp. 384-401, *ibid.*, and 1706 XIV, pp. 2-4, *ibid.* For Spanish sources see a letter of Governor General Zabalburu to the Spanish King dated June 3, 1703, with accompanying testimonies, Letter No. 44, Legajo 127, *Audiencia de Filipinas, Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla. A secondary source is Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 301. A Maguindanao version reported to Captain Forrest more than seventy years after the incident is found in Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 203. The narration in some secondary sources like Concepcion (*op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 301) and Montero y Vidal (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 252) that both sultans killed each other in the personal combat is not correct. The Sulu sultan Shahab ud-Din survived to reign a few years more.

Sultan Jalal ud-Din knew that it would have been quite difficult for him to get arms and ammunition from the Spaniards; for these he turned to the Dutch. On May 1, 1705, he wrote to the Dutch Governor General asking for two artillery pieces and ammunition to be paid in wax and Spanish reales.[52] By all indications, the Maguindanao Sultan was more inclined to be close to the Dutch, and he seemed to have been informed of events in Europe as when in 1708, he congratulated the Dutch Governor General Joan Van Hoorn on the Dutch victories over the French and Spaniards, following his congratulations with a request for artillery pieces.[53] In the next two years, Jalal ud-Din was able to make peace with the Sulu Sultan, who came to visit him and even stayed in his home for a few days. But he was having trouble with his younger brother Jaᶜfar Sadiq. The younger brother had claimed that it was their father's will that both brothers should rule jointly and that he was to administer the coastal areas of Maguindanao, although the title of "sultan" was to be reserved for the older brother, Bayan ul-Anwar. Moreover, the Sultan had broken all his commitments with the younger brother and had imputed to his brother a conspiracy to dispossess him of his throne. As a result, an open conflict eventually broke out between the followers of the two brothers. About 1710, Jaᶜfar Sadiq, who was the rajah muda, with 2,000 of his followers, including women and children, fled to Tamontaka, a distance of about four miles south from Slangan and about four miles from the southern mouth of the Pulangi River. The Rajah Muda must have had quite a solid following of warriors since on one occasion the Sulu sultan with fifty *caracoas* failed to do anything against him when requested to do so by Bayan ul-Anwar. Both brothers then asked the

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[50] Letter of Sri Sultan Jalal ud-Din Bayanol Anwar to the Spanish Governor General dated February 9, 1703, Legajo 127, *Audiencia de Filipinas, Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

[51] Letter of Governor General Zabalburu to the Spanish King dated June 15, 1705, Legajo 129, Ramo 2, *ibid.;* Letter of Francisco Cuesta to the Spanish King, dated July 1720, Legajo 227, *ibid.;* and Juan de la Concepcion, "Estado de la provincia de San Nicolas de Tolentino en las islas Filipinas 1605-1751," 73b, (Add. 13, 973), *British Museum.*

[52] 1706 XIV, pp. 1-2. *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*

[53] 1709 X, pp. 341-346, *ibid.* The sultan is here probably referring to events in the war of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) where the Dutch, especially their Navy, aided the British against the French and Spanish.

Dutch for help, but the Dutch refused to interfere in this domestic quarrel. In their letters to the Dutch, both brothers insinuated that the other was dealing with the Spaniards.[54] However, as the facts demonstrated, it was the ruler of Tamontaka who had friendlier relations with the Spaniards, unlike Jalal ud-Din, who, in closer cooperation with the Sulu sultans, had to face and challenge the Spanish incursion. In time Maulana Jaʿfar Sadiq would assume the title of "sultan" and Dutch authorities, to distinguish him from the sultan at Slangan, would call him the "young king." Maguindanao would then have two rulers and the Spaniards, as events will reveal, would take full advantage of this situation.

Of interest in the history of Maguindanao at this point is the origin of the sultanate of Kabuntalan (Bagumbayan). Sultans Jalal ud-Din and Jaʿfar Sadiq had a young brother called Umarmaya Tubu-Tubu who married a daughter of the Ternate sultan around 1707.[55] At this time, Kabuntalan was a growing settlement almost at the point where the Pulangi forks itself into its northern and southern branches, and it had a datu who was descended from the rajahs of Buayan. This datu named Duka had no sons, but one of his daughters married Umarmaya Tubu-Tubu. A son, Digra Alam, begotten out of this marriage became the first datu of Kabuntalan who assumed the title of "sultan." Thus the sultans of Kabuntalan could claim descent from both Maguindanao and Buayan, and their capital lay practically midway between Tamontaka and Buayan.

Sultan Shahab ud-Din of Sulu was succeeded by his younger brother Mustafa Shafi ud-Din, who, in turn was succeeded by another brother, Badar ud-Din. Mustafa Shafi ud-Din abdicated in favor of his younger brother and retired to Tawi-Tawi. Before Badar ud-Din ascended the throne, there was some opposition to him, possibly due to the fact that his mother, a Tirun lady, did not belong to the Sulu royal family. The situation became so difficult for the realm that the majority of the royal datus finally decided to have Badar ud-Din as sultan. This event must have taken place in early 1719 or in the preceding year.[56] Badar ud-Din is supposed to have tried to make governmental institutions follow Islamic lines. He is remembered as having been a brave man and a "victor in land and sea." And this may well have been so since even before he became sultan, a great part of his time was spent subjugating the fierce Tirun inhabitants in the Northeastern part of Borneo, presumably in part of the lands ceded by the Brunei sultan to Sulu. He is known to have married a Tirun lady belonging to a ruling family. Another of his wives was a Bugis lady from Soopeng in the Celebes. It was at the beginning of the reign of Badar ud-Din that an event of far-reaching consequences would take place to resuscitate once again the so-called Moro Wars. This was the Spanish reoccupation of Zamboanga in 1718 and the rebuilding of the fort the following year. The fort was equipped with sixty-one artillery pieces and guarded by a garrison of more than a hundred Spaniards reinforced by a much larger contingent of Pampangos.

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[54] For details about the conflict of the two brothers see 1706 XIV, p. 204, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren;* 1712 XI, pp. 1-5, and pp. 197-216, *ibid.;* and 1713 XIII, pp. 229-235, *ibid.*

[55] 1708 II, pp. 783-784, *ibid.*

[56] A letter of Badar ud-Din to Dutch officials in 1719 gives the impression that he had just ascended the throne. 1722 XII, Ternate, pp. 1-9, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*

The reestablishment of the Zamboanga fort was the result of various causes, principally continuous Jesuit agitation. Three years after its abandonment in 1663, the Jesuit Procurator General in Madrid was able to bring the problem of its restoration to the Council of the Indies with the result that Maria, the Queen Regent of Spain, issued a royal cedula in December 1666 for its restoration.[57] But Manila authorities chose to disregard the order for reasons of its impracticability. On August 27, 1672, plans were again revived in Madrid to refortify Zamboanga on the ground that it would not only stop alleged Muslim depredations and contain the enemies of the Catholic religion, but it would thwart what was believed to be English and Dutch designs on the Philippine Archipelago as evidenced by their dealings with Maguindanao.[58] In any case, the royal order issued in 1672 to restore Zamboanga was not carried out. Reasons for the non-compliance can be gleaned from a letter of the Spanish Governor General, dated June 4, 1675, to the effect that the job of maintaining the fortifications in Manila and Cebu was already quite a task; moreover, there was peace with Maguindanao.[59] In 1703, peace with the Maguindanao sultan was the reason offered by the Spanish government in Manila for not giving its assent to the proposal for the refortification of Zamboanga. Although the Spaniards did have a genuine concern over Dutch and English commercial activities in Mindanao, the fact that the latter did not succeed in establishing factories,[60] could have been a reason for their lack of enthusiasm in the plan. Indeed, having a fort to stop Muslim depredations or "piratical" incursions was certainly not enough reason, since there had been a general peace with Sulu and Maguindanao then for about fifty years. But the Jesuits insisted in reopening their mission in Zamboanga, and as Governor General Cruzat y Gongora pointed out, no mission would succeed unless there was a fortified base in

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[57] Combes, *op. cit.*, Notes, p. 656.

[58] Legajo 228, *Audiencia de Filipinas, Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

[59] Legajo 122, Ramo 1, *ibid.*

[60] From a letter of the Governor General to the Spanish King, dated May 25, 1697, Legajo 17, Ramo 3, *ibid.*

Zamboanga.[61] In brief, in spite of the willingness of some Jesuits to reopen their mission at Zamboanga without any military protection, the general policy of the government was that if anything were to be established, it was to be both a mission and a garrison. In 1712, King Philip V, on account of Jesuit tenacity, issued another royal cedula, which was complied with in 1718.[62] (With the reoccupation and refortification of Zamboanga, the long peace between Spain and the Muslim sultanates of the Philippines was soon broken. The fifth stage of the Moro Wars then commenced.)

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[61] From a letter of the Governor General to the Spanish King, dated May 20, 1698, Legajo 17, Ramo 2, *ibid.*

[62] Combes, *op. cit., Prologue*, p. xix.

VI

The Moro Wars
The Fifth Stage

np'tahan & nidari sme Zamboanga pa thn 1719

The return of the Spaniards to Zamboanga in 1718 and its refortification brought about new power realignments among the sultanates in the Philippines. This was in response to what appeared to them as a resurgence of the old threat and danger. Anticipating a renewal of hostilities on account of their move and upon the insistence of the Recollects, the Spaniards also fortified Labo in Palawan. All these led to the commencement of the fifth stage of the Moro Wars.

In the fifth stage of the Moro Wars initiated by the Spanish provocative act of refortifying Zamboanga, the vigorous but unsuccessful attempt of the Muslims to dislodge the Spanish forces from Zamboanga was countered by Spanish retaliatory measures. After two decades, however, there was a change in Spanish political tactics to Christianize and colonize the Muslims. Instead of forcing Christianity upon the Muslims by conquest, the Spanish King requested the sultans to allow Christian missionaries into their realms in exchange for commercial relations and a Spanish alliance. However, Spanish efforts in this direction eventually brought about the opposite of the hoped-for results. The wars during this stage reached considerable proportions in terms of human lives lost and property destroyed on both sides. A short lull occurred after the British invasion, but the wars soon commenced with the withdrawal of the British and continued up to the middle of the nineteenth century.

To disguise their intentions as well as to mollify the sultans who might have been angered by the return of the Spaniards to Zamboanga, the Spanish authorities sent an embassy under Antonio Perez Gil to the new Sulu Sultan, Badar ud-Din, in 1719. Bearing gifts for the Sultan, the Spanish Ambassador explained that part of his mission was to have the Sultan ratify the cession of Balabak to the Spaniards which the Sultan's predecessor, Shahab ud-Din, made in 1705. The Sultan replied that he was aware of the cession, that he meant to honor it and that he desired to establish intensive commercial relations with the Spaniards. He then asked that the licenses he issued to his subjects for purposes of trade be honored by the Spaniards.[1] This suggests that the Sultan would have the Spaniards deal only with those of his subjects who had been authorized to trade.

The Sulu Sultan although earnestly interested in the commercial prosperity of Sulu nevertheless saw to it that the defense of his realm was made more secure. In the same year of 1719 he sent an embassy to the Dutch Governor General of Batavia. Led by the Datu Bendahara who was accompanied by the Nakhoda, a leader of the Sulu fleet, the Sulu Embassy carried a letter along with personal gifts to the Dutch Governor. It also brought articles of trade like turtle shells, wax, cowries, pearls, mother of pearl, and birds' nest. The Sultan's letter revealed that he was holding court at Bauang (in the present site of Jolo) and recalled the good relations which formerly existed between the Dutch and Sulus. The Sultan regretted the discontinuance of these relations, which he blamed on sheer negligence on the part of his predecessors even as he expressed the hope of reviving such diplomatic and friendly relations. Calling the Dutch Governor a brother, Badar ud-Din made a strong request for firearms, bullets, nails for his artillery, and other forms of ammunition. It is noteworthy to point out, in connection with the letter, that the nature of the salutations and other forms of courtesies used reveals that the Sultan had in his court good scribes with sophisticated Islamic consciousness.[2]

Besides trying to keep peaceful relations with the Sulus, the Spaniards also tried to negotiate with the Sultan of Maguindanao for the compliance and implementation of the 1645 treaty. However, they wanted the inclusion of one more condition: the area of Sibugay close to Zamboanga was to cease to be tributary to Maguindanao. It appeared that the envoys of Sultan Jalal ul-Din Bayan ul-Anwar accepted this condition, although it is a matter of conjecture as to whether the Sultan really meant to abide by it.[3] In any case, it did not take long before the Iranuns, Maguindanaos, and the Sulus would present a combined effort to drive the Spaniards out of Zamboanga.

In September 1720, the Sulu Sultan Badar ud-Din sent an embassy to Zamboanga requesting for a conference with Sebastian Amorena, the military governor. The next day the Sultan arrived, accompanied by many members of the Sulu aristocracy, and they were given military honors. The Sultan declared that he had come to offer condolences on the death of the Spanish Queen. According to Spanish reports, however, the Sultan told the governor confidentially, when the opportunity presented itself, that he had come because he wanted an alliance with the Spaniards. He also revealed that he was planning to send an embassy soon to Manila. Meanwhile, according to reports from some Spanish priests, the Sultan sent a message to Pedro Estrada, the Jesuit Rector of the Zamboanga College, to the effect that he was willing to have his son and heir receive Christian education and marry a nice Christian girl, and that he was also willing to accept missionaries on the island of Basilan. Another report attempted to ascribe to the Sultan's moves the desire for a Spanish alliance to forestall a plot against him by some datus while securing, at the same time, the royal succession for his oldest son and heir.[4] Not much is known about the result of his embassy except that Spanish writers have judged the Sultan's actions as one of sheer deception in order to camouflage future plans.

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[1] Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. IX, p. 215 and pp. 392-394.

[2] "Copy of a letter of Badar ud-Din to the Governor General at Batavia," 1722 XII, Ternate, pp. 1-9, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*

[3] "Capitulaciones de 1719," a manuscript copy found in *Capitulaciones con el sultan de Mindanao,* Main Library, University of the Philippines.

On December 3, Ja'far Sadiq Manamir, the younger brother of the Maguindanao Sultan who had fled to Tamontaka and styled himself as Rajah Muda, sent a letter to the Zamboanga governor warning him that the Iranuns from the area of Sabanilla (in the area of present-day Malabang) were coming to attack the fort under the leadership of Balasi, the Datu of Butig. This Rajah Muda of Maguindanao had ever since wanted the throne for himself, and he was banking on Spanish friendship to support his bid for the sultanate of Maguindanao. Clearly, his letter was to secure Spanish favor. That his information was reliable was borne out by the fact that on December 8, Datu Balasi appeared in Zamboanga with about 100 boats of various sizes and thousands of Iranun warriors. On the same day, the Datu tried to storm the fort, but he was badly hurt by a large stone thrown at him as well as by at least ten musket shots. Brought mortally wounded to one of his boats, the command was transferred to a brother. Unable to take the fort, the Iranuns attacked and destroyed the houses and stores close by and then prepared to lay siege on it. The Zamboanga garrison which had lately been reinforced by about 200 more soldiers, began to be visited by sickness and suffer deprivations which were however partly alleviated by some provisions which the Rajah Muda at Tamontaka was able to send to the fort.

Suddenly at the end of December, the Sulu Sultan and his ally, the Maguindanao Sultan, appeared with about 104 large vessels and an estimated 3,000 warriors (6,000 warriors said another Spanish report, probably with some exaggeration). The siege of the fort began in earnest in January 1721, and it was only by the middle of April that the siege was broken by the coming of Spanish reinforcements. The Sulus and Maguindanaos were then forced to retire. After the defeat and withdrawal of the Iranuns from Zamboanga, their kin, the Maranaos, fell on the Christian settlement of Iligan, burning and sacking it and taking away many captives.[5] A follow-up Spanish punitive expedition against the Maranaos and Sulus had to be abandoned. The 1723 expedition to assert Spanish authority in Sabanilla, in spite of a fierce battle where some Iranun datus were killed, also failed, with heavy losses on both sides.

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[4] For details of the Sulu Embassy see "Lettre du Pere Gilles Wibault, Manila, Decembre 20, 1721," *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, (Paris: 1738), Vol. XXIII, pp. 425-428; and Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. IX, pp. 413-415.

After the failure of the Sulus and the Maguindanaos to take Zamboanga, the Sulu Sultan, once more, tried to renew peaceful negotiations with the Spaniards. In 1724, he sent an envoy to Manila who, on account of some misunderstanding while enroute to Manila, was not able to accomplish his mission. A second envoy, a Chinese ship captain named Ki Kua, was able to reach Manila and declare the Sultan's desire for a peace treaty. The Spaniards responded by sending an envoy to Jolo, who was well received and honored when he arrived on December 8, 1726. On December 11, a peace treaty which was entered into with the Sultan provided the means for stimulating commerce between Sulus and Spaniards, the return of Christian captives, and mutual aid against their common enemies. The Sultan is supposed to have promised to give Basilan to the Spaniards.[6]

Once again, the Sulu Sultan tried to accelerate his trade with the Dutch in Batavia. Before he entered into the peace treaty with the Spaniards, he was able to send a lot of Sulu and Borneo products to the Dutch, and in exchange he received nails (as ammunition) and cloth. It appeared that the Sultan had requested the Dutch for some artillery pieces but which the latter were not able to provide because the specified large sizes were not available.[7] In all probability, the Sultan's request for muskets and ammunition was complied with, and it is possible, too, that the Dutch sent men to train the Sulus in the arts of modern warfare. One thing the Spaniards were soon to note was that by this time the Sulus already had some knowledge of trench warfare.[8]

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[5] For details of the December 1721 attack on Zamboanga, see "Lettre du Pere Gilles Wibault," *op. cit.*, pp. 430-440; Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. IX, pp. 415-421; "Letter dated August 1, 1721," Ventura del Arco, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 409-431; and "Relacion de la sorpresa que intentaron hacer en Samboangan los Malanos de la Sabanilla con su principal Balasi," Ventura del Arco, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 433-445.

[6] Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. X, pp. 140-141 and pp. 150-153.

[7] 1726 XII, Ternate I, 244-261. *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*

[8] Cf. Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Footnote 1, p. 270; and "Letter of Pedro Estrada, S.J. to Pedro Ignacio Altamirano, June 25, 1748," Ventura del Arco, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 460.

In line with his aim of recapturing even just a semblance of Sulu's former commercial power, Badar ud-Din, in 1726, sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor Yong Cheng. It carried gifts but the Chinese called these "tribute." In June of the next year, the Sulu Sultan sent to the Chinese imperial court pearls, tortoise shells, monkeys, and other products from Sulu and Borneo. These products which were obviously meant as trade items but for which something expensive was sought in exchange were still called "tribute." Nevertheless, the Sulu envoy for his part was bestowed "articles of reward." Also, an imperial decree was issued providing that Sulu send tribute once every five years and that the port of entry was to be in Fukien province. In 1733, Badar ud-Din was able to send another embassy to Peking.[9]

Meanwhile, around 1730; Badar ud-Din had some difficulties with Datu Sabdula (Arabic, 'Abdullah), a nephew (or grand-nephew) who was aspiring to the throne. The aging Sultan was willing to give up his throne, provided his relative could demonstrate his prowess in fighting the Spaniards; more specifically, by attacking Oton in Panay. For this venture, the Sultan was willing to help with men and vessels. What appears was that Datu Sabdula instead of going to Oton attacked Dumaran Island and then proceeded to lay siege on the Taytay fort in northern Palawan. After an unsuccessful siege of about 20 days, the Sulus retired, after having burned the church and houses in the town. To make up for some of their losses in the siege, the Sulus raided other islands nearby. The following year, a Spanish fleet attacked Jolo and other points in Sulu, burning plantations and orchards, and causing havoc among the settlements.

While Datu Sabdula, whose regnal title in the *tarsilas* is stated as Nasar ud-Din, was holding court in Jolo, Badar ud-Din, the old Sultan, was staying in Tawi-Tawi. On December 6, 1734, the old Sultan must have had enough prestige and personal resources to try to surprise Zamboanga with about 450 men. Actually, some of the Sulu warriors were able to scale the walls of the fort, and it was only the alarm raised by an alert sentinel that saved the fort. The next year, the Sulus tried once again to capture the Taytay fort, but they were repulsed with great loss in spite of the fact that they, according to reports, numbered about 2,000 warriors. In any case, the two unsuccessful assaults on Taytay made many datus lose their confidence on Sultan Nasar ud-Din, to the extent that they were led to ask Datu Lagasan, a son of Badar ud-Din, to come to Jolo and assume the sultanate.[10]

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[9] See the author's "Chinese Relationship with the Sultanate of Sulu,' *The Chinese in the Philippines:* 1570-1770 (Historical Conservation Society, Manila: 1966), p. 150.

[10] For some details of Datu Sabdula's sultanate cf. "Suceso de la Mision de Jolo" (British Museum Manuscript) pp. 439b-440a.

Meanwhile, the dynastic troubles between Sultan Bayan ul-Anwar and his younger brother Jaʿfar Sadiq were still raging. The virtual ruler in Tamontaka, Jaʿfar Sadiq maintained friendly relations with the Spaniards who decided to support him in his bid to get the Maguindanao sultanate from his brother. But Bayan ul-Anwar had a son Malinug who expected to inherit the throne from his father and who therefore did not take well the pretensions of his uncle, the ruler at Tamontaka. Consequently, the armed conflict against Jaʿfar Sadiq was conducted mostly under the leadership of Malinug. Hard pressed by his nephew who was close to the Dutch, Jaʿfar Sadiq appealed for help to the Spaniards who were only too willing to involve themselves again in such troubles for their own advantage. Around the end of 1731, a Spanish expeditionary force visited Tamontaka, preparatory to invading the lands of Sultan Bayan ul-Anwar. On the way to the interior, the Spaniards attacked a few fortified places, burned a couple of settlements, and destroyed some granaries and plantations. After earning the gratitude of the Tamontaka ruler, the Spanish force descended on Basilan and Jolo island, burning settlements and taking Sulu captives. The revenge of Sultan Bayan ul-Anwar and his son Malinug was not long in coming. In the second week of March 1733, Malinug, with 700 warriors, fell on Tamontaka and slew Jaʿfar Sadiq. Possibly, Malinug had some help from the Iranuns and his old ally, Badar ud-Din of Sulu.[11]

Amir ud-Din Hamza, a son of Jaʿfar Sadiq, succeeded as ruler of Tamontaka and continued his father's friendly policy towards the Spaniards in the hope that they would help him defeat his uncle Bayan ul-Anwar and cousin Malinug. Hamza even volunteered some form of vassalage to the Spaniards, and he offered to accept missionaries in his realm, provided the Spaniards would defeat and if possible capture the Sultan of Maguindanao and son, who were holding court in Slangan. But a difficulty facing the Spaniards in their war against the rulers at Slangan, was that the Spaniards had to contend with the fact that the Sultan had the support of the Iranuns from the coasts and the people of Buayan from the interior. Moreover, the Maguindanao Sultan and especially Malinug could count on the aid of the people of Sulu and Basilan. The Spaniards thus planned to defeat first the Iranuns at their base in Tuboc (around the site of the present Malabang) and deprive Malinug of their possible aid. In February 1734, the Spaniards in forty-eight vessels attacked the Iranun *cotta* at Tuboc which was partially defended by the fleet of Sulu Sultan Badar ud-Din. The counter-attack of the Sulus and Iranuns was carried out with such fury that the Visayan mercenaries of the Spaniards fled in terror. The Spaniards attacked anew after a few days—with the same results. Consequently, the Spanish fleet sailed away to Maguindanao up the river Pulangi to try its hand against Slangan, the capital itself. Forthwith, the Maguindanao Sultan and Malinug retired to the interior near Buayan where they had a well-defended *cotta.* It was this that the Spaniards unsuccessfully tried to capture forcing them in the end to retire with heavy losses. They then stationed themselves at Slangan to close the river to all traffic. For some time then, the base of the Maguindanao Sultan was in the interior at Buayan. With the Spaniards holding part of the domains of the Maguindanao Sultan, Hamza, the ruler at Tamontaka, went to Zamboanga where he was crowned as sultan in the presence of Spanish officials who were now dealing with him as if he were the Maguindanao Sultan. It was then that Hamza promised the Spaniards that he would allow Christian missionaries to come and churches and Spanish forts to be built in his territories and that he would render some form of vassalage to Spain. Actually a mutual defense treaty was forged between Hamza and the Spaniards whose ratification, however, was left to the future.[12]

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[11] Letter of the Rajah Muda to Governor Valdez Tamon, dated March 30, 1733; Letter of Juan Antonio de la Torre, dated April 23, 1733; and Letter from Amir ul-Mu'minin Hamza, dated April 14, 1733. Legajo 705, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

Amir ud-Din Hamza was now sultan of the lower valley of the Pulangi, including the old capital of Slangan, although he chose to continue holding court in Tamontaka. But he was never really able to dominate either Sultan Bayan ul-Anwar or Malinug who held sway over in the interior. In 1736, Sultan Hamza had to ask the Spaniards for aid to be able to resist the repeated incursions by his relatives into his domains. By this time, Sultan Bayan ul-Anwar had given up all powers to his son Malinug who assumed the title of Tahir ud-Din. Cut off from the coast and confined to the interior, Malinug's influence among the Iranuns began to decline. In any case, he still tried to keep his connections with the Dutch and claimed that with his uncle's death in 1733 and that of his father around 1745, he was the legitimate and paramount chief of all Maguindanao.[13] Sultan Malinug died in Buayan around 1748.

To continue the narrative about affairs in Sulu, it will be recalled that datus in Jolo, no doubt urged by Badar ud-Din and egged on by their disappointment with Sultan Nasar ud-Din, invited Datu Lagasan, a son of Badar ud-Din, to come to Jolo and assume the sultanate. Actually, Badar ud-Din, who was living in Dungun, in Tawi-Tawi, had already declared his son in 1735 as sultan not only of Tawi-Tawi and the North Borneo territories but of Jolo as well. Datu Lagasan while still in Dungun took over the regnal title of ʿAzim ud-Din.

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[12] For details of the Spanish attack on Tuboc and Slangan, see Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 266-269.

[13] For letters of Tahir ud-Din to the Dutch, see 1750 XIV, Ternate, pp. 221-223 and pp. 232-236, *Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren.*

ʿAzim ud-Din, as a young man, had gone to Java, where, in a Qur'anic school (*madrasah*) at the outskirts of Batavia, he was able to obtain a good Islamic education as well as proficiency in Arabic and Malay. A Spanish report to the effect that he had even gone to China[14] is quite credible since, as it will be recalled, his father, Badar ud-Din, had sent trade embassies there at various times. ʿAzim ud-Din aspired to become a great *pandita* on the Faith in his father's domains and did not originally appear to have had political ambitions as evidenced by his initial refusal to become sultan early in 1735. However, he accepted the sultanate the second time it was offered to him by the datus.[15] On July 2, 1735, he sent a letter to the Zamboanga governor, Admiral Francisco Sarmiento de Valadares, suggesting the laying of the bases for a more durable peace. An embassy of eight Sulus who were subsequently sent to Zamboanga for that purpose, however, met an unfortunate end. The Governor suspected treachery, and he feared that the envoys planned a trick to have the fort gates opened for an armed attack. Possibly, he did not realize the meaning of the change of government in Sulu, and he believed that Badar ud-Din, an inveterate enemy of the Spaniards, was up to his old tricks again. In any case, the Zamboanga Governor had the envoys arrested and executed—an act which must have confused the new Sultan. The question of how the envoys could have had the chance or power to capture the fort had been raised by Spaniards themselves, and their execution, therefore, was attributed to the bad advice of suspicious Jesuits who were reported to have great influence on the governor.[16]

Although ʿAzim ud-Din appeared to have considered himself a sultan as early as 1735 as evidenced by one of his seals which carried the Muslim year equivalent to this date, he continued to hold court at Dungun until the following year. It seems also that he did not allow the tragic failure of his first embassy to serve as an obstacle to his efforts at peace with the Spaniards. On June 23, 1736, he wrote a friendly letter to the Zamboanga governor describing how the Jolo datus were asking him to reside "in Jolo, the court of his ancestors." He also revealed that his old father had gone to Borneo. All these possibly were meant to convey to the Spaniards his intention to inaugurate a new system of relations with them. The new Sultan in another letter to the Zamboanga governor expressed his plan to send an embassy directly to Manila, to be headed by the Rajah Laut of the realm and the royal datu Muhammad Isma^{c}il.[17] In January 1737, the Sulu embassy arrived in Manila where it was well received. On February 1, a treaty was entered into by the Spanish government in Manila and the Sulus. In the treaty, the parties agreed to settle their differences in a peaceful manner and to come to each other's aid in the event of an attack from a third party, provided that it was not a European power. The sub-proviso, according to the Spaniards, was necessary since the Manila government was not authorized to declare war on European powers. Other terms of the agreement were on their commercial relations, on the punishment to be meted to their respective subjects who were endangering the peace, on the return of captives of previous hostilities, and on the return by the Sulu Sultan of whatever Church ornaments were still in the possession of Sulus which were taken during previous hostilities.[18] At this point, it is significant to note about such a treaty that Sulu was treated as an independent sovereign power. This treaty was ratified by ‘Azim ud-Din in 1737, the year it was penned in Manila. In this same year, Spanish officials appeared in Jolo where they were well received and honored by the Sultan. The Sultan released to the Spaniards many captives but explained that others could not be delivered since their owners refused to give them up. But enough were released to convince the Spaniards of the Sultan's sincerity. The Sultan likewise asked for the return of Sulu captives in Spanish territories, adding, however, that those captives who had become Christians could remain where they were, provided the Spaniards compensated the Sulus for them.[19]

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[14] This information is found in a copy of a letter from the Marquez de la Ensenada to the Spanish Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, dated August 28, 1751, Legajo 708, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla. A copy of this letter is also found in the *Bureau of Records Management*, Manila.

[15] "Suceso de la Mision de Jolo," (British Museum Manuscript), p. 440a.

[16] Cf. Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 52.

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[17] These two letters can be found in "Ano de 1752: Traslado autentico del expediente formado en virtud de las diligencias que el Maestro de Campo Comandante General de la expedizion de Jolo, remitio a esta Capitan General, sobre el ataque y bloqueo que puso a dicha plaza de Jolo y traicion por el Rey Don Fernando, alias Mahamat Alimudin, y sus sequazes a quienes auxiliaban nuestras Armas a su regreso a Samboanga, por lo que redujo a prison." Legajo 706, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

[18] For a copy of the 1737 Treaty, see Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 3-6. The Sulu Embassy consisted of Datu Muhammad Isma'il (the Rajah Muda), Datu Salicaya (the Rajah Laut), Datu Ja^{c}far, and Datu Abdul Athalad. They were all close relatives of the Sultan.

[19] For information about Spanish aid to ^{c}Azim ud-Din against Datu Sabdula, see a manifesto dated December 21, 1751, by Governor General Jose de Ovando against the Sultan, and a letter of the Sultan to the Zamboanga Governor dated December 13, 1742, Legajo 707, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla; and two letters of the Zamboanga Governor to Sultan Muhammad Amir ud-Din Hamza dated June 28, 1742, and November 12, 1742, Legajo 706, *ibid.*

The conclusion of the peace treaty and ensuing exchange of captives between the Spaniards and the Sultan was without the knowledge of old Badar ud-Din who upon learning about them disapproved of everything. The Sultan's father had never forgiven the Spaniards for their treatment of the Sulu embassy to Zamboanga in 1735. This old warrior died around 1740, leaving to his son the administration of Tirun territories on which he had spent a great part of his life pacifying.

Upon Badar ud-Din's death, Nasar ud-Din, the deposed Sultan, tried to recover the sultanate he had been dispossessed of in 1735. From his base in Maimbung, he made a bid for the throne. In this, he had the support of Datu Salicaya, the Datu of Taglibi. As if to further complicate the difficulties of the new Sulu Sultan, Malinug, the Maguindanao sultan, as well as some Iranuns, joined hands with Nasar ud-Din and Datu Salicaya, while his own younger brother, Datu Bantilan, joined the party of Nasar ud-Din who by then was again being called "sultan." It was thus that Sultan ʿAzim ud-Din contacted Spanish authorities in Zamboanga about the middle of 1742, asking for their aid to quell and control his rebellious relatives. For this purpose, the Sultan personally went to Zamboanga and invoked a provision of the 1737 Treaty. A Spanish squadron was fitted to accommodate the Sultan's wishes and the Sultan was able to enter Jolo without much opposition. But the Spaniards went further by asking the Tamontaka ruler not to join any combination against ʿAzim ud-Din, since they were protecting the Sulu Sultan who was their friend. But the opposition to ʿAzim ud-Din apparently continued as evidenced by the fact that in December 1742, the Sultan was frantically writing to Spanish authorities asking for additional aid.[20] The Zamboanga officials provided ʿAzim ud-Din with some powder and ammunition as well as some men. Retiring to Maimbung, his base of operations, Nasar ud-Din was able to resist the Sultan up to 1745 when some form of *modus vivendi* between them was reached. Nasar ud-Din was really never conquered by the Sultan. Nevertheless, after he was left alone by the Sultan, he never made a bid again for the sultanate. Once in 1748, fearful of what might happen to him after the expeditions of the Sultan against the Tiruns, he moved over temporarily to Tawi-Tawi with some of his faithful followers. Nasar ud-Din died around 1753.

In 1746, after having consolidated his position against the pretensions of Nasar ud-Din, the Sultan turned his attention to the Tirun territories conquered by his father. Specifically, this was the coastal area from Sibuko River down to Tapeadurian along the eastern part of Borneo inhabited by the Tiruns, a non-Muslim people who have been noted for their cruelty and slave-hunting expeditions. Fiercely independent by nature under their own chiefs, they had sometimes refused to submit to the datus and governors (*panglimas*) who were installed among them by the Sulu sultans. A people claimed as subjects by the Sulu sultans, the Tiruns, on account of their depredations, used to cause a great deal of embarrassment to the Sulu sultans who were invariably blamed for their actions. The fact was that the Sulu sultans found it sometimes quite difficult to control them. But on account of the claims of the Sultan, Sulu datus who wanted to trade with the Tiruns for products greatly demanded by others, especially the Chinese, needed the permission of the Sultan. It was the nature of the Sultan's claims on the Tiruns and the Sulu control of products of their territory that led the Spaniards to conclude that anything the Tiruns did was done with the connivance or consent of the Sultan.

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[20] From a letter of the Zamboanga Governor dated December 1742, quoted in "Memorial ajustado de las dilegencias de Jolo y estado presente de aquella expedicion (1752)," *ibid.*

Because he wanted to reinstate a datu or a chief of his choice among them and possibly to assert other rights like that of collecting the tribute, ʿAzim ud-Din decided to organize a force against the Tiruns. Since he considered the expedition as one for the purpose of reasserting his sovereignty over rebellious subjects, the sultan invoked once more the 1737 Treaty with the Spaniards even as he asked help from the latter. Claiming that he could fit out sixty vessels and muster 6,000 warriors, all that he needed from the Spaniards, he said, were fifty soldiers under their own Spanish officer plus some ammunition for his warriors. Thus, in March 1747 a Spanish fleet with 650 men arrived in Jolo.

There are conflicting reports about the number of men involved in the expedition against the Tiruns. But the discrepancies can easily be explained when the fact is considered that there was more than one expedition made against the Tiruns. One Spanish account reported that the Sultan once led 750 of his warriors to help the Spaniards punish the so-called audacity of the Tiruns. Another report described how the Sultan with 3,000 of his men joined the Spaniards in an expedition against the Tiruns. Other reports suggest that the Spaniards were the ones helping the Sultan subjugate his rebellious subjects. From all indications, what happened was that the Sultan initially took an offensive against the Tiruns and, lacking resources to pursue his attack on scores of settlements, thought of asking for Spanish aid. Presumably, the Spaniards were only too happy to go after or punish the turbulent Tiruns who had perennially raided their territories in the Philippines. The initiative for the whole affair must have originated from the Sultan himself who had some proprietary rights in Tirun territories, for it will be recalled that his father Badar ud-Din was not only the son of a Tirun lady but had married a Tirun lady of the ruling class. The Sultan thus took full advantage of his alliance with the Spaniards.

What ensued from the series of expeditions, which were directed mostly against the Sibuko area, was the reaffirmation by the Tirun chiefs of their allegiance to the Sulu sultanate. They were also led to look up to the Sultan as the only factor that could restrain further Spanish attacks against them. Meanwhile, the Sultan was reported to have refused to leave until the Tiruns gave up captives taken from the Philippines. An Augustinian friar and about fifty men, women and children, some held in captivity for twelve years, were all released before the Sultan found enough inducement to leave for his capital.[21]

By the middle of 1747, the Tiruns must have been sufficiently pacified for on September 12, the Sultan was asking the Spanish government for 6,000 pesos, powder, nails, and other forms of ammunition as replacement for his expenses in the series of expeditions. He chose the proper time to make the request, for this was the month when the Spanish King's letter asking him to admit Christian missionaries was delivered to him by a special embassy. In a few months, the Zamboanga authorities delivered to the Sultan everything he had asked for.

An element to be considered in the Tirun expeditions was that the Sultan, in demonstrating to the datus and Sulus that he could easily get Spanish help for his ventures, was able to temporarily reassert his position in Sulu. What happened in 1748 when Nasar ud-Din, fearful of the added power of ʿAzim ud-Din who was now supported by Spanish allies, left Maimbung for Tawi-Tawi with his followers was a case in point. But it was precisely this apparent source of strength that alienated the Sultan from many Sulus who had come to regard him not only as one depending on alien sources for power but also as an ally of unbelievers who had been their traditional enemies. The Sultan had twice shown imprudence: first, when he accepted Spanish aid in subjecting a rival claimant to the throne; and second, when he resorted to Spanish aid to reassert his sovereignty over Tirun areas. Not only was there nothing admirable in both instances in so far as Sulus were concerned, but these were of such a nature that some form of resentment was bound to be generated. Additional indiscretions on the part of the Sultan were to alienate him further from the datus, the *'ulama,* and other Sulus.

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[21] For details of the Spanish aid to the Sultan against the Tiruns, see "Letter from the Marquez de la Ensenada to the Spanish Governor and Captain General of the Philippines, dated August 28, 1751," *op. cit.;* manifesto by the Governor General Jose de Ovando, dated December 21, 1751, Legajo 707, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla; and Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, pp. 106-108. Also cf. Pedro de la Santisima Trinidad, *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I, y en su infidelidad Alimudin Mahamad, bautizado en Manila, capital de las islas Filipinas, preso y arrestado en el castillo de Santiago de la misma ciudad por falsas testimonias de sus emulos; dado y declarado por bueno su bautismo por el Ilustrisimo Sr. D. Pedro de la Santisima Trinidad*. A Manuscript in 119 folios, University of the Philippines Library. Folios 8-13. This *Manifiesto* asserts that the Sultan was merely aiding the Spaniards in the Tirun expedition. However, other more correct sources clearly suggest that it was the Spaniards who were helping a venture initiated by the Sultan.

Clearly, what the Sultan was trying to do was to consolidate the territories of the sultanate under a centralized authority along the orthodox lines of a sultanate. Tradition speaks of how he tried to codify the Sulu laws, introduce a coinage system, and regulate public worship. He desired to have all the *panditas* have an adequate knowledge of Arabic, and he is even supposed to have prepared a Sulu-Arabic vocabulary preparatory to making Arabic an official language of the realm. Some *khutbahs* mention that during his reign there were many wise men and teachers in Jolo. It has also been reported that the chief *Qadi* or judge, at least during the early part of the Sultan's reign, was an Arab.

A great deal had been written about 'Azim ud-Din and probably no Sulu sultan had been known or written about more by Spaniards. Unfortunately, most of the official correspondence and private reports about him were written by unsympathetic persons, if not downright enemies. And those somewhat favorable reports about him had been written not so much in an attempt to actually delineate his true character or actions but merely to contradict reports of rivals or antagonists of the writers. Sulu tradition still recalls his generosity and gentleness. All sources agree that he was a *pandita par excellence.* Although in all Spanish accounts of Sulu history this Sultan had been given the relatively widest account, the *khutbahs* do not give him more space than the other sultans. He was neither a prominent warrior nor one who had left a significant or dramatic impact on the turn of events in the realm. The fact is, however, that he was the first sultan of whom a great deal was known. This was primarily due to the fact that he lived in Manila for many years and was baptized as a Christian. No Sulu sultan found himself more deeply immersed in the vortex of conflicting forces, all of which were intimately related to one another — the opposition between attempts to centralize the sultanate and the resistance of the datus, the conflict between Spaniards trying to colonize Sulu and the Sulus struggling to maintain their independence, the contradiction between the Spanish priests trying to introduce Christianity and the *panditas* exerting efforts to preserve Sulu as part of *dar ul-Islam,* and the perennial rivalries between the different religious corporations in the Philippines. The story of 'Azim ud-Din represents in miniature form the difficulties of a small nation beset by the forces of imperialism, colonialization and Christianity, yet trying all the while to survive on account of a love of independence, a sense of history, and a Faith.

A major complication in the life of the Sultan arose when Spaniards again decided to proselytize among the Muslims. Never giving up hope to introduce Catholicism to Sulu and Mindanao, the Jesuits once more got involved in the political activities of the sultanate. Under instructions of the Philippine Jesuits, Jose Calvo, their procurator in Madrid, was able to persuade Philip V, the Spanish King, to address a letter to ʻAzim ud-Din on July 12, 1744, requesting the Sultan to permit the preaching of Christianity in his realm, to grant protection to the missionaries, and not to prevent any subject from embracing Christianity if so desired. The hope was also expressed that the Sultan would, in time, embrace the Catholic religion, which was "the only one which could lead us to the greatest happiness, which are heaven and the eternal salvation of our souls." To remove any suspicion on the part of the Sultan that the coming of the missionaries would lead later on to the conquest of his realm, the Spanish King strongly assured him, on his royal word, that on no single pretext would the Sultan's sovereignty be infringed upon and that no Spanish subject would enter the Sultan's dominions without the latter's expressed permission. Moreover, the Sultan was assured of the King's protection from his enemies.[22]

Another letter, couched in similar terms, was sent to Amir ud-Din Hamza, the Sultan at Tamontaka. This ruler was intentionally addressed as King of Tamontaka and not as King of Mindanao probably on the advice of the Jesuit procurator that the King of Spain was the real King of Mindanao, since this island already had Spanish forts and rights on it.[23]

The Spanish King in a Real Cedula dated July 31, 1744, gave instructions to the Spanish Governor in Manila regarding his letter to the two Sultans. In the next year, he gave additional instructions to the Jesuit Provincial in the Philippines. He said that the Jesuits were to send missionaries not only to the courts of the two Sultans but also to the settlements of the lesser chiefs who might be sympathetic to the acceptance of the missionaries, cleverly suggesting that should the Sultans later on appear uncooperative, the Catholic Faith would nonetheless be by then already rooted among some chiefs and in the other settlements.[24]

The Spanish King's Real Cedula and accompanying letters reached Manila in July 1746. But it was not until September 1 of the following year, that an embassy led by the Spanish commander Tomas Arrivillaga and the Jesuit Sebastian Ignacio de Arcada arrived in Jolo with the letter for ʻAzim ud-Din. The embassy was received with a great deal of pageantry while the Sultan appeared very cordial to the Spaniards and sympathetic to the Spanish King's letter. He even went so far as to point out the place where the Jesuit mission could be established. His remark to the effect that some defense might be needed against the Buranuns of the nearby hills was probably made to assure the Spaniards that the Sultan was there to protect the mission. It was probably during this time, too, that the Sultan spoke of the need for some replacement of, or additional help in, money and ammunition for the Tirun expeditions. In less than two weeks after the arrival of the Spanish embassy he wrote to Zamboanga asking for the 6,000 pesos and ammunition which request was promptly complied with.

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[22] For the complete text of the letter see Vicente Barrantes, *Guerras Piraticas de Filipinas* (Madrid: 1878), pp. 322-324; and Montero y Vidal. *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Appendix, pp. 6-9.

[23] Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, pp. 77-78.

[24] The text of the Spanish King's letter to the Jesuit Provincial is found in Barrantes, *op. cit*, pp. 325-326; and Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 9-11.

In the same month, the Sultan, accompanied by many members of his family, including his son Muhammad Isra'il, appeared in Zamboanga to deliver his reply to the Spanish King. Accompanying his letter was a large pearl as a gift for the King. The letter, dated September 12, expressed the Sultan's gratitude to the King for the ratification of the 1737 Treaty and for the promise to scrupulously abide by it. To the King's exhortation that he become a Christian, the Sultan answered that "if in time God inclines me to it, with His light, I will try to follow it." Regarding the request that he receive missionaries and allow them to build a church, the Sultan pointed out that he had already singled out a place for priests. The Sultan assured the Spanish King that he would allow the preaching of Christianity in his realm and not prevent anyone from embracing it, even if it were his own son Muhammad Isra'il. He also thanked the King for his offer of protection from enemy invasion.[25]

The Spanish embassy to Tamontaka which was led by Tomas de Arrivillaga and Francisco Sassi, the Jesuit rector of the Zamboanga school, was equally well received by Sultan Amir ud-Din Hamza. But Hamza's reply to the Spanish King was less encouraging than that of the Sulu Sultan for it did not contain any explicit commitment. Thanking the Spanish King for his letter, Hamza affirmed his friendship with Spain. He went on to say that he and his council were sympathetic to the King's request for the entry of missionaries to his realm and the building of a church. As to the protection of the missionaries, he said that it was not really necessary to make a request on the matter since he had always protected priests. He also expressed his willingness to protect all Spanish vassals in his realm.[26]

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[25] The text of the Sultan's reply to the Spanish King is found in Barrantes, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-332; and Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 11-14.

[26] For the text of Hamza's letter to the Spanish King, see Barrantes, *op. cit.*, pp. 332-335; and Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 18-21.

Actually, however, the Tamontaka Sultan did all his best to delay the entry of missionaries in his kingdom for a number of reasons among which was the opposition of his two younger brothers, including the Rajah Muda, and other datus.[27] Moreover, the time for the entry of missionaries was not opportune since Hamza was occupied with the continued harassment of Sultan Malinug and his Buayan allies. At this same time, too, the new sultanate of Kabuntalan blocked Hamza's attempts to extend his influence to the interior in consequence of which Hamza wrote to the Spaniards asking anew for men and ammunition to put his realm in order. At that precise time then, the prospects for a mission in Jolo appeared much better than that for Tamontaka.[28]

The treaty of 1737 which brought Spanish aid to ʿAzim ud-Din in his fight to keep his throne against Nasar ud-Din along with the military and naval support to subject the Tirun territories, so committed the Sulu Sultan to the Spaniards that it must have been quite difficult for him to deny any request of the Spanish King. But considering the nature of the local opposition against ʿAzim ud-Din in the early part of his reign, it is doubtful whether he could have retained the throne without Spanish support. Since succession to the throne was not normally by direct linear descent, the rights of Nasar ud-Din appeared greater than those of ʿAzim ud-Din. In any case, ʿAzim ud-Din was sincere in his efforts to adhere to the terms of the 1737 Treaty, as he meant to honor his word in allowing the missionaries to come to Jolo.

Before ʿAzim ud-Din received the Spanish King's request for the acceptance of missionaries, he made various trips to Zamboanga where he made the acquaintance of some Jesuits. He had always been friendly with them and at various times seriously discussed with them religious matters for, it will be recalled, the Sultan was a *pandita* well versed in the *Qur'an* and *Sharīʿah*. It was natural, too, that he would show interest in Christianity since both this and Islam belong to the prophetic tradition. Besides, the Qur'an contains a great deal of references to Jesus Christ. All of these could have led the Jesuits in Zamboanga, especially Josef Wilhelm (Jose Villielmi), who knew some Arabic and therefore could maintain an intimate form of dialogue with the Arab-speaking Sultan, to conclude that the Sultan was well disposed towards Christianity.[29]

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[27] Cf. Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 139.

[28] "Letter of Pedro Estrada to Pedro Ignacio Altamirano, dated June 25, 1748," Ventura del Arco, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 449 and p. 452.

[29] For these first contacts between the Jesuits and the Sultan as well as some of their topics of discussion, see Horacio de la Costa, "Muhammad Alimuddin I, 1735-1773," *Philippine Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1965, pp. 99-100; and Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines*, p. 545.

Pedro de Estrada, the Jesuit provincial, originally appointed Juan Angles, a professor of Philosophy and Theology and not long before that rector of the Jesuit Antipolo residence, and Josef Wilhelm, already in Zamboanga, to lay the foundations for the Jolo Mission. Juan Angles was accompanied by Patricio del Barrio and Ignacio Malaga in case there should be need for replacements. On November 8, 1747, the Jesuits left Manila, but due to stormy weather among other causes for delays, they were not able to reach Zamboanga till January 21 of the following year.

Domingo Neyra, a Spanish official in Manila, provided the missionaries with a set of instructions on how to conduct themselves in their dealings with the Sultans. The missionaries were to suggest to the Sultans to send some of their sons to Manila to enable them to learn the Spanish language and ways suitable to their age and capacities with the end in view of creating better understanding between all parties. The Spanish government was to bear the expenses of their stay in Manila. The Sultans were to be encouraged to visit the capital where they were promised an honored welcome and stay. The Sultans were to be assured that the sending of missionaries were solely for religious purposes and that there were no temporal motives involved. On the contrary, it was to be emphasized that the Spanish King was willing to help the rulers against neighboring enemies as well as other European powers encroaching on their realms. The missionaries were to see to it that members of their staffs did not in any manner antagonize or get into conflict with the Sulus or Maguindanaos. The staff members were to show themselves as good examples to demonstrate and elicit respect for, and obedience to, the missionaries. The Sultans were to be reminded that no soldiers were accompanying the missionaries since the Spanish government was relying fully on their royal word that they would be protected. The missionaries were to communicate with the Zamboanga authorities for whatever needs they might have as well as report regularly to the Spanish government regarding the state of the missions. They were also to try to obtain the freedom of Christian captives and even offer to pay a moderate ransom for them. At the same time, the missionaries were to persuade the owners of Christian captives not to sell them to other realms. The missionaries were finally exhorted to capture the good will of all the chiefs as the first step in the efforts to win that of the rest of the population who in general tended to follow the example of their leaders, since "the conquest of this good will is a victory for the glory of God and the most acceptable to the public good and Royal service."[30]

Not to waste any time, Juan Angles, the day after his arrival, wrote to 'Azim ud-Din asking permission to travel to Jolo. When there was no immediate response, a few more letters, including one from the Zamboanga governor, followed with the same request. The Sultan finally answered that the missionaries were to wait for him at Zamboanga, for he was going to pick them up himself. Meanwhile there had to be a change in the composition of the intended missionary group to be sent. Sebastian de Arcada, who was destined for the Tamontaka mission, died. He was soon followed by Josef Wilhelm, on whose demise the Sultan expressed his deep feelings. An epidemic, possibly cholera, raged in Zamboanga, claiming the lives of the priests. Tradition in Jolo also mentions that the same epidemic raged in Jolo, and it was then that the Sultan had shown care for and generosity to his subjects. Ignacio Malaga was designated as the substitute for Sebastian de Arcada while Patricio del Barrio took the place of Wilhelm.[31]

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[30] Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 14-18.

On May 5, 1748, the Sultan arrived in Zamboanga. He attributed his delayed arrival to the celebration of a Muslim festival and the death of a favorite cousin. However, a member of his entourage revealed that actually they could not come sooner, as there was opposition on the part of some datus and *panditas* to the coming of the missionaries, and the Sultan needed a lot of time to convince or explain matters to them. As it was, the rumor was rife in Jolo that the Spaniards desired to introduce Christianity as a means for bringing the sultanate to an end. Nevertheless, the Sultan appeared calm and determined to abide by his promise to accept the missionaries.

The Sultan, although known for his generosity, was not without an eye for money or profit. His inclination for money was already shown when he haggled with the Spaniards over the ransom money to be paid for the Agustinian friar he rescued as a captive from the Tiruns.[32] In Zamboanga, he discussed the sale of a lot and house to the Jesuits. After claiming that he spent as much as 400 pesos just for building the house on the designated lot, it seems that the Sultan quoted a much higher price, although he eventually settled for the total amount of 400 pesos for both.[33] Meanwhile, what at this time upset the missionaries was a rumor to the effect that they would ransom every slave they succeeded in converting to Christianity. It became necessary to dispel the rumor with the remark that the problem of baptism was irrelevant to that of the purchase of slaves.[34] Before his departure from Zamboanga, the Sultan, according to the reports, raised two questions: Whether it was advisable for him to go as early as possible to Manila, and to whom he should leave the post of governor of Sulu. In connection with the first, the Jesuits informed him that they could not dissuade the Sultan from going to Manila, since one of their instructions was to facilitate his visit to the capital. However, they suggested that it was preferable to have the mission established first after which the Sultan could leave for Manila say around April 1749 and then return home by June of the same year. Regarding the second query, the Jesuits answered that the matter was political and that they did not want to meddle in it. However, when the Sultan mentioned the name of Datu Salicaya, the Rajah Laut, the Zamboanga governor and Commander Arrivillaga agreed that the Datu would be a good governor by reason of his mature age, power, and the fact that his eldest daughter was engaged to Muhammad Isra'il.[35]

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[31] "Letter from Pedro Estrada to Pedro Ignacio Altamirano, dated June 25, 1748," *op. cit.*, p. 450.

[32] An insight into another characteristic of the Sultan, namely, his love for learning, can be gathered when he asked this friar, named Hipolito, to stay in Jolo and open a school to teach reading and writing to the children. Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, pp. 61-62.

[33] Juan Angles, "Suceso de la Mision de Jolo, Junio 18, 1749," Ventura del Arco, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 520; and "Letter from Pedro Estrada to Pedro Ignacio Altamirano, dated June 25, 1748," *op. cit.*, p. 454.

On June 2 (or 4), the Sultan left for Jolo. He was soon followed by Juan Angles and Patricio del Barrio who arrived on June 9 in Jolo with about twenty-four Pampangos and servants. Actually, they first landed in Taglibi, a few miles from the capital. Datu Asin (Arabic, Hashim), one of the Sultan's brothers, went out to sea to meet them while the Sultan remained on shore to receive them.[36] The missionaries were warmly received although it is to be wondered why they landed in Taglibi instead of Jolo, a choice which must have been the result of a previous arrangement. Possibly, the Sultan was not sure of an orderly reception in Jolo for, as Angles was to report a few months later, it was only in one of the three barrios of Jolo where the Sultan had real sympathizers.[37]

The house sold to the Jesuits which was situated close to the capital had to be repaired, for, according to Angles, it was falling apart. Possibly to bring about a communal responsibility for the project and thus avoid personal criticism against him as also to save money, the Sultan asked that some royal datus, including his two brothers, Asin and Bantilan, and even Nasar ud-Din, to contribute wood and other materials.[38] But it is not known whether the Jesuits were able to occupy the house and lot they had paid for, since there is the information that they were asked to live in the fortified compound where the Sultan's palace stood. However, in their home in the compound, the missionaries were able to have a chapel. This transfer was a decided disadvantage for the missionaries who were, in effect, cut off from the generality of the people. Moreover, it engendered resentment from the people who disliked, in principle, the idea of Christian missionaries living so close to their Sultan. In any case, the explanation for the transfer was that it was necessary for the protection of the lives of the missionaries. It was a fact that many of the datus and the *panditas* fiercely objected to, and resented the presence of, the Jesuits. Once, according to Angles, when he met a *pandita* on the road, the latter turned his back on him and took another path as if he had seen the Devil.[39] The Datu Mamamsha, who was also considered a *pandita,* used to refuse to answer the greetings of the missionaries and had likewise turned his back to them as if to demonstrate what he thought of them. Angles even claimed that this Datu had once intimated to others of a plan in his mind to have the priests killed. The relations between the Datu Mamamsha and Angles became so strained that the Sultan had to intervene once and try to establish friendly relations between the two.[40]

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[34] Juan Angles, "Suceso de la Mision de Jolo, Junio 18, 1749," *op. cit.*, p. 519.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 522-527.

[36] Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 114.

[37] Juan Angles, "Suceso de la Mision de Jolo, Junio 18, 1749," *op. cit.*, p. 565.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 528.

Juan Angles, thrust into missionary work among the Muslims for the first time of his life, had to put a lot of effort into discovering their beliefs and customs and knowing their prayers. According to him, writing less than a year after he left Jolo, it was not true that Islam was superficial among the Sulus. It had actually gained more adherents since the time Combes called Jolo the Mecca of the Archipelago, with the highly respected Arabs occasionally coming to strengthen it. His observations and reports of discussions with *panditas,* although marked by erroneous interpretations, nevertheless reveals the widespread observance of Islamic rituals and the level of sophistication among the *panditas.* For example, he wrote that he discovered that the Muslims obstinately denied the Christian ideas of the Holy Trinity, the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and the virginity of Mary, the Mother of Jesus. Regarding the first two ideas, his report was correct for the Qur'an explicitly denies both. The report on the denial of the virginity of Mary may well have been erroneous. What the *panditas* might have denied was the doctrine of the Incarnation. Most Muslims tend to affirm the virginity of Mary. On this detail, there was probably a communication gap between Angles and the *panditas.*

Angles also reported that the Muslims he encountered scoffed at the idea of confession and other Christian sacraments. This was to be expected, for indeed Muslims do not subscribe to the idea of original sin, much less to a clergy in the Christian sense. Angles wrote further that he was informed by the Sulus that by means of prayers and bathing, their sins would be pardoned by God—the priest adding wryly that the Sulus must have had a great deal of sins since they appeared to bathe continually day and night. Possibly on account of problems of communication, the Jesuit failed to appreciate the full implications of the brief information thus leading him to misunderstand a few points. First of all, not having the sacrament of confession, Muslims pray to God directly for His Mercy and Forgiveness, not only in their *du'a* but even in their *salat* (ritual prayer). Although the *salat* is essentially a ritual of adoration or praise, since the worshipper is a sinner, it had become a tradition (*sunna*) to insert some pleas for forgiveness between some prostrations, or at least just before the final greeting (*taslim*) that terminates the ritual prayer. It is in this sense that the problem of forgiveness enters into the ritual prayer. Inasmuch however, that no ritual prayer is canonically valid without the proper ablutions (*wudu'*) or, in some cases, the complete ritual bathing (*ghusl*) to remove specific legal impurities, it becomes clear why washing, bathing, and ritual prayers are intimately connected actions in the supplication of God's Compassion for human forgetfulness and frailties. Furthermore, a pious Muslim who keeps the required five prayers a day would normally be performing a few ablutions daily.

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[39] *Ibid.,* pp. 527-528.
[40] *Ibid.,* pp. 542-543.

There is, however, another element to consider in the information given by the Sulus regarding bathing and prayers to wash away sins. This refers to Traditions (*Hadith*). There is a frequently quoted tradition to the effect that "the five prayer rituals remove sins in the same manner that water removes dirt and uncleanliness." The Sulus could have had in mind this Tradition that quoted the Prophet. Or they could have more specifically referred to reports of 'Uthman and Abu Huraira who quoted the Prophet to the effect that the proper performance of ablutions tends to wash out sins. A more relevant tradition where ablutions and prayers are closely related regarding the forgiveness of sins is told in the following:

> ʿUthman reported God's messenger as saying, "When the time for a prescribed prayer comes, if any Muslim observes proper ablution, humility and bowing, it will be an expiation for his past sins, so long as he has not committed a major sin; and that means for all time." Muslim transmitted it.[41]

Angles also reported that he was told that Hell was eternal only for Gentiles and Christians condemned to it; as for Muslims sent there, it would at most be temporary since the Prophet would "take them away." This report, apparently not very accurate, is interesting for it nevertheless shows that some Sulus were already acquainted with those theological discussions on whether Hell was eternal or temporary, about which much had been written but with no definite agreement among all quarters. Some Muslim thinkers of the mystical persuasion had denied the eternity of Hell, a view quite different from the one held by some jurists. No less interesting about this particular report is its reference to the idea of the Prophet's intercession (*shafa'a*). Among Shi'a mystical quarters, it is held that the Prophet would intercede, with Divine permission, for all men. In contrast, some people believe that the intercession of the Prophet, with Divine permission, is reserved only for the Muslim community. In any case, although the idea of the Prophet's intercession for the Muslim community has never commanded absolute universal orthodox assent, the fact that some Sulus had referred to it in the manner described by the report implies that they must have had a continuing dialogue with mystically inclined Muslims in other parts of Malaysia.

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[41] Quoted from James Robson, *Mishkat Al-Masabih* (Lahore: 1963), Vol. I, p. 65. For additional traditions on the same subject, see *ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

Angles correctly reported that the *panditas* claimed that the Books of Moses and the Gospels were sacred. He, however, said that when he pointed out that there were contradictions between elements in them and the Qur'an, the response was that the truth will be known in the After-Life. To his remark that the time then might be too late for salvation, the Sulus were supposed to have retorted that God is, in any case, Compassionate. However, according to Angles, the more sophisticated among the *panditas* informed him that Christ had told the Prophet that since the Gospels were limited, the Prophet could extend them. Clearly, this latter information was a folk way or simple manner of stating the Islamic view that the Qur'an was revealed to correct the errors which were believed to have entered into the transmission or interpretations of the Gospels and, in a way, supplement the latter by additional messages.

The Jesuit missionary also mentioned that the Sulus practised circumcision, and he even gave some details about it, revealing that on this matter he was well informed. He also reported about the punctuality of the datus in going to the mosques and how they had on this matter set the example to their followers. Thus, even the warriors knew enough about the Faith and were ready to defend it.[42]

Angles also described how well versed the Sultan was in Islamic Law and how he was on this matter superior to all other *panditas*. He also mentioned the Sultan's acquaintance with Bible stories which were interwoven with those of the Jewish Talmud—evidently narratives in the Qur'an which dealt with the Prophets and other Bible figures.[43] However, although the Sulus respected the Sultan as a learned man, they had come to consider him "heretical" for accepting the Jesuits and allowing them to build a church.[44]

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[42] For the stage of religiosity of Sulu during the time of the arrival of the Jesuits, see Juan Angles, "Suceso de la Mision de Jolo, Junio 18, 1749," *op. cit.*, pp. 534-537.

In Jolo, the Sultan appeared suddenly to have studiously avoided religious discussions with the missionaries. However, he once asked them if the Spaniards punished a Christian who was converted to Islam. The answer was in the affirmative, since, according to the Jesuits, the Spaniards held that their religion was the only true one while all others were false and invented by men who were deceived by the Devil.[45] However, what was noticeable about the Sultan during this time was his usual trips to, and prayer in, the mosque, thus serving as an example to others.[46]

That there was serious opposition to the Sultan's invitation to the Jesuits was all too clear. Muhammad Isra'il, who was under the tutelage of the Jesuits and always in close association with Angles, was once absent for eight days and on a chance meeting with the Jesuit informed him that his father had sent him to the *panditas* to be instructed and strengthened in the Faith. That the *panditas* must have done a good job was made evident when Isra'il once told Angles that he would flee to Borneo should his father or even the whole of Jolo become baptized.[47] It is obvious that the young prince would not have spoken as he had unless the *panditas* had not expressed to him their fears over the possible inclinations of the Sultan.

In another incident pointing to the possibility that the Sultan was under pressure, such that it had become important for him to show openly his orthodoxy, he isolated his sister Pangyan Bangkilang from the Jesuits while seeing to it that she was under the care of *panditas* when she fell ill. A bit of information from Angles is also significant in this connection. He said that the Sultan failed to give wider publicity to his license allowing the missionaries to preach and that members of his household feared to accept Christianity since the Sultan had not given them the permission to accept it.[48] In brief, although the missionaries were able to minister to the religious needs of the few Christians in Jolo, they succeeded in baptizing only two boys among the free population of the Sulus. And this was done, according to Angles, with some attendant danger to the lives of the missionaries.[49] Evangelical work among the slaves or captives held by the Sulus is not known.

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[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 533-534.

[44] *Ibid.*, p. 565.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 532.

[46] *Ibid.*, pp. 528-529.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 529.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 530-531.

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 573.

All of the actions of the Sultan as well as the lack of success on the part of the missionaries were attributed by the latter to what they considered to be the hypocritical character of the Sultan who was continually deceiving the Spaniards.[50] The fact was that there was, as there had always been, political opposition to the Sultan. His opponents were his brother Bantilan, the Datu Mamamsha, Nasar ud-Din, and the Buranuns who sympathized with Nasar ud-Din. Possibly, too, Datu Salicaya was in sympathy with the opponents of the Sultan. Aside from the initial controversy over the manner he got the throne as well as the resentment he generated in having his power backed by the Christian Spaniards, there were more than enough reasons for disliking the Sultan. The fact was that the Sultan represented the increasing centralization of powers which was most unwelcome to the datus, for this meant the reduction of their traditional powers. The collegial character of state decisions, which the datus always upheld, appeared to have been ignored by ʿAzim ud-Din, for the simple reason that with Spanish help he did not need the support of the datus. In due time, Datu Bantilan became the recognized leader of the opposition. The *ʿulama* naturally identified themselves with the opposition even as the Sultan's support diminished. Soon he was left with only his personal guards, retainers, women, and a few faithful relatives.

As the political situation in Jolo progressively deteriorated, the Sultan announced that he was going to Manila to see the Governor, possibly with the intention of getting additional aid in money and arms to reassert his position. He had often mentioned Datu Bantilan or the Datu Mamamsha as the likely *ad interim* governor of Sulu during his absence and seemed to have left out Datu Salicaya to the dismay of Angles. Angles had no sympathy for the Datu Mamamsha whom he suspected of wanting to have him killed at the first opportunity. Neither did he have any love for Datu Bantilan whom he described as one-eyed, fierce-looking, short-tempered, and kris-happy. Once, it was reported, Datu Bantilan told Angles that it was not possible for him not to rule while his brother was away.[51] That the Jesuit really believed that his life was in danger is evidenced by the fact that by August 1748, he had five Spanish soldiers guarding his house.[52]

Succeeding events are not too clear. By September 1, the Sultan had completed preparations to leave for Zamboanga. At one o'clock, the next morning, while going down the stairs of the house of a concubine or female friend, an assailant threw a spear at him and wounded him on his right leg. A rumor then circulated that the Sultan had died, causing armed men to run around, possibly to ascertain the situation. The Datu Amir Bahar, a brother of Datu Salicaya, then came with a force of warriors to protect the Sultan's *cotta*. When the Jesuits expressed the desire to see the wounded Sultan, the latter disapproved and explained that his wound was not serious. Datu Salicaya, who had then arrived, was asked by Angles to secure the Sultan's permission for the missionaries to leave for Zamboanga. The Datu tried to allay the fear of the Jesuit by assuring him that should the Sultan die, he would personally conduct the missionaries to Zamboanga. On the repeated request of the worried Angles, the Datu then brought the matter to the Sultan, who initially refused but later gave in with the intercession of the Datu. This was the testimony of Angles himself.[53]

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[50] *Ibid.*, p. 509 and p. 533.

[51] *Ibid.*, pp. 551-552.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 552.

The circumstances attendant to the wounding of the Sultan are also not very clear, giving rise to a great deal of speculation on what actually happened. Juan Angles, who had expressed doubts on the sincerity of the Sultan, and thus called him a hypocrite, suspected that the wound was inflicted by the Sultan's servant, Sambulayan, and upon his own orders.[54] The implication here is that the Sultan would then have something to show to the Spaniards to prove how his friendship for them and the missionaries had caused danger to his life. In this manner he would be able to get more sympathy and aid from the Spaniards who would then have no more reason to doubt his sincerity. This suspicion of Angles, who even went so far as to suspect that the Sultan was in league with a supposed conspiracy led by the Datu Mamamsha and Datu Bantilan to have him killed after the Sultan's departure for Zamboanga,[55] can be dismissed as improbable. At least it has less probability value than the other speculations. After the Sultan was wounded, it was rumored that the instigator of the act was his brother, Datu Bantilan, who had offered slaves and money to the assailant.[56] This explanation happened to be the one that was most widely accepted by the people at that time. When Datu Salicaya, not long after the incident, asked the Sultan who had attacked him, the answer was that the assailant was either a Buranun or the relative of one of the women he was involved with.[57] Evidently, at this time, the Sultan was not in a position to verify the truth of the matter. However, in 1754, in an interview with Antonio Faveau, a Spanish naval official who went to Jolo, Datu Bantilan, who by this time had become sultan, revealed that he had ordered the assassination of his brother, employing, for this purpose, a certain Maypin from Tawi-

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[53] *Ibid.*, pp. 554-556.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 570.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 572.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 555.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 566.

Tawi.[58] That Datu Bantilan appeared friendly to his brother not long after the wounding of the Sultan can be explained by the possibility that he had ordered the assassination in secret, or his being designated by his brother to the position of governor of Sulu—an arrangement satisfactory to Datu Bantilan and other members of his faction, who would then have no more reason to harass the Sultan. The courtesy and deference shown to the Sultan when he left Jolo was all a matter of Sulu protocol or *tartib*. In any case, not long after the incident, ʿAzim ud-Din took it for granted and consequently told others that it was his younger brother who tried to have him assassinated.

When finally the Sultan left for Basilan it was evening. With him aboard seventeen boats were his women, a few very close relatives and followers. Members of the council left behind to rule Sulu, including Datu Bantilan, came to see him off while a salvo from the *cotta* was fired in honor of the departing Sultan. Not long after, Datu Bantilan was declared sultan, taking the name of Muʿizz ud-Din which means Honorer of the Faith.

Datu Salicaya got the Jesuits on a vessel for Zamboanga on the midnight of September 6. However contrary winds blew the vessels to Parang forcing them to go back to Jolo where the Datu kindly supplied them with additional water and rice. The Jesuits were finally able to reach Zamboanga in September 8. They had stayed less than three months in Jolo.

The mission to Tamontaka was just as unsuccessful. When confronted with the problem of accepting missionaries, Sultan Amir ud-Din Hamza replied that there was a civil war still going on and that the time was not auspicious. Instead, he said that it was of greater urgency to him for the Spaniards to help him with boats and ammunition that he might restore order in his realm.[59] Although Sultan Tahir ud-Din Malinug died around 1748, his son Datu Gulay, continued harassing Hamza.

Spanish help arrived, and with it two Jesuit missionaries: Ignacio Malaga and Juan Moreno. Arriving in September 1748, they stayed in the settlement of Matiling (Mataling), but they were advised not to proceed to Tamontaka, since the Sultan said he planned to have his new capital at Matiling. Meanwhile, after a few months, Hamza was able to arrive at a peace pact with the sons of the late Malinug. Even he and his cousin, Datu Gulay, became allies. Expecting a deterioration in their relations with Sultan Hamza for which the Spaniards had a few good reasons, the Jesuits, with their guards and aides, all returned to Zamboanga. By the end of 1749, although he had lost some lands to the Sultan of Kabuntalan, Sultan Hamza was already recognized as the greatest lord in the Pulangi. The Rajah of Buayan had become his ally, committed to send warriors when needed. Since there was not as much need for the Spaniards as before, political relations between Sultan Hamza and the Spaniards became cool, although generally correct.

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[58] Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, p. 396.

[59] Cf. a letter of Sultan Hamza to Juan Moreno, dated March 3, 1748, in Barrantes, *op. cit.*, p. 337. Also found in Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 21-22.

In the meantime, on September 22, 1748, after an extended stay in Basilan, Sultan ʿAzim ud-Din and his family arrived in Zamboanga. He explained to the Spaniards there that he was wounded on account of his close relations with the Spaniards. To the Jesuits, who were not really happy about his leaving Jolo, since this meant that they could not return there soon, he said that he was unable to do anything to arrest the deteriorating political situation that marked the last few days of his stay there. He suggested that it was useless for the Jesuits to return to Jolo unless he was there. The fact that Muʿizz ud-Din was now in command would, in any case, have prevented the return of the Jesuits.

Leaving Zamboanga with a large retinue of about seventy persons, the Sultan arrived in Manila on January 3, 1749. He was warmly welcomed by Juan de Arechederra, the Bishop of Nueva Segovia, who was the interim Governor General of the Philippines. He, with his concubines and servants, were put in a guest house in Binondo. In two weeks he made a formal entry into Manila. Many persons visited him and he was showered with expensive gifts. Characteristically, he was very impressed by a printing press he visited.[60] Persons unsympathetic with both the Sultan and the Governor resented the pomp and ostentation that accompanied the Sultan's entry into Manila, and even maliciously remarked that the Governor had some interest in the jewels and pearls the Sultan was known to have brought with him.[61] Juan Angles speculated that the purpose of the Sultan in going to Manila was to get government support and other advantages as well as to sell pearls. His other speculation that the Sultan went first to Zamboanga, which had barely recovered from the six-month epidemic, to find out whether he could capture it, appeared unwarranted and unjustified from all viewpoints.[62] It reflected ill will.

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[60] For details about the Sultan's entry into Manila and immediate events see, *Relacion de la entrada del Sultan Rey de Jolo Mahamad Alimudin en esta ciudad de Manila: y del honor, y regocijos, con que le recibio en 20 de Henero de 1749, el Illmo. y Rmo. Señor Doctor, y Mro. D. F. Ioan de Arechederra del Orden de Predicadores del Consejo de su Mg. Obispo Electo de Nueva Segovia Governador, y Capitan Gral. de estas Islas y Preside su Real Chancilleria*. pp. 12-22.

[61] For example, see "Mavesi to his brother, December 2, 1749," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 245-246.

In his first interview with the Governor, the Sultan stated that he had been dispossessed of his throne and that he was depending on the Spanish King for help.[63] The 1737 Treaty must have been the strongest point of argument in favor of his plea. He held various discussions with the Governor who in turn tried to gain his goodwill by means of his eloquence, prudence and sagacity. It was then that the Governor, after trying to point out to him what he, as a Bishop, believed to be the truth of Catholicism and the falsity of Islam, was reported to have said to the Sultan:

> Sultan . . . if you want to conquer your enemies and be restored to your realm, be converted to the law of Jesus Christ, and for you to believe that this is so, know that the emperor Constantine the Great once saw a brilliant cross which appeared to him in the sky upon which was written on letters of light: *Constantine, with this sign you will conquer.* And this is what happened, for putting in his standards the sign of the Cross, he defeated his enemy Magencio, in spite of the [numerical] inferiority of his army to that of his enemy . . . . [64]

On the first day of December 1749, ʿAzim ud-Din told the Governor of his desire to be baptized. The enthusiastic Governor communicated with the Manila Archbishop Pedro de la Santisima Trinidad Martinez de Arizala who in response recommended caution against haste on the matter. The Archbishop believed that the Sultan was astute and might be doing things purely for personal interest. He tried to temper the enthusiasm of the Governor. Nevertheless, it was decided that the Sultan should first be taught the Catechism and once he became convinced of his Islamic errors, he could be baptized.[65] His two tutors were Patricio del Barrio, who met him previously at Jolo, and Fulcher Spilimberg, the rector of the Jesuit college in Manila. It was noted by the Archbishop that the Sultan knew the Qur'an and the Talmud, that he was no ordinary *pandita* but a "*pandita* of *panditas*," that it was first necessary to have the Sultan become convinced that Muhammad was a false prophet and that Islam was fraught with errors and heresies, and that some baptized Muslims had reverted to Islam when the proper opportunity had offered itself.[66] On January 26, 1750, the Archbishop wrote a letter to the Governor informing him that he was going to Laguna Province on an episcopal visit.

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[62] Cf. Juan Angles, "Suceso de la Mision de Jolo, Junio 18, 1749," *op. cit.*, p. 587 and p. 590.

[63] *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I. . . .*, folio 29.

[64] *Ibid.*, folio 30.

[65] Cf. a letter of the Archbishop to the Spanish King, dated December 13, 1749, in Legajo 292, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

[66] See the attached "*Apuntes*" to the letter of the Archbishop to the Spanish King dated December 13, 1749, *ibid.*

He warned him again not to be hasty on the Sultan's baptism not only to avoid future regrets but also to discover first what was secretly hidden in "the breast of the Sultan." Actually, the Archbishop originally recommended only the forging of an alliance with the Sultan and extending help for him to return soon to Jolo or Zamboanga. There, his loyalty was to be tested by the return of captives and Church ornaments. The problem of his baptism could then be better evaluated.[67] The Governor's response to this which came two days later was that ʿAzim ud-Din was increasing his knowledge of the Catholic Faith, had shaved his beard (grown on account of its Islamic association), and had repudiated his concubines. The message also said that having declared his intention to live in Binondo, the Sultan was beginning to lose interest in regaining his throne. Furthermore, he had revealed that he would prefer to lose his life rather than be deprived of the Christian religion. The Governor affirmed his belief in the sincerity of ʿAzim ud-Din and remarked that it was God who penetrated the interior of the hearts of men and that baptism could not be denied to a person who, having had necessary instruction, was asking for it. To postpone the baptism till after the Sultan arrived in Zamboanga or Jolo was not wise since by then other factors might enter into the situation and the chance might be lost; moreover, the Sultan might resent the idea that he was not being trusted.[68]

On March 20, ʿAzim ud-Din wrote to the Archbishop requesting for baptism and attached to his letter a certificate of Patricio del Barrio, dated March 19, 1750, to the effect that the Sultan had enough knowledge of Christian doctrine to receive baptism.[69] The Archbishop's answer to the Sultan a week later was evasive, and he remarked that he needed more information on the matter before making his final decision.[70] In the meantime, in answer to a request from the Archibishop, Leonardo Fink, the Jesuit Provincial, wrote on March 26, stating that whereas the Jesuits who taught the Sultan agreed that he knew enough of Christian doctrine to be baptized, they still doubted the Sultan's sincerity and that they had reason to believe that what he said did not coincide with what his heart felt. His tutors, the two Jesuits, felt that the main desire of the Sultan was to regain his throne. They reported that the Sultan had once asked the question whether a person who had been baptized without the intention of being baptized, became a Christian. Furthermore, once when the Sultan was very sick and was on the brink of death, he did not ask for baptism. He never gave any reasons for his believing in Islam, but now he appeared to have no difficulty in believing the mysteries of another faith. The Sultan also assented to everything he was told or instructed about. Thus, his tutors concluded that there was enough reason to doubt those exterior signs as real indications of the Sultan's honest desire to become a Christian. The Jesuit Provincial then suggested that the Archbishop clearly tell the Governor not to be taken in by the appearances of the Sultan. However, the Provincial expressed the fear that an absolute denial of the Sultan's request might bring about greater problems and difficulties than if he were baptized.[71]

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[67] For this letter of the Archbishop to the Governor, dated January 26, 1750, see *ibid.*

[68] For this letter of the Governor to the Archbishop, dated January 28, 1750, see *ibid.*

[69] For the letter of the Sultan to the Archbishop, dated March 20, 1750, see *ibid.*

[70] For the letter of the Archbishop to the Sultan, dated March 27, 1750, see *ibid.*

On April 3, the Sultan once again wrote to the Archbishop, repeating his request. In answer, the Archbishop told the Sultan to be patient on the matter, and if the effect of waiting would tally with the good intention of the Archbishop, he (the Archbishop) will baptize him with his own hands as the distinguished circumstances of the Sultan required.[72] The Sultan on April 11 renewed his plea to the Archbishop, clearly informing him that he was asking baptism in a voluntary manner and that he had for many years longed for it. Again, the Archbishop responded that he would secure the information of some persons and even form a committee to advise him on the matter to satisfy his conscience.[73]

On April 15, the Archbishop made arrangements to have a few doctors and priests representing different religious orders to form themselves into a committee and issue a *dictamen* in order to guide him in his decision. On the same day he informed the Governor of these arrangements.[74] But before instructions could reach the persons who were supposed to meet and issue the *dictamen,* the Sultan had already asked the Governor to baptize him. The Governor on April 17 formed a junta in the Palace composed of fifteen theologians who examined the Sultan. Except for the two Jesuits who were the tutors of the Sultan, all the others voted that the Sultan could receive baptism.[75] The two dissenting voters did not give any reason for their action.[76] Since the Governor had already formed a junta which voted that the Sultan had a proper disposition towards the faith, those theologians designated by the Archbishop to form a junta for the same purpose had no alternative but to explain to the Archbishop that it might not have been proper or necessary for them to meet once again on the same problem.

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[71] For the letter of Leonardo Fink to the Archbishop, dated March 26, 1750, see *ibid.*

[72] For the letter of the Sultan to the Archbishop, dated April 3, 1750, and the reply of the Archbishop to the Sultan dated April 7, 1750, see *ibid.*

[73] For the letter of the Sultan to the Archbishop dated April 11, 1750, and the answer of the Archbishop, see *ibid.*

[74] For a copy of the Archbishop's "Auto," dated April 15, 1750, and his letter to the Governor on the same date, see *ibid.* Among the persons designated by the Archbishop were: Tomas Ustaroz (Rector of Sto. Tomas College), Juan Angles and Fulcher Spilimberg (Jesuits), Juan de la Cruz (Franciscan), Benito de San Pablo (Recollect), Trillo (Augustinian), Doctor Juan de Quiros (Treasurer of the Santa Iglesia de Manila), and Bernardo Ustario (Dominican).

[75] Montero y Vidal, *op cit.,* Vol I, pp. 287-288.

In order to avoid problems of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the Governor sent the Sultan to be baptized in Paniqui (in Pangasinan at that time) which belonged to his jurisdiction as Bishop. However, the opinion had been expressed at that time that the Governor could have had the Sultan baptized in the Palace which was exempt from the Archbishop's jurisdiction and since the Sultan came from Jolo which was not subject to the Spanish Government. This advice was not accepted by the Governor who had already decided to have the Sultan baptized in Pangasinan.[77]

On April 20, the Sultan and about eight Sulus as well as an armed escort and some priests left for Pangasinan by boat. On April 28, in Paniqui, the Sultan and some Sulus were baptized.[78] The godfather was the Governor, and General Ignacio Martinez de Faura stood as proxy. The new name of the Sultan was Fernando I. Upon his return to Manila the next month a *Te Deum* was sung in Santo Domingo Church with the Royal Audiencia attending. A few days of celebrations, bullfights, fireworks, comedies, etc., marked the return of the Sultan. The Sultan received a number of expensive gifts from the Governor among which was a golden rosary. Not long after the honors were heaped on him, the Sultan requested the Governor to make arrangements to have his son Muhammad Isra'il and a daughter brought from Zamboanga to Manila in accordance with Spanish policy, and to enable them to get a Christian education as well.[79] However, Archbishop Pedro de la Santisima Trinidad Martinez had not changed his mind that the baptism of the Sultan was done with undue haste. In a letter to the Spanish King on July 8, 1750, he reiterated this position adding, moreover, that it was in the interests of peace and tranquility in the Islands and out of respect for the Governor, as representative of the Spanish King, that he desisted from issuing a formal complaint against the Governor for having encroached on a problem (that of baptism) that belonged to his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well as for what he termed a notorious incident in which the Sultan was removed from his episcopal territory and brought to the bishopric of Nueva Segovia for baptism.[80] But whatever differences there were between the Bishop-Governor and the Archbishop of Manila diminished and lost significance with the arrival of the new Governor and Captain General in July. The problem of Sultan ʿAzim ud-Din's return to Sulu was to be that of the new Governor Francisco Jose de Ovando.

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[76] *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I* . . ., folio 41.

[77] Cf. a letter of Juan de la Fuente to the Archbishop, dated April 18, 1750, Legajo 292, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias,* Sevilla.

[78] A certificate of the Sultan's baptism signed by Enrique Marron, the Dominican who baptized the Sultan, is found in Santo Tomas University. A photo copy was kindly furnished the author by Mr. Alfonso Felix Jr.

[79] *Relacion de la entrada del Sultan Rey de Jolo* . . ., p. 40.

A great deal has been written about ʿAzim ud-Din's request for baptism by his contemporaries and historians. The spectrum of opinion ranged from the assertion of the Sultan's sincerity in his conversion to the allegation of his unmitigated opportunism. Since the psychological elements that enter into the nature of conversion can be so complex and because the circumstances that accompanied the baptism of the Sultan were so complicated and involved, it would be very difficult to really know about the degree or intensity of the Sultan's sincerity or lack of it when he asked for baptism. However, as will be seen, the impugnation of the Sultan's sincerity was to have far-reaching consequences, all disastrous to his political fortunes.

In the meantime, relations between the Spaniards and the Sulus progressively got worse. A few Tirun depredations and raids conducted by some Basilan datus on the Visayas brought about fearful Spanish reprisals on Sulu shipping and settlements. From all indications, the Spaniards themselves provoked incidents to give them enough grounds for further retaliation. It was thus that Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din of Sulu wrote a strong letter to the Spanish Governor Juan Gonzalez del Pulgar of Zamboanga, complaining about the killing of his Sulu subjects by Spaniards. The Sultan wanted to know the reasons for such killings to enable him to decide what course of action he should take. Inquiring into whether all of those killings were carried out on account of the differences he had with his brother, ʿAzim ud-Din, Muʿizz ud-Din said that this was an internal affair and that the Spaniards had no business interfering in it. Moreover, there was no provision in the 1737 Peace Treaty with the Sulus pertinent to the way the Spaniards were treating the matter.

The Sulu Sultan proceeded to explain that the depredations of the Tiruns in Spanish territories was their revenge on what Sultan ʿAzim ud-Din and the Spaniards did in their territories while trying to subject them (in 1746-47). Also, the raids of some Basilan datus in the Visayas were in revenge for the killing of one of their relatives on the orders of the Zamboanga Governor. Thus, in the case of the Tiruns and the vengeful Basilan datus, Sultan Mu'izz ud-Din claimed that he was not to blame nor did the Sulus deserve Spanish retaliation. The Sultan also explained how it was becoming more difficult for him to restrain the Sulus, who, in league with the Tiruns, could devastate the Spanish-held coasts. With a note of threat to the Governor, Muʿizz ud-Din revealed his plan to seek the aid of his allies among the Iranuns and Makassars who were "his brothers and obeyed the Law of Muhammad." The letter continued:

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[80] For the letter of the Archbishop to the Spanish King dated July 8, 1750, see Legajo 292, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

> Although it is true that we may be likened to a dog and the Spaniards to an elephant, it is possible that one day the dog will mount on the elephant. The Sultan is here weighing well his words to the Spaniards for if he decides on revenge it will be to the end; for when a small people wars upon a greater one it must be either to win or lose all. Although a dog cannot defeat an elephant, it can prevent it from going to its feeding grounds.

Muʿizz ud-Din further revealed that he had sent two letters to Constantinople through Jakarta: one intended for the Ottoman Sultan and the other to be delivered to the Spanish King. The latter was a virtual charge against the Zamboanga Governor for having broken the Treaty between the Spaniards and Sulus and carried the information that from the time the treaty was violated, the Spanish King had suffered some losses as borne by the fact that 2,000 of his subjects were carried away as captives by the Sulus and Tiruns. The letter to the Ottoman Sultan requested for aid against Spain. Muʿizz ud-Din declared to the Spanish Governor that he was ready to die in the defense of Islam. The Sultan concluded with a tone of regret over the Spaniard's all-out effort to cut off all correspondence with the Sulus, to the extent of executing any Sulu messenger bringing a letter to the Governor.[81]

Although his letter was regarded as highly presumptuous by the Spaniards, it was actually a bid to keep open channels of communication between the Spaniards and the Sulus, not only to prevent a further deterioration of the peace but to restore it in terms of the Treaty of 1737. The Sultan's letter to the Spanish King, the Sultan himself said so, was to reveal to the King that a number of things were going on in the Archipelago that were against the royal interests and that officials there were, in effect, acting beyond the bounds of their authority. It was probably also intended to underscore the fact that the Sulu Sultan had not violated the 1737 Treaty.

The report that Spanish officials tended to ignore messages or envoys from the Sulu Sultan is credible since this had happened at various times in the past; it will be recalled that once Sulu envoys were put to death by the Spaniards. In spite of the report about the Sultan's personal ferocity, it can be deduced from the facts that he had always favored peace with the Spaniards; but once provoked, he could be the fiercest of antagonists. Knowing the character of his enemies, the Sultan began to strengthen his *cottas* and contact his allies in preparation for a Spanish invasion.

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[81] For the complete text of a Spanish translation of Muʿizz ud-Din's letter to Governor Pulgar, see Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix pp. 23-26; and Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, pp. 240-245. A copy of the text in the Arabic script is found in the *Bureau of Records Management*, Manila.

Pulgar replied to Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din that the latter had failed to comply with Sulu treaties with the Spaniards and had furthermore rebelled against his brother who was the legitimate Sultan. Muʿizz ud-Din was told to recognize ʿAzim ud-Din as the sultan and Muhammad Isra'il as the legitimate heir. The Zamboanga Governor also explained that he had just motives when he ordered the killing of people from Sulu. As for the threat of Muʿizz ud-Din to bring in help from his allies, the Governor informed him that Spain had enough power to repel all of them. The Governor's reply left no doubt that the Spaniards were in no mood for peace but were willing to intensify hostilities. Peace was not in their plans. Then the Sulus started to accelerate their raids.[83] Amir ud-Din Hamza, the Maguindanao Sultan, had by now allied himself with Muʿizz ud-Din.

In the meantime, Francisco Jose de Ovando, the Spanish Governor General, formed a War Council to advise him on the matter of restoring ʿAzim ud-Din to the Sulu throne, in accordance with the wishes of the Spanish King, and fighting the Sulus to put an end to their depredations in the colony. The Governor, who was a Navy man, suggested that a fleet consisting of at least three galleys, two large *champans*, and additional smaller vessels be fitted. It was decided that ʿAzim ud-Din's loyalty to Spain was to be tested in the expedition and the strength of his local support in Sulu measured. The Council in its discussions also considered an *informe* prepared by Juan Angles, which was full of suspicions on the dethroned Sultan's loyalty. Added to this was a letter from the Zamboanga Governor to the effect that it was ʿAzim ud-Din who named his brother Bantilan as governor of Jolo before departing for Basilan, and that a volley of shots were fired in his honor, suggesting that there was an understanding between the departing Sultan and the datus. The Zamboanga Governor also described the Sultan as a Machiavellian. In brief, ʿAzim ud-Din, who was supposed to be restored to his throne through Spanish aid, was not at all trusted by the Spaniards or considered a sincere friend of Spain. In fact, the sincerity of his conversion was doubted by many.

On May 19, 1751, the expeditionary fleet consisting of three galleys, four smaller vessels, and two large *champans* with armed men and large provisions, under the command of Antonio Ramon de Abad, left Manila for Zamboanga. ʿAzim ud-Din left in the Admiral's ship, the *San Fernando,* accompanied by members of his immediate household. However, on the way the *San Fernando* developed some rudder trouble

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[82] Concepcion, *op. cit.,* Vol. XII, pp. 245-248.

[83] Cit. *ibid.,* pp. 248-249.

and had to be detained for repairs in Calapan, Mindoro, while the rest of the squadron sailed ahead for Zamboanga, arriving there by the end of the month. On June 13, the squadron left Zamboanga and appeared in Jolo on the 26th, about a mile away from its major *cotta.* One of the first things the Spaniards did was to capture two Chinese junks coming to trade from Amoy. The Spaniards tried to land but were quickly forced to retire with nothing accomplished. What proved really destructive of the Sulus was the continuous bombardment of Jolo. The Sulu datus, under the leadership of Datu Asin, a brother of ʿAzim ud-Din, contacted the Spaniards to bring about peace. They received in answer a letter from the commander dated July 1 to the effect that the Sulus were to accept ʿAzim ud-Din as their legitimate Sultan as well as to return all Christian captives. The Sulus answered that they were willing to receive their previous Sultan and would wait for him. However, regarding the captives, it was best for all to wait for the return of ʿAzim ud-Din to discuss the matter more carefully. To collect all the captives in the light of the expected resistance of their owners was said to be patently difficult. However, if ʿAzim ud-Din had already made a promise to return all the captives, it was to be expected that he would exert all efforts to comply with his commitment. Datu Asin also promised that in the meanwhile everything would be done to return as many captives as possible. After an exchange of various letters, it was finally agreed that Datu Asin would go to Zamboanga, bring with him as many freed captives as possible, and stand ready to receive ʿAzim ud-Din and escort him back to Jolo. After a stay of nine days off Jolo, the Spanish squadron left for Zamboanga. On July 30, as promised, Datu Asin appeared in Zamboanga.[84]

Meanwhile, ʿAzim ud-Din who in May was left behind in Calapan while the Squadron sailed ahead to Zamboanga was most anxious to take an active part in the events deeply affecting him. He, therefore, decided to go to Zamboanga as early as possible. On June 19, he boarded a vessel for Zamboanga. But adverse weather conditions delayed him in Iloilo and Dapitan with the result that he was not able to reach Zamboanga until July 12. In less than two weeks, his relatives and retainers left behind in Mindoro were able to join him. Hearing of ʿAzim ud-Din's arrival, many of his followers from Basilan came to offer him their respects. Their number swelled with the arrival of Datu Asin with a large retinue. But in the meanwhile something with serious consequences for the returning Sultan had happened.

Before leaving Manila, Governor Ovando requested ʿAzim ud-Din to write a letter to Amir ud-Din Hamza to explain how he was being restored to his throne with Spanish help, and that Hamza should not help Muᶜizz ud-Din or any of the enemies of Spain. Hamza was also to be exhorted anew to accept Christian missionaries and to release all of his Christian captives. ᶜAzim ud-Din complied with the request of the Governor but followed it with a personal letter in the dialect stating that whatever he had previously written to him (Hamza) as well as the style or manner of writing used were done under pressure since he (ᶜAzim ud-Din) being under foreign domination could not but do what he was ordered by the Spaniards. These two letters were intercepted and given to the Zamboanga Governor who, ever suspicious of ᶜAzim ud-Din and resentful of the failure of the mission at Jolo, interpreted the accompanying letter as evidence of the treasonous character of the returning Sultan. This second letter, coincidental with the coming of many Sulus to Zamboanga which was regarded as an an attempt to capture the fort there, inspired the Governor to convoke an emergency war council to decide on a course of action. Thus at midnight, on August 3, 217 Sulus (180 men and 37 women) were arrested and imprisoned. These, besides ᶜAzim ud-Din, included Datu Asin, four sons of the arrested Sultan, one son-in-law, five brothers-in-law, seven royal datus and *panditas*, one *orangkaya*, and 160 slaves and retainers of the Sultan. Among the women were a sister and four daughters of the Sultan and a total of thirty-two concubines and female retainers.[85] The boats that brought Datu Asin and other relatives and followers of ᶜAzim ud-Din were all confiscated together with about thirteen *lantakas*, one large cannon and six of a lesser calibre, sixty-five spears, ninety-eight krises, eighteen halberds, two machetes, and a few other minor weapons. It had been reported, too, that twelve krises were found under the pillows of the arrested Sultan.

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[84] Cf. Concepcion, *op. cit.,* Vol. XII, pp. 249-282; and *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I . . . ,* folios 54-59.

When the news of the alleged disloyalty of the Sultan reached Manila, there arose an uproar from certain quarters demanding strong punishment for him and his followers. The imprisoned Sultan and his followers were in the meantime heavily guarded and badly treated.[86]

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[85] A more detailed list of the prisoners is as follows: ᶜAzim ud-Din, one brother of the Sultan (Datu Asin), four sons of the Sultan (Muhammad Isra'il, Muhammad Jaᶜfar, Sharaf ud-Din, and Aman), one son-in-law (Datu Mustafa), five brothers-in-law of the Sultan (Datu ᶜAzam, Datu Juhan Pahalawan, Datu Salilama, Datu Dalaputra, and Datu Guppu), two royal datus (Datu Sali ᶜAbdullah, the chief *Qadi*, and Datu Shams ud-Din) five panditas (Tuan Khatib, Tuan Ahmar, Tuan Upay, Tuan Khalid, and Tuan Zalisha), one orangkaya (Ampoang), and 160 male servants and slaves. This brings the total of men arrested to 180. The total number of women numbered 37. It included one sister of the Sultan (Pangyan Bangkilang), four daughters of the Sultan (Sitti Fatima Kabira, Sitti Fatima Saghira, also known as Jamila, Dayang ᶜIda, and Dayang Karima), and 32 women consisting of the concubines of the Sultan and servants. Cf. the list prepared by Juan Gonzalez del Pulgar, dated August 6, 1751. Legajo 707, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

Nevertheless, even while imprisoned, the charge of disloyalty against the Sultan was doubted by some Spaniards. What complicated the problem and turned it into a controversy was that doubts about the sincerity of the Sultan in his conversion to Christianity became confused or identified with doubts about his loyalty to Spain. In order to understand and evaluate the actions of the Sultan, it is imperative to distinguish these two different elements—the problem of sincerity in the Sultan's baptism and that of his loyalty, and view them in their proper settings. But first it is important to know the nature of the specific charges made against the Sultan by Spanish officials.

One of the charges against 'Azim ud-Din was that he had treacherous designs on Zamboanga and had intended to surprise it.[87] It was asserted that although the Sultan was pretending to be an enemy of Datu Asin, his brother, they were in reality friends and secretly in league with one another.[88] Presumably, the proofs for all these were the large number of armed men from Basilan who had come to pay their respects to the Sultan together with Datu Asin's large retinue. Added evidence were the *lantakas,* spears, krises, among other arms and weapons found in the boats of the Sulus. In brief, the suspicion was that the Sultan, in connivance with his younger brother and their followers, had conspired to capture the Zamboanga fort. The allegations that the Sultan was a traitor to Spain was further supported by the personal letter to Amir ud-Din Hamza which explained how the other letter was written under some coercion.[89] The second and personal letter was later on, in retrospect, interpreted as a request to the Maguindanao Sultan for help against the Spaniards.[90]

Intimately related with the above charges was the suspicion that the Sultan was in reality not a Christian but still a Muslim as evidenced by his lack of reverence during Mass like not kneeling, by sacrificing a goat in the Muslim way in Calapan while he was delayed there, by not requiring his relatives to attend services in the Zamboanga Church, by wearing a Muslim rosary (*subha*) around his neck even when not fully dressed, and by not even mentioning to Sultan Hamza that he had received baptism and had already become a Christian. Sometimes, it was also averred, he would surreptitiously join religious ceremonies with the *panditas* in his suite. The Sultan, in spite of the advice of Spanish officials and the presence of Christian soldiers, also used to frequent the quarters of Sulu women, sometimes spending days and nights in them. Considered even more grave and serious was that when the belongings of the Sultan were searched after his arrest, seven Arabic books, including the Qur'an, were found, but not a single Christian book.[91] The point of all of these was that the Sultan was not sincere in his baptism and had utterly deceived Spanish authorities. In time, additional testimonies would be collected to clinch the charges of treason and apostasv against the Sultan. For example, the suspicion would later be raised that the Tirun expedition of 1747 was designed or feigned by the Sultan to get money and ammunition from the Spaniards, all the while that the Tiruns remained his loyal subjects or allies. In retrospect, many of seemingly harmless incidents in the relations between the Sultan and the Spaniards would be given added meaning and significance to contribute to the premise that he was both a traitor to the Spanish King and an apostate—an unmitigated ingrate.

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[86] For details of the events leading to the Sultan's arrest see, Concepcion, *op. cit.,* Vol. XII, pp. 281-291, and Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.,* Vol I, pp. 297-299.

[87] See a letter of the Marquez de Ovando to the Spanish King, dated July 5, 1753. Legajo 385, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias,* Sevilla. Also cf. Concepcion, *op. cit.,* Vol XII, p. 293.

[88] See a letter of the Marquez de Ovando to the Spanish King, dated June 18, 1752. Legajo 706, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias,* Sevilla. Also cf. Concepcion, *op. cit.,* Vol XII, p. 293.

[89] See the letter of the Marquez de Ovando to the Spanish King, dated June 18, 1752, *ibid.*

[90] Cf. Concepcion, *op. cit.,* Vol. XII, p. 293.

In point of time, it was the Sultan's personal letter to Amir ud-Din Hamza and the arrival of armed Sulus allegedly to capture Zamboanga that precipitated the arrest of the Sultan and his family. However, the suspicion that he was not a Christian had always been there even before he left Manila. Both the Zamboanga Governor and the Jesuits had cast doubts on his conversion, and these doubts caught on with many as the days went by. But it was sometime after the arrest of the Sultan, when additional information had been gathered, that his religious status was used against him as further justification to send him to Fort Santiago. What is meant in particular is that when a report was finally sent to the Spanish King regarding the imprisonment of the Sultan, all charges and after-thoughts about the Sultan were lumped together. Doubts about his Catholicism were used later on to justify his original incarceration. There was no formal trial of the Sultan. He was a victim of suspicions mounting over suspicions for which he was kept indefinitely in prison.

Najeeb Saleeby reflected that the arrest of ʿAzim ud-Din and Datu Asin by the Zamboanga Governor was based on a wrong interpretation of the actions of the former to the discredit of the Governor as an officer and administrator. Unfortunate, too, according to Saleeby, was that the views of the Zamboanga Governor were accepted by higher authorities in Manila without further question to the detriment of the Sultan and the other arrested datus.[92] Actually some of the contemporaries of the Sultan maintained, while the latter was still a prisoner in Manila, that the Sultan was innocent of the charge of treason or that he was intriguing with Amir ud-Din Hamza and planned to take Zamboanga. Two of those who expressed their views were Pedro de la Santissima Trinidad, the Archbishop of Manila, and the other was Antonio Faveau de Quesada, a naval commander who took part in expeditions to Sulu and who in 1754 had a few long and extensive conversations with Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din at Jolo. In general, too, Dominican writers have tended to be sympathetic to ʿAzim ud-Din.

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[91] The best summary of these charges and suspicions is found in the *Manifesto* issued by Governor General Jose de Ovando dated December 21, 1751. Legajo 707, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

The Archbishop in his *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I*, possibly written around 1755, first of all doubted that the Sultan ever planned to surprise the Zamboanga fort. His point was that all the spears and krises could not arm a hundred men. Moreover, among the more or less two hundred persons arrested, some were women and children. How could all of them attack a fort defended by 300 to 400 seasoned soldiers and which was protected by land and sea? That the Sulus were armed, according to the Archbishop, did not mean anything since the people of Sulu, even when very young and even when there was no need for it always carried either a kris or a spear. The Archbishop could not believe that with the Spanish fleet around, the Zamboanga Governor or Commander General of the expedition could really be that afraid of a few *lantakas* and less than a hundred armed men.[93]

The Archbishop's explanation of ʿAzim ud-Din's second letter to Amir ud-Din Hamza which was judged by Spanish military officials as treasonous concludes otherwise. First of all, the Archbishop was of the opinion that the Sultan wrote and signed the first letter, which the Governor had requested him to write, with repugnance since, as he (ʿAzim ud-Din) later on explained, this was not the way Muslim chiefs wrote to each other. Furthermore, the Sultan explained that it was difficult for him, in principle, to write the first letter since it was impertinent for him to tell the Tamontaka ruler to free his slaves. Moreover, the Sultan admitted that he wrote and signed this letter simply to please the Marquez de Ovando. All these, according to the Archbishop, led ʿAzim ud-Din to write the second letter to Amir ud-Din Hamza where he tried to explain to Hamza that he had previously written to him the way he did on account of the attendant circumstances, or the fact that he was under foreign dominion.

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[92] Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, p. 76.

[93] *Op. cit.*, folios 60-64.

The Archbishop questioned the opinions ascribing a treasonable character to the second letter when he suggested that the letter had nuances and idiomatic expressions which the Spaniards might not have fully understood in translation. But on these details, the more serious reflection of the Archbishop was that the Sulu Sultan seemed to have already known—that there was no real intention to restore him to the throne and that he was being deceived by Spanish officials. Therefore, according to the Archbishop, the Sultan could not help but write the second letter the way he did. When he claimed that he was under foreign domination it was a fact that he was not really a free man.[94]

The point of the Archbishop here was that there was a well organized plan to conquer Jolo but not really to restore the Sultan to his throne. Also that the Sultan came to realize this and subsequently wrote a letter to the Spanish King to register his opposition to the plan, but the letter never reached the King since his opponents saw to it that the letter was never sent.[95] To prove further his assertion that there was no real plan to reinstate the Sultan, and that the expedition was mainly for the conquest of Jolo, the Archbishop commented that if it were otherwise the Sultan should have been in the vessel of the commander of the expedition, Antonio Ramon de Abad, with whom he could discuss matters and help in the coordination of activities, instead of being quartered in the Admiral's ship, with a Jesuit always at his side.[96] Furthermore, the attack on Jolo was done before the Sultan's arrival at Zamboanga. The response of the Sulus, the Archbishop recalled, was that they were willing to take their old Sultan back for he was legitimate but that the problem of the return of Christian captives was understandably a bit more difficult since they would have to be taken by force from their owners, a problem which could be satisfactorily dealt with later on. But the reasonable response of the Sulus was answered with an attack and a bombardment, followed by a small Spanish landing that met a disastrous end. In brief, the Spaniards were the first to break the peace. The Archbishop was careful to point out further that those who fought back against the Spaniards were partisans of Mu'izz ud-Din and not those of 'Azim ud-Din, who were mostly in Basilan.[97] Thus, it can be said that none of 'Azim ud-Din's men fought the Spaniards.

The Archbishop's view that the Sultan did not plan to surprise Zamboanga is credible, for it would have been sheer folly for less than a hundred armed men to attack a well guarded fort that had in the past successfully withstood thousands of besiegers. Moreover, the Sulus had no available fleet; neither were any of their allies, like the Iranuns, around. But all the while, a Spanish squadron was in the vicinity. The unusually large retinue of Datu Asin was no index for suspecting an attack. Actually, the Datu came as an emissary dressed a bit flamboyantly and carrying a personal hoard of pearls possibly for commercial purposes. It had been noted that Sulus never bring anything of commercial value when going to war. The Zamboanga Governor need not have been reminded by anyone that most Sulus, including children, carry weapons—even when bathing or fishing for sport! The Archbishop's intuition that the second letter of ʿAzim ud-Din was formulated to explain what might have appeared as impertinence in the style of, and request in, the first letter is also credible. The Muslim sultans in the Philippines had always observed a well defined system of protocol (*tartib*) in their mutual relations, and certainly ʿAzim ud-Din must have lost some of his prestige in writing the first letter—a situation which he tried to salvage by writing the second. There is also enough evidence to support the contention of the Archbishop that there was no real intention to restore the Sultan to the throne. After the reasons given by the Archbishop, the question may be raised with him as to whether the attack on Jolo was initiated to conquer it for the Spaniards or to return the Sultan to his throne. If it was for the second alternative, further questions may be raised as to why the Sultan was left behind in Calapan and not transferred to one of the other ships that had gone ahead to Zamboanga. Why was the attack on Jolo made before the Sultan had arrived at Zamboanga? Why in the War Council held before fitting the expedition to Jolo, presumably to reinstate the Sultan, was it still necessary to discuss whether the Sultan was to accompany the expedition or not? All the evidence points to the fact that the primary aim of the expedition was to conquer Sulu for the Spaniards. If at all there was some intention to restore the Sultan, this, at most, was secondary in importance. The question as to what constituted Spanish policy towards the Sulus at this time can therefore be raised. The Archbishop particularly pointed to the Jesuits as the authors of the government policy to conquer Sulu.

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[94] *Ibid.,* folios 65-66.

[95] *Ibid.,* folios 52-53.

[96] *Ibid.,* folio 54.

[97] *Ibid.,* folios 56-59.

First of all, the Archbishop called attention to an "Informe de la Mission de Jolo," written by Juan Angles, the Jesuit missionary to Jolo, and dated September 24, 1748, where the author after describing the events in the ill-fated Jolo Mission, presented recommendations to the effect that under no condition should the Sultan be restored to the throne, that without the Sultan and his datus, the conquest of the Sulus would be short and the occupation of Jolo an easy matter.[98]

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[98] *Ibid.*, folios 48-49.

The Archbishop's claim that Angles was not keen about having the Sultan recover his throne is substantially correct. For in another similar document, Angles recommended the conquest of Jolo and Maguindanao as the only means to free the Philippine Archipelago from Muslim attacks and depredations and as the best means to effect the Christianization of the Muslims. Besides emphasizing the ease with which Jolo could be taken, the Jesuit stated that the return of the Sultan to Jolo would be imprudent and that it was wise to forget any plan to restore him to the throne.[99]

It will be recalled that the War Council that deliberated over plans for the expedition to Jolo in 1751 had a chance to study the "Informe" of Juan Angles. The same Juan Angles also wrote an extensive monograph on events in the Jolo Mission before the Sultan's baptism. Here Angles almost accused the Sultan as being involved in a plot to have him killed. He also gave vent to his suspicions that the wound of the Sultan and his pretended flight to Zamboanga were part of a conspiracy hatched with Muʿizz ud-Din to deceive the Spaniards. It is reasonable to assume that these suspicions, coming from one of the missionaries who stayed in Jolo, must have played some part in building up Spanish reservations about the Sultan—a situation which the Sultan himself must have been initially unaware of.

The suspicion or inference of the Archbishop was that the Jesuits were bent on the conquest of Jolo in order to facilitate their evangelization of Sulu. Since the premise of the Jesuits was that the Sultan and the datus stood as obstacles to the conquest of Jolo, it was important not to have the Sultan return to his throne. It was also imperative not to have the Sultan baptized, for if even as a Muslim there were some commitments to restore him to the throne, how much more if he were to become a Christian.[100] The testimony of the Archbishop was that the Jesuits had strongly opposed the baptism of the Sultan and that they were the ones who advised him against it.[101] Presumably in 1750 when the Sultan desired baptism in Manila the Archbishop had no reason to question the advice or the motives of the Jesuits. But around 1755, he, in retrospect, reflected on why the Jesuits had suddenly become to scrupulous about one single baptism, which followed a consultation with many learned men, when they, the Jesuits, appeared not to have shown any scruple about baptizing hundreds of Chinese after these had been expelled from Santa Cruz, outside the City Walls, and yet these Chinese seemed to have neither the inclination for conversion nor knowledge of the Catechism. As an aside, he further wrote of Jesuit tolerance of non-Christian Chinese and Malabar rites which Jesuits defended, and so on.[102] The Archbishop began to wonder, too, why out of fifteen theologians who examined the Sultan, the only two adverse votes came from the Jesuits who did not even explain the reason for their stand.[103] All these led the Archbishop to conclude that the accusations against the Sultan were baseless and had been devised simply to prevent him from going back to Jolo for without him the subjection of the Sulus and the eventual destruction of their religion would be easier. By 1755 or maybe earlier, Pedro de la Santissima Trinidad, Archbishop of Manila, was fully convinced that the Sultan was not only a Christian but that he was also never a traitor to Spain. In brief, the Archbishop was led to repent of his former suspicions of ʿAzim ud-Din and, as will be related later on, he had the Sacrament of Confirmation eventually administered to the Sultan.

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[99] See the *dictamen* in the "Suceso de la Mision de Jolo," (British Museum Manuscript) pp. 438b-448b, especially pp. 438b, 442a, and 448a. This Manuscript is the same as that found in Volume IV of Ventura del Arco with the same title and dated June 18, 1749 except that the latter does not contain the above mentioned *dictamen* as an addendum. It is possible that the Manuscript in the British Museum represents a combination of the Ventura del Arco Manuscript and the "Informe" cited by the archbishop.

[100] *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I . . .*, folios 49-51. Also see folios 44-48.

[101] *Ibid.*, folios 38-39.

The naval commander Antonio Faveau de Quesada, one of the first Spaniards to gain a few good insights on Sulu political institutions, who stayed a few days in Jolo in 1754 and had a chance to have long conversations with Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din, arrived at the conclusion that ʿAzim ud-Din was never a Christian, for he had shown his repugnance for Christianity, but neither was the dethroned Sultan a traitor to Spain. All that the Sultan wanted with Spanish help was power to subject his brother and datus as well as to allow the preaching of Christianity.[104]

The sincerity of the Sultan's conversion to Christianity is more of a difficult matter than that of the charge of treason. By its nature the question can remain an open one. However, a few of the facts related to the Sultan's baptism can be discussed; these would show not only how religion and politics were closely related in those days but also how the Sultan's life was further complicated by differences between some religious corporations in the Philippines.

While the Sultan was held prisoner in Fort Santiago, questions were raised about whether he had the intention when he was baptized. The situation was such that the possibility of having him baptized once more was then suggested. The Jesuits and the Archbishop at this time were not sure of the Sultan's sincerity. Earlier, upon the Sultan's return trip from Zamboanga to Manila, a Jesuit chaplain named Pascual Fernandez, refused to hear his Confession. Thus the Sultan had recourse to Esteban de Santo Tomas de Villanueva, an Augustinian Recollect. While a prisoner in Manila, the Sultan asked for this same priest, confessing to him on August 13, 1752, in Visayan, according to a report. Governor General Ovando, the Archbishop, and the Jesuits appeared to have been upset about this Confession. The explanation of the Fort Santiago chaplain was that the Sultan was a Christian and had, in fact, confessed at various times. The Archbishop ordered that the Sultan should not be further permitted to hear Mass. On August 19, the Governor General ordered that no secular or ecclesiastic be allowed to see or communicate with the Sultan except Jesuits.[105]

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[102] *Ibid.*, folios 39-40.

[103] *Ibid.*, folio 41.

[104] Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, p. 397 and p. 407.

The problem of having the Sultan baptized once again was considered by the Jesuits who doubted whether the Sultan had the intention when he was first baptized.[106] According to a testimony, when Juan Angles went to see the Sultan in Fort Santiago on October 15, 1752, and asked him whether he had the intention, while being baptized, to become a Christian, the reply was: "I never had the intention of being baptized." Asked again whether he had the intention of being baptized, while the baptismal waters were actually poured on him, the Sultan replied that he was given various letters to sign, the contents of which he did not understand. The Sultan is reported to have continued that he had secretly written a letter to the Spanish King thanking him for trying to make him a great monarch, granting him protection, and desiring him to live, like the Spanish King, in the Christian faith and to be led in the same path to Heaven. Continuing, the Sultan was supposed to have said that in this letter to the King, he admitted that his heart was still against Christianity when he received the Royal Cedula (of July 12, 1744) but that his heart became more responsive (to Christianity) when he first came to Manila and that he would have informed the King about his final disposition. The Sultan then asserted that he had no intention to be baptized or become a Christian until he received the reply of the Spanish King. However, the Sultan, it was reported, became fearful later over what he had confessed to Angles regarding his alleged pretensions in the baptism. He feared, too, that he would be obliged to undergo another public baptism, bringing upon him further humiliation and possible punishment. After these revelations, Juan Angles, after consoling and calming the Sultan, promised to keep the whole conversation a secret. On October 27, the Sultan is supposed to have repeated to Angles what he said before, adding that his baptism was the result of some coercion on the part of the Governor (Juan de Arrechedera).[107] It was this testimony that probably led the Jesuits to strengthen their doubt that the Sultan ever had the intention of becoming a Christian when he submitted to baptism. However, the author of the *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo,* who was aware of the above two interviews of the Jesuit Angles with the Sultan, claimed that the Sultan like many *indios,* including some who spoke Spanish, did not understand the meaning of the term "intention." A conclusion of his was that Angles came not to exhort or teach Christianity to the Sultan but to catch some escaped words in order to persecute and afflict the unfortunate Sultan further.[108]

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[105] *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I . . .*, folios 74-76.
[106] *Ibid.*, folios 76-77.

What complicated the matter regarding the Sultan's motives was that he, on July 5, 1753, wrote a letter to Pope Benedict XIV, telling him of his baptism and how his enemies were keeping his letters to the Spanish King, thus preventing the latter from knowing what was happening to him. This letter affirmed his steadfastness to the Catholic Faith and obedience to the Pope and informed the Pope about his imprisonment for unknown causes.[109] This letter must have been written upon the dictation and advice of friends. The fact was that the Sultan was not entirely without sympathizers as further evidenced by some contributions for his maintenance from private sources. In a letter to the Spanish King dated 1754, the Sultan said that he did not desire to leave Christianity and complained about Governor General Ovando's attempt to take away from him his Christian name. In this letter also, the Sultan wrote that he was willing to be a vassal of the Spanish King but that nothing could be done about this since it was his brother who was on the Sulu throne while he (ʿAzim ud-Din) being a prisoner was entirely devoid of any forces to contest his brother.

Meanwhile, at the request of the Governor General, the Archbishop conducted an investigation to decide once and for all whether the Sultan was a Christian or not. The Archbishop originally intended to form a committee composed of Dominicans and Jesuits from the different colleges but later on decided to interview the Sultan himself. When questioned anew about his intention, the Sultan replied that he underwent baptism on account of the urgings of the government rather than due to his proper will, that even if he had the enthusiasm of becoming a

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[107] For details about this testimony see "Año de 1753: Certificacion sobre resultas del Bautismo del Sultan de Jolo" accompanying a letter of the Archbishop of Manila to the Spanish King dated July 10, 1753 found in Legajo 706, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

[108] *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I. . .*, folios 79-80. It is doubtful that the Sultan did not understand the term "intention." Any Muslim knows that intention (*niyah*) is a prerequisite to the validity of certain Islamic rituals and actions.

[109] The text of this letter is found in *Ibid.*, folios 82-85.

Christian he preferred to wait for the answer to a letter he had sent to the Spanish King, and that during the act of baptism his heart was indifferent and, although tempted by the Devil not to abandon or detest the Qur'an or the Islamic law, he had truly felt for the Law of Jesus Christ. Asked why he was irreverent during Mass by chewing *buyo* and not kneeling, the Sultan denied the first; and regarding the second, he reminded his hearer that he had a wounded leg. To the question why he failed to receive Holy Communion at least once a year, the Sultan replied that this was not possible since he was not allowed to hear Mass and therefore, could not have gone to receive it. Moreover, he said he did not remember any of his Jesuit tutors telling him anything about this requirement of the Catholic Faith. When the Sultan was then asked what happened to the relics given to him as a gift after his baptism, he answered that it was lost when he once jumped from a boat to shore. As to the charge of his having rearranged the beads of his Christian rosary to transform it into an Islamic one, the Sultan simply replied that the rosary once broke and the beads got scattered and he then just put them together.

The results of this investigation were formalized into a document and sent to Santo Tomas in February 1755 for a *dictamen*. Another copy was also sent to the Jesuits. The reply from the theologians of Santo Tomas was that the Sultan was a Christian. Not long after, the Archbishop allowed the Sultan to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation. With the death of his wife, the Sultan married his principal concubine who had also been baptized, educated in the College of Sta. Potenciana, and given the name Doña Rita. The sacrament of matrimony was administered to them in no less than the palace of the Governor General. The author of the *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I* concluded that the Archbishop of Manila who initially had little sympathy for the Jolo Sultan was led in time by his conscience to declare the baptism of the Sultan as valid to the confusion of the enemies of the Sultan.[110] This Archbishop died on May 29, 1755.

When ʿAzim ud-Din was finally able to return to Jolo in 1764, almost 30 years since he first ruled in Sulu, he resumed his Islamic practices as if, for all practical purposes, nothing dramatic ever happened in his religious life. In his old age he was given the title Amir ul-Mu'minin, the Commander of the Faithful, a title once reserved for the khalifs of Islam. No Sulu record appears regarding what his colleagues, the *pañditas* of Sulu, or subjects said about his baptism. Possibly, they did not know much about it or cared for that matter. The Sultan returned an old man, and he did not even care to rule. Besides, there were other more important problems in the realm that faced the datus and the new sultan.

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[110] For the "Dilegencias y declaracion del Rey de Jolo sobre la averiguacion del Bautiso," and events related to it as well as the confirmation and marriage of the Sultan see *ibid.*, folios 104-114.

The Sultan's change of religion, if known to the Sulus, would have further alienated the *panditas* of the realm who would have, in alliance with the datus, presented a formidable force against the interests and effective rule of the Sultan. Then, if he were still interested in his political fortunes, his principality would have been isolated from the other Muslim principalities, and he should have known that in time Sulu would have been integrated into the Spanish colony and either he or his descendants would have ended up like the rest of the chiefs in the Archipelago who were defeated or who peacefully accepted Spanish domination. However, if he became a Christian, the Spaniards would have been more committed to help him, a Christian King, regain his throne, and they would have even helped him with money and resources to maintain his power and keep order in the realm. It can be speculated that the Sultan possibly thought that with Spanish help he would be able to extend his dominions, for it had been suspected that the Sultan had ambitions against Brunei.[111] With the steady political and commercial decline of Brunei, Sulu loomed as the one most likely to fill the power vacuum left in the large island of Borneo.

Beyond consideration of political advantage or disadvantage of Christian conversion, it is clear that the Sultan showed an interest in Christianity. This was to be expected, for he was a *pandita,* a man learned in Islam, and he could not have failed to note the points of contact between Islam and Christianity regarding the historic Christ. ʿAzim ud-Din also had a general respect for men of religion. Sultan Qudarat showed the same interest in Christianity and the same general respect for men of religion not only because they were in a certain sense colleagues but also because such an attitude was in accordance with Qur'anic prescriptions. Whether the Sultan's interest in Christianity causally implied an inclination to accept it is another matter. His knowledge of Islam, a religion noted for its theological simplicity or economy and assertiveness in its explicit denials of certain fundamental principles of Christianity, might have presented an obstacle to the Sultan in fully accepting Catholicism. However, he was practically pushed out of his realm, and majority of the datus had rejected him while the only persons he could have asked for help and who actually heaped honors and gifts on him were the Spaniards, both colonial and ecclesiastical authorities. This could have inclined him to appreciate another social and cultural system, and the only way by which he could become part of the system was to adopt its official religion. What must have confused the Sultan, however, was that while the Governor General, who was also a bishop, was trying to persuade him to become a Catholic, the Archbishop of Manila, while in Laguna, appeared quite unsympathetic to his continued requests for baptism while he was evidently doing his best to stall for time. Meantime, while having issued a certificate stating that the Sultan was well instructed in the Catechism to receive baptism for the Sultan's use to support his request for baptism to the Archbishop, the Jesuits were advising the Archbishop at the same time that he did not have the proper disposition to receive it. In any case, the Sultan must have been pressured or at least very much persuaded by the Governor Juan de la Arrechedera to become a Catholic, and from all points of view he must have felt indebted to the Bishop-Governor. What must have indeed confused him later on was the lack of unanimity of Spanish attitudes regarding his baptism.

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[111] Cf. Juan Angles, "Suceso de la Mision de Jolo, Junio 18, 1749," *op. cit.*, p. 585. According to Angles, during the expedition against the Tiruns, the Sultan wanted to fight the Brunei Sultan with whom, understandably, he had some differences.

One is tempted to conclude by reading accounts of the Sultan that he was susceptible to flattery or at least quite receptive to compliments. He might have misunderstood all of these when it came from the Spaniards. If he thought that he could get all that he desired from the Spaniards and not give anything in return, or try to beat the Spaniards at their own game, he was sadly mistaken. Before he sailed from Manila to Zamboanga purportedly to be restored to his throne he was asked to state his loyalty to the Spanish King. Upon his return as a prisoner, he was told by the Governor General that it was possible to have him go back as Sultan provided he became a vassal to the Spanish King and Sulu a tributary to Spain. All these mean that the Spaniards saw to it that anything given to the Sultan was to be an investment from which returns were anticipated. It is easy to blame the Sultan for complicating his life by getting involved in another religion and dealing intimately with ministers of other sects, but in the historical situation in which he had found himself, the Spanish priests would have sooner or later forcibly involved him in it as what happened to Sultan Qudarat of Maguindanao.

Politically, the Sultan showed intelligence and astuteness on many occasions. The manner in which he handled his rival Nasar ud-Din and subjected Tirun territories with Spanish help, showed that he knew some elements of power politics. His introduction of reforms demonstrated the qualities of an educator and statesman. But the Sultan's political reforms ran against the time-honored prerogatives of the powerful datus who now claimed that the Sultan was doing away with the "ancient laws of the land." The Sultan wanted to establish the sultanate along the centralized lines existing in the more orthodox and older centers of Islam.[112] The tendency for this centralization was begun more openly by his father Badar ud-Din—a possible reason for explaining Badar ud-Din's unpopularity with some datus who were led to support Nasar ud-Din as representative of the older system where the datus retained a great deal of their traditional prerogatives. From this point of view, it is understandable why Nasar ud-Din still remained the center of resistance against ᶜAzim ud-Din even after the death of Badar ud-Din. When the fortunes of Nasar ud-Din ebbed, the datus flocked to Datu Bantilan as the center of resistance. It was no accident that Nasar ud-Din later on supported Datu Bantilan against ᶜAzim ud-Din. Datu Bantilan always retained the collegial character of the government in the land. This explains why the datus, in general, supported Bantilan against his brother ᶜAzim ud-Din. The two brothers were indeed of very different personalities, and it had been reported that the younger one, even as sultan, used to walk in Jolo unattended and even unnoticed.[113] The irony in the differences between them was while ᶜAzim ud-Din who was learned in the *Shari'ah* and a staunch supporter of the traditional institutions of the Sultanate, was always turning to the Christian Spaniards for support to maintain him in the throne, Muᶜizz ud-Din, who was closer to the *adat* and a proponent of some elements of the pre-Islamic political institutions, was trying to communicate with the Caliph and Sultan at Istanbul for help to resist the Spaniards.

Returning to the events of August 1751 when the Sultan ᶜAzim ud-Din was arrested together with some of his closest relatives including women and children, it will be recalled that they were all initially incarcerated in the Zamboanga fort. Datu Asin, sick and disappointed at the turn of events and maltreated in his confinement, fell sick and died in prison. It had been reported that the Spaniards took from him the pearls he was known to have brought with him.[114] When Governor General Ovando learned of the supposed treachery of ᶜAzim ud-Din, he immediately consulted the Real Acuerdo which in answer to various questions declared that the Governor General could continue the war against the Sulu Muslims and use additional money for the purpose. It also asserted that those arrested could be imprisoned and be brought from Zamboanga to Manila. Muslims taken in war were to be enslaved and that one-fifth of the sale price would go to the Spanish King. A Council of War held later on in October recommended that the Spanish

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[112] Cf. Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, p. 397-398.

[113] Cf. Tom Harrison, "The Unpublished Rennell M.S.: A Borneo-Philippine Journey, 1762-63: edited, with introduction and notes," *JMBRAS*, Vol. 39, Pt. 1, No. 209, p. 109.

[114] Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, p. 344.

Armada in the Philippines be strengthened and an army of 4,000 men be formed. Orders were soon issued to have ʿAzim ud-Din and the other prisoners brought to Manila. It was resolved to destroy the Sulu Muslims by fire and sword and all those Tiruns or Camucones aiding the Sulus. Everything belonging to these enemies of Spain—their ships, merchandise, food, gold, silver, pearls, among others—were to be confiscated. Their settlements and crops were to be destroyed. All Muslims captured were to be enslaved. Corsairs were asked to join in the war of extermination, and they were given all the authority to devastate the lands of the Muslims. All corsairs who shouldered the expenses of their expeditions were entitled to keep all objects of value they captured; however, one-fifth of all captives from the age of 12 to 30 years were to belong to the Spanish King with some compensation going to their captors. Captives outside the above mentioned age range were to belong solely to the corsairs. There were other stipulations like the one on the branding of the captured Muslims either in the face or in other parts of the body in order to distinguish them from other natives of the Philippines. A great deal of the above decisions were published by the government especially those authorizing corsairs. The fleet initially fitted to restore ʿAzim ud-Din to his throne was now ordered to concentrate its fury on the dominions of the Sultan.[115]

At the end of May 1752, a Spanish squadron with about 1,900 men attacked Jolo. It bombarded Jolo continuously for three days and a few landings were effected near it. Parang was also attacked with the Sulus retiring into the interior. At various times the Sulu warriors counterattacked and inflicted great losses on the invaders. Consequently, the Spaniards and their native allies, principally Visayans, interested in taking advantage of the offers of the Spanish government to them regarding booty, retired to Zamboanga. The failure of this expedition so upset the commander Antonio Ramon de Abad that he began to blame his ills on the Jesuits who previously insisted that the conquest of Jolo was an easy matter. From here on, the relations between the Jesuits in Zamboanga and the Spanish commander became strained.[116]

On June 18, 1752, ʿAzim ud-Din and other prisoners arrived in Manila. A few prisoners had previously been left behind to be confined in the Cavite fort. According to the testimony of the Sultan himself, in a letter of complaint to the Spanish King, all the men, including himself and his sons, were fettered during the trip from Zamboanga to Manila.[117] However, it had also been reported in another source that "on account of its indecency, they (the fetters) were removed upon approaching Manila."[118] The Sultan and his immediate family were confined in a small hut within the compound of Fort Santiago. The other men were jailed and the women distributed in the College of Sta. Potenciana and in neighboring houses to serve as servants to petty military officers.

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[115] For some of the decisions of the War Council see "Bando del Gobernador de Filipinas," Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, (Appendix), pp. 29-31; Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, pp. 312-313; and the *Manifiesto* of the Governor General Jose de Obando, dated December 21, 1751, Legajo 707, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

[116] Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, pp. 345-352.

The Spanish Governor General, trying to leave no stone unturned in his attempts to destroy once and for all the Sulu sultanate, wrote to the Brunei Sultan to inform him of the alleged treason of ʿAzim ud-Din and to request him to expel the Sulus from those areas of Borneo they had "usurped" from the Borneans; not forgetting to further request for a Brunei cession of Balabak and Palawan to Spain.[119] No visible response to Spanish advantage appeared to have come out of these many efforts to increase Spanish influence in Borneo.

While ʿAzim ud-Din was confined in Fort Santiago, the Spaniards and Sulus kept fighting one another. The Sulu datus retaliated against the Spanish attack on Jolo by raiding and burning towns in the Philippines. The Visayas, especially Samar and Panay, were hardest hit. The Calamianes, Mindoro, and Romblon took their usual share of Sulu reprisals. In these raids, the Sulus were assisted by their tributaries, the fierce Tiruns.

In the early part of January 1753, Pulgar, the Zamboanga Governor and inveterate enemy of the Muslims, died. In February, the imprisoned ʿAzim ud-Din proposed that his sister Pangyan Bangkilang and daughter Fatima (the elder) be allowed to go to Jolo to contact Muʿizz ud-Din to request him to free Christian captives as well as explore the possibilities of peace with the Spaniards. There was some urgency for some peaceful settlement with the Sulu Muslims since Amir ud-Din Hamza, vexed with the Spaniards on account of a few misunderstandings with them as well as the persuasions of Muʿizz ud-Din, had developed a common cause with the Sulu Sultan. Moreover, the Iranuns and Maranaos, taking advantage of the hostilities between the Spaniards and the Sulus were starting to accelerate their raids on Spanish outposts and settlements in the Visayas and Mindanao. But the plan of ʿAzim ud-Din had to be modified since the Pangyan fell seriously ill. The alternative plan to let her husband, the Datu Juhan Pahalawan, a sort of military commander of the Sultan, to accompany Fatima was rejected by Spanish officials.

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[117] "Carta de Ali-Mudin al Rey de España," Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 37.

[118] *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I . . .*, folio 70.

[119] This information is found in a letter of the Governor to the Spanish King, dated July 7, 1752. Legajo 385, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

Eventually, Fatima was permitted to go to Jolo accompanied by three of her servants, two females and one male. She promised the Spaniards that she would negotiate with her uncle, the Sultan, for the release of fifty Christian captives. Fatima brought with her a letter from ᶜAzim ud-Din exhorting Muᶜizz ud-Din to seek ways of peace with the Spaniards. Before his daughter left, it had been reported that ᶜAzim ud-Din was told by his jailer that should the mission of Fatima fail to have fifty Christian prisoners released, the imprisoned Sultan and his family would all be reduced to a more severe form of slavery.[120] On May 12, Fatima and her modest escort arrived in Jolo where she was tenderly welcomed by the Sultan. In a short time, the fifty captives who were due to be freed were sent to Zamboanga in two batches. A Spanish soldier captured by Iranuns in Palawan was added to the fifty freed captives. The Sultan wrote a letter to the new Zamboanga Governor, Francisco Domingo de Oscoti, reiterating his desire for peace and insisting that he had no cause for quarrel with the Spanish King. The Sultan also wrote of how on the arrival of his niece, he thought dearly of his brother and ancestors. Showing appreciation for the reported fair treatment of those imprisoned at Manila, he raised the question as to how peace and friendship could be fully attained if they still remained in prison. The Sultan admitted that the Tiruns were his vassals but who were quite disobedient, although he had ways of punishing them.[121]

On December 20, 1753, Fatima in the company of Muhammad Ismaᶜil, who was the Datu Maharajalela and Ambassador of Muᶜizz ud-Din, arrived in Cavite from where they proceeded to Manila. The Ambassador brought a letter from the Sultan to the Governor General repeating practically all he had written to the Zamboanga Governor but adding specifically that he planned to punish the Tiruns. In this letter, the Sultan formally requested the freeing of his brother, ᶜAzim ud-Din, his relatives, and followers.[122]

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[120] Cf. "Carta de Ali-Mudin al Rey de España," Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix, p. 38.

[121] A copy of this letter of Sultan Muᶜizz ud-Din to the Zamboanga Governor is found in Legajo 708, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

[122] "Testimonio authentico del expediente relacion, diaro y preliminares formados con el motivo de las crueles incurciones sobre las Visayas executados por los Moros Joloanos, Mindanaos, Ylanos, Camucones, Malanaos, Tirunes, y Tamontacas (cuya relacion veridica de estos sucesos se introduce) y de la embajada que pediendo paces condujo para esta Capital desde Jolo el Principe Mujamat Ismael (Año de 1754)." Legajo 709, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

But in Manila, the Sulu Ambassador was not given all the courtesies normally given to ambassadors, and there was a deliberate effort to humiliate him. (It was the good sense of the advisers of the Spanish King that led them later on to disapprove of this lack of prudence and courtesy on the part of the Governor.)[123] The Sulu Ambassador in the reception given to him by the Spanish Governor on December 23, told the Governor that the Sulus wanted ʿAzim ud-Din back and that all of them, including Muʿizz ud-Din, were going to pay homage to him upon his return. The Governor did not appear to have liked the remark of the Sulu Ambassador that as long as ʿAzim ud-Din was in Manila the legitimate governor of Jolo was Muʿizz ud-Din. However, he was pleased to get the answer that Muʿizz ud-Din and all the other datus in Jolo were willing to honor any commitments that ʿAzim ud-Din would make in Manila to the Spaniards. It was then that the Governor General allowed the Sulu Ambassador to see ʿAzim ud-Din as the Ambassador's lord and make some arrangements preparatory to more definite peace terms in the future. The Governor meanwhile took care to remind ʿAzim ud-Din of the past favors he had received from the Spaniards, not without further telling him that should he be insincere in his peaceful overtures, there was a Spanish Armada in Manila Bay with four thousand men ready to sail for the Bay of Pangil off Iligan. The Governor still had great distrust of the imprisoned Sultan and when he asked him for additional information about the events that led to his leaving Jolo after the trouble with the younger brother, the Governor showed openly his disbelief at the narration and explanations of the Sultan—to the perplexity of the latter. In any case, the Governor General insisted on a series of capitulations to be signed by the imprisoned Sultan, the Sulu Ambassador, and other leading imprisoned datus. On February 28, 1754, the following conditions were accepted by the Sultan, his three young sons, Muhammad Isma'il (the Maharajalela and Sulu Ambassador), the Datu Juhan Pahalawan (the husband of Pangyan Bangkilang), and Datu Mustafa (the husband of Fatima). Within one year all captives in the hands of the Sulus were to be returned to the Spaniards and all the vassals of the Sulu Sultan were not in any manner to make captive any inhabitant from Spanish-held territory in the Philippines. All Christian captives in the hands of the Tiruns were likewise to be returned to the Spaniards. All religious ornaments, bells, and images taken from churches were to be returned. The Sulu government was to punish any datu or subject who made any piratical incursion against Spanish territories; such a punishment was extended also to the Tiruns. Any nation at war with Spain was also to be considered an enemy by the Sulus. With the acceptance of all the above, the Datu Juhan Pahalawan was to be allowed to go to Jolo with the Sulu Ambassador to see that the above conditions were complied with by Muʿizz ud-Din. Finally ʿAzim ud-Din was to promise, with his life as security, that everything would go sincerely and well.[124] On March 3, the Datu Juhan Pahalawan and the Sulu Ambassador left for Jolo. There was a tentative agreement between all parties to immediately reduce all hostilities to a minimum.

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[123] See a letter of the King's Council to the Governor General dated 1755, Legajo 706, Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

While the Spaniards and the Sulus were seeking means to end their hostilities, the Maranaos kept on increasing their maritime strength and accelerating their attacks on the Spaniards. Leyte and the Calamianes bore part of the brunt of their attacks. About nine hundred Maranaos once landed in Albay and captured more than a hundred inhabitants. In Balayan, they looted everything they could lay their hands on. The Sultan of Maguindanao appeared to be in league with the Maranaos, and it was to him and his datus that the attacks on the eastern coast of Mindanao seemed to have been reserved. The Maguindanaos with their Iranun allies attacked Tandag fort in Eastern Mindanao which was manned by Spaniards and well guarded by a great deal of bronze and iron artillery. After a two-month siege the fort fell, and the garrison was exterminated. The besiegers then retired with the captured artillery. It was the presence of the Spanish squadron in the northern part of Mindanao that spared Iligan and other Spanish armed points in Misamis and Cagayan de Oro from the same fate that fell upon the relatively isolated Tandag fort and settlement. The Maranaos were thus greatly responsible for the abandonment of many settlements in the Visayas and the dislocation of the economic life of thousands of people. This was to the interest of the Maranaos since most of the native troops used against them were Visayans. It was thus that the Spaniards began to devise a more elaborate and effective naval system of defense. Never before were Philippine waters more patrolled by the Spaniards than at that time.

Antonio Faveau de Quesada was the commander of a squadron in charge of patrolling Philippine waters and had participated in many engagements against the Maranaos. On one occasion he was detailed to the Sulu Sea. When he happened to be just off Jolo in the end of June 1754, some emissaries of Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din invited him to land. Interested in knowing the results of the return of the Datu Juhan Pahalawan and the Datu Maharajalela and to do some checking on the thinking of the Sulu Sultan, Faveau accepted the invitation. He was well received and honored and in fact stayed a few days in Jolo where he had some intimate conversations with the Sultan. To Faveau are due a few good insights on the relations between ʿAzim ud-Din and Muʿizz ud-Din as well as on Sulu's political institutions.

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[124] For the complete text of these series of "capitulations" see Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 31-33. A good summary of the Sulu embassy is found in Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 104-126; and Vicente Barrantes, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-33.

Faveau was impressed with the frankness, reasonableness, and integrity of Muʿizz ud-Din—qualities which he mentioned were exactly the very opposite of those attributed by the Jesuits to him. Faveau found it easy to reach some understanding with the Sultan who by all indications showed that he sincerely desired peace with the Spaniards. The Sultan blamed Pulgar, the former Zamboanga Governor, for the rupture of the peace. Specifically, the Sultan blamed Pulgar for the killing of many Sulus just after the arrival of ʿAzim ud-Din in Zamboanga in 1748. Moreover, Pulgar was charged as responsible for the killing of many Chinese merchants who, presumably, were under the protection of the Sulus who were always particular about encouraging the China trade. The Sultan also expressed his deep resentment at the Spanish inability to explain the bombardment of Jolo under Antonio Ramon de Abad and the systematic destruction of Sulu settlements and plantations. Requesting for the release of all the Sulus imprisoned at Manila, especially the women, the Sultan revealed that he was once willing to take the place of his brother in prison in order to show his goodwill.

It was in one of the conversations held between Faveau and Muʿizz ud-Din that the latter admitted that it was he who ordered a Tawi-Tawi native to spear his brother ʿAzim ud-Din just before he left for Basilan. Faveau became convinced, too, that ʿAzim ud-Din was never a traitor to Spain and was not guilty of the charge of trying to surprise Zamboanga. However, the Spanish commander averred that ʿAzim ud-Din was never really a Christian for he showed repugnance for some of the teachings of Christianity.

As a sign of his good faith in desiring peace, the Sultan released to the care of Faveau sixty-eight captives and, furthermore, returned to the Spaniards one galley and *champan* which the Sulus had captured earlier. The Sultan in a fine gesture also returned to the Zamboanga Governor the amount of one hundred pesos previously paid as ransom for a Spanish prisoner. On August 18, Faveau returned to Zamboanga.

While still at Jolo, Faveau wrote a lengthy letter to the Spanish Governor relating his activities and the impressions of his stay in that place. He also strongly recommended that some of the most important datus in Manila be released. This letter was followed by another one from Zamboanga incorporating similar recommendations.[125] While Faveau was in Jolo, a new Governor General, Pedro Manuel de Arandia, stepped into office replacing the Marquez de Ovando. It was not till in the early part of April 1755, however, that the new Governor was able to read the letters and decide to take action on the recommendations of Faveau.

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[125] Copies of the reports of Faveau are found in the *Bureau of Records Management*, Manila. For their texts and some details about Faveau's visit to Jolo see Concepcion, *op. cit.*, XIII, pp. 384-407.

During the incumbency of Pedro Manuel de Arandia, ᶜAzim ud-Din was given relative freedom. On orders of the Spanish King, the former Sultan was given a monthly allowance of fifty pesos and a definite number of cavanes of rice for him and his immediate family.[126] It was during this time, too, that he received his Confirmation and was allowed to marry one of his favorite concubines after the death of his wife. The Sultan was even allowed to leave the Fort when he desired. In his conferences with the Governor, the Sultan was given utmost courtesy and was a recipient of many forms of kindness. In response to all these the Sultan appeared to show indifference over the matter of returning to Jolo to regain his throne. He seemed content to remain in Manila and be considered a vassal of the Spanish King.

After reading the letters of Faveau, the Governor General called a meeting attended by ᶜAzim ud-Din, his sons, and closest relatives as well as by the senior *oidor* and General Pedro Zacharias, a former Governor of Zamboanga. In this meeting, it was decided to send all the prisoners, except ᶜAzim ud-Din and his son Muhammad Isra'il, back to Jolo as a preliminary to a final peace treaty. It was declared, too, that the imprisoned Sultan would be allowed to return to Jolo after all the Christian captives had been freed and all Church ornaments and valuables returned. The Sulu datus were to see to it that none of their followers indulged in any piratical venture and were requested to punish all Tiruns getting out of control.[127]

Undoubtedly, many of the decisions in this meeting were due to the recommendations of Faveau. It was remarked that the Jesuits (possibly still set on the conquest of Jolo) did not sympathize with the ideas of Faveau.[128] This can be explained by the fact that after the failure of the Jolo and Tamontaka Missions in 1748, the Jesuits became proponents of an all-out war to conquer the Muslims. In any case, General Pedro Zacharias with six royal datus (including three of ᶜAzim ud-Din's sons), five *dayang dayangs*, twenty women, and 130 male members of the former Sultan's retinue, left Manila on April 29, 1755. On account of bad weather conditions, there was some delay in their arrival in Zamboanga. From Zamboanga, the General and all the Sulus left for Jolo where they arrived on October 4. The Datu Juhan Pahalawan went to meet his wife Pangyan Bangkilang at sea accompanied by gaily decorated vintas to receive the other released prisoners. The Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din, with the highest officers of State, including the Rajah Muda and the Rajah Laut, were all on shore to meet the General and released prisoners. In the negotiations that followed, the Sultan promised to do all he could to release Christian captives but stated that the difficulty was that some of them had already been sold to other Muslims in Mindanao and that some of the datus holding captives would not easily give them up unless compensated. On his own, the Sultan released nineteen captives. However, General Zacharias was not able to stay long enough to join the festivities in Jolo since he received an urgent report of additional attacks by Maranaos and Maguindanaos on Mindanao and the Visayas. The Sulus, although informing the Spaniards about the possibility of a combined Maranao-Maguindanao attack on Zamboanga, refused to get involved on the side of the Spaniards in the possible conflict. To this threat, aside from reinforcing the Zamboanga garrison, the Spaniards decided on a system of accelerated immigration to Zamboanga bringing initially about 400 natives from other islands for the purpose.

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[126] The letters of the Spanish King ordering a monthly allowance of money and rice for the Sultan and his immediate family are found in the *Bureau of Records Management*, Manila. Information on these orders of the Spanish King is found in Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, p. 340.

[127] For details about this meeting cf. Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, p. 78; and Concepcion, *op. cit.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 429-433.

[128] Cf. Montero y Vidal, *op cit.*, Vol. I, p. 317.

In spite of his sincere efforts to end all hostilities, Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din could not have been expected to comply with all the demands of the Spaniards. Church ornaments could not be returned since they had been melted for other uses. Many of the captives had already been sold to the Dutch, many Makassars coming to Jolo for this purpose. But, as it were, the Spaniards found it the better part of reason not to push the Sultan too hard. On December 24, 1756, the return embassy of the Sulu Sultan led by Tuan Harun was given a correct reception this time in Manila and returned to Jolo with gifts from the Spanish Government to the Sultan. Even ʿAzim ud-Din and Muhammad Isra'il, on the coming of this embassy, were given new sets of suits for the occasion when the Sulu ambassador was expected to pay his respects to them. About this embassy, it was significant that the Sulus were also trying to negotiate for more intensive commercial relations with the Spaniards. They requested the Spanish government to send Chinese goldsmiths, carpenters, and other skilled workers, to instruct the Sulus in new skills.

In 1757, the Iranuns and Maranaos accelerated their attacks on the Spaniards. There were frequent naval encounters between them and the Spaniards and in some of them, according to reports, a few thousands perished.[129] It had been estimated that these Maranao raids on the Visayas in a space of four years reduced the number of tributes to the Spanish

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[129] Cf. Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 324.

Government by at least 100,000.[130] For example, in a district in Panay, figures show that in 1750 it paid 1,500 tributes and that by 1757 there were only 500.[131] In Romblon, the number of tributes went down from 1,370 to 995, while in Kalibu (Capiz) it was reduced from 1,164 to 549.[132] Many coastal towns were totally destroyed and the Visayan population was reduced considerably.[133]

The Sulu participation in all the above raids was kept to a minimum and in all probability even this did not have the permission of the Sulu Sultan. Actually, the Sultan sent to Manila another embassy, reciprocating the gifts he had earlier received in 1756. However, a few years later, the relations between Muʿizz ud-Din and the Spaniards suffered a setback. One of the causes arose from the killing of a Sulu envoy in Brunei. The Sultan asked the Spaniards for aid against Brunei, but he interpreted Spanish assertion of neutrality as favoring the Brunei side. Another factor detrimental to closer Spanish-Sulu relations arose from the arrival of the first agent of the British East India Company at Sulu in 1761. Always interested in increasing commercial enterprises and in seeking allies against the perennial threat of Spanish expansion over Sulu, the Sulu Sultan welcomed the English.

The year the British came to Jolo, Archbishop Manuel Rojo became the Governor General. He transferred ʿAzim ud-Din to more comfortable quarters in Manila and provided him with servants and even a carriage. He even appeared quite sympathetic to another embassy from the Sulu Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din for the return of the older brother to Jolo. He arrived at a tentative plan to send ʿAzim ud-Din and Muhammad Isra'il back to Jolo in November 1762. It has been reported that ʿAzim ud-Din promised to allow the Spaniards to build a fort and a settlement in Jolo and give up the principal *cotta* to them. Amir ud-Din Hamza's envoys were in Manila, too, promising to cede Sibugay to the Spaniards in return for a consignment of arms.[134] All plans for these matters were rudely shaken by the British invasion of the Philippines and the subsequent fall of Manila to them in October 1762. The British would then have a hand in determining the fortunes of ʿAzim ud-Din. A new factor entered the history of Sulu, involving it slowly but inevitably in the political and economic rivalries of European powers in East and Southeast Asia.

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[130] *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I . . .*, folios 86-87.

[131] Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 328.

[132] *Ibid.*, p. 329.

[133] *Ibid.*, p. 328.

[134] "Rojo's Narrative," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 185-187.

X

The Heritage

The history of the Philippine sultanates has been one of war. If they were not fighting to extend their spheres of influence over neighboring non-Muslim peoples, they were up in arms against Spanish attempts to subjugate them. In times of relative peace with the Spaniards, they pitted their energy against one another for the control of territory or for the right to levy tribute. But clearly, their main pre-occupation was resisting not only Spanish incursions into their territories but also attempts to wean away tribute-paying peoples from them. In comparison with that of other groups in the Philippines, their resistance was relatively more successful. The sultans were always careful to note and remind their followers how easily the peoples of the Visayas and Luzon had fallen under Spanish rule and how eventually their former datus ended up paying tribute to, or rowing for, their conquerors. With good reason, the sultans and datus looked upon themselves and their ancestors with pride.

That they were able to put up a successful resistance against the Spaniards can be attributed to various factors. For one thing, even at the time of the arrival of Legazpi, the Sulu and Maguindanao sultanates were already well on the way to achieving greater centralization of powers while the sultans could claim to have ruled over large areas and numerous settlements. The situation among the majority of the barangays up North was different; they were widely scattered with practically no political ties with one another. Actually, some of them were even at war with one another.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Sulu sultan could claim to have held power not only over the whole of the Sulu Archipelago including Basilan but also over various settlements around Zamboanga. As for the sultan of Maguindanao, he held sway over the Iranun settlements around Illana Bay down to the area around Parang in the present Cotabato province. He had also started to establish control over many of the riverine settlements in the northern branch of the Pulangi at the expense of the rajah of Buayan whose power was concentrated on the numerous settlements in the upper Pulangi. Consequently, the sultans were able to muster an army composed of warriors from various settlements (*bannas*) so that the fall of one or more settlements to an invader did not automatically spell their defeat. The nature of the unity of such settlements was not of a "confederal" type, since the sultans often had direct power over them.

A vital source of strength of Sulu and Maguindanao, unlike that of Buayan, was that whereas some of their settlements were agricultural and consequently could adequately or partly supply the sultanates with local food resources, other settlements were coastal and could sail against the Spanish fleet even while keeping contact with other port settlements for additional resources. The realization that the two sultanates derived their strength from these sources was the very reason why the Spaniards by the first half of the seventeenth century made it a policy to destroy all plantations and orchards of the Muslims as well as all sea craft they could lay their hands on. The relative weakness of Buayan lay in the fact that although she had a good agricultural base, she was without the fleet that the Sulus and Iranuns had.

Invariably, in the face of invasions by the Spaniards, the sultans could count on the loyalty and support of the datus and warriors. Personal differences receded in the background, and the datus considered it a source of pride when their part in the defense of the realm was a crucial one. Often the datus kept up the struggle on their own when the Sultan had to flee or retreat. Datus usually led in the actual fighting and bravery in battle was a matter of personal pride and honor. This explains to a great extent why datus tended to be very powerful *vis a vis* their followers since the latter could never complain that the former remained behind while his men fought the battles and carried out the raids. The fact that the datus were always ready to risk their lives strengthened their claim to blind loyalty from their followers even in times of relative peace. Needless to say, in a successful raid or battle, the lion's share of the booty went to the datus although all participants, including the slaves, got what was due them according to traditional practice as did the sultan being the chief lord of the realm. The sultanates were usually ruled by redoubtable sultans who were endowed with strong personalities and diplomatic skills. Their role in war was of immeasurable value in the general behavior and conduct of the resistance.

Another source of strength of the sultanates lay in their relations with neighboring Muslim principalities. The ruling families of such principalities were allied by marriage, and the support of one for the other merited a share in the booty of war. Of equal or more importance was the fact that mutual help redounded to the benefit of all, since the conquest of one could eventually spell the conquest of the other. The cementing of such alliances, however temporary they might have been, was due to the Muslim character of the sultanates. The various *ʿulama* made frequent appearances in the various courts to remind the rulers that the Faith was in danger by the attacks of infidels. It seems quite obvious that it was in common defense of the Faith that even erstwhile enemies fought side by side against the Spaniards. Rajah Bungsu, the Sultan of Sulu, had the help of Makassar warriors during the attack of Governor Corcuera in 1638. Before this, Borneans were conspicuously present in Rajah Bungsu's raiding expeditions in the Visayas. Sultan Buisan of Maguindanao frequently had the aid of Ternatans. Badar ud-Din I depended to some extent on his Bornean and Makassar warriors. Frequently, too, Sulu, Maguindanao, and Buayan were allied in war. Perhaps informed in this regard, the Spaniards often intrigued to create and foster dynastic conflicts between Maguindanao and Buayan just as on some occasions they tried to fan enmity between Sulu and Brunei or to wean the friendship of Makassar away from Sulu. In the light of all these, the Spanish conquest of the Moluccas and the weakening of Ternate in 1606 was very significant. It forced the Maguindanaos and Buayanens to depend more and more on their own resources. However, Dutch aid in terms of ammunition in that century and actual training in the use of heavier artillery and the use of trench warfare in the succeeding century did much to help the sultanates present a stronger resistance to Spanish forces. British material aid followed that of the Dutch.

Of great consequence, too, as it has proven to be a vital source of strength of the sultanates in their struggle against Spain, was the growing Islamic consciousness of the Muslims in the Philippines. The Spaniards not only came to extend the domains of their king but also to introduce Christianity in the sultanates. The Muslims knew too well about the coming of the Portuguese to Malacca in 1511 and their studied destruction of Islamic institutions there. They also saw how easily the other inhabitants of the Philippines were converted into Christianity and, on the basis of this faith, transformed into warriors for the furtherance of Spanish aims. Christianity was then viewed as an enemy to Islam. This was at least how the *ʿulama* interpreted the coming of the Spaniards: to uproot Islam from part of *dar ul-Islam*. They, therefore, preached resistance as a religious and patriotic duty, with Paradise as a recompense. When patriotic motives became intimately related with religious duties, the struggle against Christian invaders tended naturally and ultimately to become more determined and violent. The role that Islam played in stiffening the resistance of the Muslims against Spanish effort to dominate them cannot be over-emphasized. As it were, Islam furnished more steel to an already brave, spirited, and hardy people. It was not a coincidence that at the end of the last century, some datus, on account of exhausted resources, were willing to accept Spanish sovereignty when assured that Spaniards had by this time abandoned their intentions to force Christianity on them and that they were free to practise their cherished Faith.

These circumstances not only explain the show of strength of the Muslims. They also suggest caution against the indiscriminate acceptance of the contention that Spain's generally unsuccessful attempts to conquer the Muslims in the Philippines were due to her genuine lack of interest or haphazard plans. On the contrary, the Spanish government in Manila did not spare men and resources to try to cow the Muslims. In this connection, it is important to note that with much less Spain was able to conquer most of the rest of the Archipelago by the first quarter of the seventeenth century. Yet it was only during the last few years of the nineteenth century that Spain could claim to have acquired a really secure foothold in Sulu and Maguindanao, in spite of the fact that during the seventeenth century she had already established more permanent outposts not only in Zamboanga but also in the northeastern parts of Mindanao. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the sultanates were willing to allow the Spaniards to have colonies in northern and northeastern Mindanao, provided that the Spaniards there did not encroach upon their traditional spheres of influence. That the Spaniards had more than passing interest in the Muslim territories can be proven further by the fact that in most conflicts between the Spaniards and the Muslims, the Spaniards were the aggressors. The simple fact was that they had come to invade Muslim lands.

The Spanish claim that the Moro Wars were launched primarily to curb piracy on the part of the Muslims is also questionable. The sultans, as traders, were perhaps more interested than the Spaniards in keeping the trade lanes safe for all. It is true that there were Sulu and Iranun pirates, but these gave the sultans cause for concern, too, in common with the Spaniards who wanted them eliminated. If the sultans failed to curb piracy, it was simply due to the same technical difficulty that the Spaniards themselves faced. The Spaniards found it convenient to blame piracy on the sultans, and they used this as an excuse for invading Muslim lands and territories. Concerning the Muslim attacks on lands already held by Spaniards especially in the Visayas during the early stages of the Moro Wars, it should be noted that these were launched to contest the Spanish presence in the Philippines. It was, therefore, a form of defensive warfare. When the native converts of Luzon and the Visayas were used under Spanish command to invade Muslim lands, it became essential and necessary for the Muslims to weaken this source of strength and aid to Spain. Clearly, in these wars, piracy was not the main issue.

The Moro Wars brought considerable consequences of disastrous proportions to the Muslim peoples in the Philippines. First of all, there was the serious depletion of man power among the Muslims. This brought about the consequent failure to fully develop the agricultural resources of their lands. Up to this date, the effects of the depopulation of some islands in the Sulu Archipelago are still evident. The Spaniards systematically eliminated settlements in some parts of Jolo island, causing them to be deserted. In contrast, in those parts of the Philippines where the Pax Hispanica reigned, the Filipino population increased by leaps and bounds. By systematically destroying not only plantations and other sources of food both in Sulu and Mindanao but also Muslim trading vessels, the Spaniards brought about the dislocation of the economic lives of the Muslims, thereby preventing them from indulging in commerce which was an important part of their way of life. However, the disruption of the traditional trade among the Muslims of the Philippines with other peoples of Malaysia was not entirely the fault of the Spaniards. The presence of the Dutch in the Indonesian islands and the coming of the British later on did much to restrict trading by Sulus and Iranuns with other neighboring islands.

But for all their effort the Spaniards still failed to eradicate Islam from the Muslim South, although they succeeded in causing enmity between peoples of the Philippines on the basis of religious differences. The crusading spirit of the Spaniards coupled with the fear of and hatred for the Muslims which they inculcated among the Christians in the Philippines is still evident today. On the other hand, the Muslim response of sheer hatred and contempt for the natives utilized to fight them has generated the suspicion Muslims invariably hold for all Christians. Ignorance of Islam on the part of Christians as well as Muslim indifference for anything Christian and, therefore, belonging to the enemy, tended to emphasize the differences between people who share a basically common cultural matrix. The present relative economic backwardness of the Muslims, a not inevitable condition in spite of what they have gone through, is sometimes made palatable by the consolation that at least they have preserved the Faith. To this is added the belief that more serious attention to, and understanding of, Islam might lead them to discover the inspiration to improve their economic lot and further enrich their cultural and intellectual life. A problem now among the Muslims is how to preserve in peace a Faith that was safeguarded in war.

Although during the last decade of Spanish rule in the Philippines, the official policy was to make the Muslims loyal subjects of Spain rather than Christians, the Spanish clergy tried to impress government officials that such loyalty was possible only if the Muslims became Christians. This type of thinking has persisted up to the present, for it is the belief of a significant portion of the population in the Philippines that Christianizing the Muslims in the Philippines would transform them into better and more loyal citizens or would make it easier for them to be integrated into the larger community. Corollary to this type of thinking is the attempt to convince Muslims that all their economic and social ills at present are traceable to Islam. In this manner, the Muslims might be led to abandon their traditional faith. But the loss of Islam among Muslims does not necessarily imply their Christianization. It could only lessen their spirited character and therefore spell the disappearance of a civic virtue. Actually, it is desirable for the Muslims in the Philippines to know Islam more intensively, a Faith which antedated Christianity in their lands. When some Muslims at present do not appear too happy in being called "Filipinos," it is not that they do not desire to be involved or participate more intimately in the body politic; rather it is simply in recognition of the fact that their ancestors were never subjects of Felipe, the Spanish Prince who later became King of Spain. That other Christian natives are still willing to keep the name because their ancestors were subjects of the Spanish Monarch, is no criteria why Muslims should follow likewise.

At bottom, the Muslim resistance against Spain in the Philippines was not an isolated or insignificant phenomenon but an essential part of the general resistance of all Muslim peoples in Malaysia against Western Imperialism, colonialism, and Christianity. In an important sense, the sultanates were articulations of a wider social entity, the Islamic society in the Malaysian world. It is within this context that the history of the Moro Wars should be seen to be better understood and appreciated.

From a more restricted perspective, the Muslim struggle in the Philippine South can be considered part of the heritage of the entire Filipino people in the history of their struggle for freedom. It is not only that the sultanates represented the most well developed native states in the Archipelago, but that they represented peoples who had managed to keep themselves free from foreign invaders at the cost of so much blood, suffering and sacrifice. History books in the Philippines tend to lay emphasis on events in other islands and glorify national heroes from such areas, as if the history of the Philippines is only that of people who had been conquered while the history of the unconquered ones do not merit a share in the history of the Philippines. Possibly, with greater tolerance, intensive scholarship on all levels, deeper and wider moral perspectives, and a greater appreciation of the concept and implications of a pluralistic society, a future generation of Filipinos would consider the struggle of the Muslim South as part of the struggle of the entire nation—and the epic exploits of its heroes may well be the nation's heritage.

Appendix A

Sulu in Chinese Sources

The earliest Chinese accounts on Sulu belong to the Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1278-1368) during which time there appeared an increase in direct trade relations between the Chinese and the Sulus. It is probable however that, before this, products of Sulu reached the ports of South China mainly through Arab traders. The Chinese traders in due time entered the trade that was still in the hands of the Arabs but whom they eventually displaced. An account on Chinese trade with Sulu was written by Wang Ta-yuan who lived during the Yuan dynasty and travelled widely to various parts of Southeast Asia about which he wrote in his account entitled *Tao I Chih Lio* in 1349. The portion relevant to Sulu is as follows:

> This place has the Shih-i mountain as a defense. The fields of the mountain range cultivated, once in two years, are lean. Millet and wheat are fit to be cultivated. The people eat Shahu, fish, shrimps, spiral shells and oysters. The climate is half hot. The customs are rustic. Men and women cut their hair, bind up a black turban, and a small piece of Chintz tied around them. They boil sea-water to make salt, and ferment the juice of the sugar-cane to make liquor. They earn a living by weaving "jwu-buh". They have a chief (or chiefs). The natural products are laka-wood of middle quality, yellow beeswax, tortoise-shell, and pearls. The Su-lu pearls, which are better than those produced at Sha-li-pa-chou, Ti-san-kan (Third Port) and other places, are white and round. Their price is very high. The Chinese use them for head ornaments. Their color never fades, and so they are considered the most precious rareties. There are some about an inch in diameter. Even in the place of production the large pearls cost over seven or eight hundred "ting." The medium ones cost two or three hundred "ting", the small ones ten or twenty "ting." The little pearls which are worth ten thousand taels and upwards, or from three or four hundred to one thousand taels, come from Ti-san-kan of the "West or Western Ocean"; there are none here. The Chinese goods used in trading here are pure gold, unpure trade silver, Patu-la cotton cloth, blue beads, Chu-earthernware, iron bars and such like things.[1]

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[1] Quoted from Wu Ching-hong, *A Study of References to the Philippines in Chinese Sources from earliest times to the Ming Dynasty* (University of the Philippines, Quezon City: 1959), p. 110.

From the *Ming Annals*, comes the following description of the conduct of the trade between the Chinese and the Sulus.

> ...When a ship arrives there, natives take all the goods and carry them for sale into the interior, whilst they sell also to the neighboring countries, and when they come back, the native articles are delivered to our merchants as payment. When many pearls have been found during a year and our traders get large ones, they make a profit of many hundred percent; but even if there are only a few pearls, still a profit of a hundred percent is made.
>
> The natives are always afraid that our ships will not come there, and whenever a ship leaves, they detain some men as hostage to make sure that the ship will call again.[2]

And yet all throughout the Yuan dynasty well on to the earlier part of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), the celestial throne never made efforts to protect Chinese traders abroad. During the first few years of the Ming dynasty no Chinese junk was given official permission to trade overseas, a policy that actually became a law in 1371. However, wealthy Chinese merchants, in connivance with local authorities or through deceptive methods were still able to play "a leading part in the smuggling trade."[3] Thus the law was not fully operative since some trade persisted between Chinese ports and some places in Southeast Asia.

In the *Ming Annals* are found accounts on the Sulus who, possessed of organizational abilities, attacked the western coast of Borneo. In this connection the *Ming Annals* say:

> The country of Sulu is situated near Puni (the Western Coast of Borneo) and Java. Shortly after the year 1368 they attacked Puni, where they made a large booty and only retired when Java came with soldiers to assist this country.[4]

In 1403, the Ming emperor Yung Lo (Chu Ti) ascended the throne. He initiated a series of naval expeditions, seven in all, from 1405 to 1435, to Malaysia and places as far as Arabia. Under the overall command of the Muslim admiral Cheng Ho (entitled Sam Pao Kung), the expeditions brought about increased international prestige for China along with an acceleration of commercial activities between China and the neighboring islands. Many principalities, including Sulu, participated in these commercial ventures in the role of "tributary" states to China which relations anyway meant little or no political interference at all. Sulu traditions referring to the earliest arrival of Chinese traders some of whom married daughters of local chiefs probably refer to this period.

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[2] W. P. Groenevelt, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[3] Ts'ao Yung-ho, "Chinese Overseas Trade in the Late Ming Period," *International Association of Historians of Asia, Second Biennial Conference Proceeding 1962* (Taiwan: 1963), pp. 429-430.

[4] Groenevelt, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

The relations of Sulu to the celestial throne then are described in the *Ming Annals* as follows:

> In the year 1417 the eastern king of this country [Sulu] Paduka Pa-ha-la [Batara], the western king Ma-hala-chi'ih [Maharajah] and the king of the Mountain Ka-la-ba-ting called Paduka Prabu, brought their families and their chiefs, altogether more than 340 persons, and came over the sea to court in order to carry tribute. They presented a letter of gold, with characters engraved upon it, and offered pearls, precious stones, tortoise-shell and other articles. They were treated as those of Malacca, and after some time they were each appointed king of their country and presented with a seal, a commission, a complete court dress, a cap, a girdle, a horse with trappings, insignia of their rank and other things; their followers also got caps and girdles according to their rank. The three kings remained twenty-seven days and when they were about to return, each of them got silk with patterns, three hundred pieces of plain silk, ten thousand taels in paper money, two thousand strings of cash, one robe embroidered with golden snakes, one with dragons and one with kilins.
>
> The eastern king died in the government hotel at Te-chou [in Shantung province]; the Emperor sent an officer to perform sacrifices and ordered the authorities to provide the funeral and to arrange the tomb. He got a posthumous title and his wife and concubines remained with eighteen followers to take care of the grave; when they had finished the three years mourning, they were sent back to their country and the Emperor sent at the same time an envoy with a letter to the late king's eldest son Tu-ma-han; the letter was of the following contents: "Your father knew to honor the Middle Country and he came himself with his family and officers to the court across ten thousand miles of sea; I appreciated his sincerity and appointed him king, treated him with kindness and sent officers to escort him back, but when the boat had arrived at Te-chou, he became ill and died. When I heard this I was very sorry; I ordered a burial and sacrifices according to the rules, and as you are the eldest son of his first wife, the people of the country belong to you and it is fit that you should succeed him, in order to satisfy the people. I therefore appoint you eastern king of Sulu; you must more and more cultivate your feelings of loyalty and respectfully follow the way prescribed by Heaven, to assist my loving disposition and continue the intentions of your father. Respect this."
>
> In the year 1420 the western king sent an envoy to bring tribute.
>
> In the year 1421 the mother of the eastern king sent to court a brother of her late husband, called Paduka Su-li; he presented as tribute a large pearl, weighing more than seven taels.
>
> In the year 1423 the concubine of the late eastern king returning to her country, she was sent away with liberal presents. The next year they sent tribute again, but did not come any more afterwards.[5]

The discontinuation of the tribute from 1424 to the next three hundred years was probably due to developments by the second quarter of the fifteenth century when there was a noticeable change from tributary trade to private trade. Moreover, in 1567, the prohibitive policy on private overseas trade was abolished by the imperial government making tributary trade not the only avenue by which Chinese products could be exchanged for those coming from abroad. Furthermore, the Chinese traders with bigger and sturdier ships traded with other ports, making it quite unnecessary to go to China itself to get Chinese products. Following the abolition of the prohibitive trade policy, the imperial government not only required private traders to secure official authorization to trade overseas but also instituted a system of quotas as to the number of vessels that could go annually to certain ports or countries. For Sulu two junks were assigned annually. Anyway, trade must have been quite regular between the Chinese and the Sulus as evidenced by the fact that in 1628 there was a flourishing Chinese *alcayceria* in Jolo which was looted and then destroyed by the Spaniards.

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[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 103-105.

The *Ming Annals* also reported on the early wars between the Spaniards and the Sulus, as well as other details:

> ...During the period Wan-li (1573-1619) the Franks attacked them many times, but as their towns were naturally fortified by mountains, they could not subdue them.
>
> We have no information about this country in former times.
>
> The soil is poor and rice and barley not abundant; the people all eat fish and shrimps; they make salt by boiling seawater and wine by fermenting the juice of the sugar-cane; the outer fibers of the bamboo are woven into cloth. The weather is always hot.
>
> There is a pond with pearls in it and at night their light is seen on the surface of the water; the natives sell pearls to the Chinese and on the large ones enormous profits are made. When the (Chinese) merchant-vessels leave, a few of their men are detained as hostages for their coming back again.[6]

The Sulu report to Dalrymple that the Chinese started to come for trade purposes to Sulu during the reign of Sultan Shahab ud-Din, that is, around the last decade of the seventeenth century, only meant that this period witnessed a noticeable regularity or acceleration of trade with the Chinese. And this is understandable in view of the fact that by this time the Sulu sultanate had acquired the North Borneo territory which produced a great deal of products much desired by the Chinese. It was Badar ud-Din I, who decided to renew the tributary relations with China mainly for economic reasons. According to the *Ch'ing Annals:*

> In [1726] the 4th reigning year of Emperor Yong Cheng, MOHANMER BOLALULIM [Muhammad Badar ud-Din], the king of Sulu, dispatched an envoy to submit a memorial and present articles of tribute to the Chinese imperial court. In June [1727], the 5th reigning year of the Emperor, a tribute-bearing envoy reached Peking and presented to the Emperor gifts such as pearls, tortoise shells, flowered cloth, goldfilled teeth, white coco, Sulu linen, edible bird's nests, flowered knives with dragon-designed handles, flower-engraved spears, flower-engraved barbarian knives, mats of vines, and twelve species of monkeys. The envoy and his entourage were treated to

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[6] *Ibid.*, p. 105.

an imperial banquet and were also bestowed with articles of reward. An imperial order was then proclaimed to escort the envoy back to Sulu. The imperial decree also regulated that the king of Sulu should come with tribute and pay respects to the Chinese imperial court once every five years, and that for this purpose, the trip to Peking was to be made by way of Fukien province. In June [1733], the 11th reigning year of the Emperor, the King of Sulu presented a memorial to the Emperor expressing his gratitude and stating that his ancestor, the Eastern King of Sulu, had come to Peking during the reign of Emperor Yung Lo to pay his respects and bring tribute to the imperial court. On his way back, he died at Tekchow. The Emperor ordered the officials concerned to take good care of the funeral rites and a monument was erected in his memory. The Emperor conferred on the late Eastern King the posthumous title of "Reverence." The Eastern King's wife, concubines and entourage of ten persons, were then left behind to take care of the King's tomb. They returned to Sulu after a three-year mourning period for the late Eastern King. This episode took place three hundred years ago. The memorial also requested for a special favor that all the tombs of the late King's descendants be repaired and that proper pensions be bestowed upon all of those descendants still alive. The minister of imperial protocol after careful consideration submitted a recommendation to the Emperor: "When the Eastern King of Sulu PATUKAPAHATA [Paduka Batara] died, his elder son TUMAHAM returned to Sulu to ascend the throne. The second and third sons of the King, ANTULU and WENHALA, were left behind in order to take good care of their ancestor's tomb. Their descendants adopted their ancestor's names as AN and WEN respectively." The recommendation met with the Emperor's approval. An imperial decree was issued to the officials concerned to locate the sites of all the monuments, temples, and honorary gateways connected with the King's tomb and which needed repair. A representative from each family of AN and WEN were to be elected respectively as officials-in-charge of the sacrificial rites for their ancestors. They were to be bestowed with caps and belts. All these were to become an official rule to be observed traditionally.

In August [1740], the 5th reigning year of Ch'ien Lung, the King of Sulu MOHANWEHOPINLOLENG [Muhammad ᶜAzim ud-Din] sent his soldiers to escort some Chinese merchants back to China on account of typhoons. In [1743] the 8th reigning year of Ch'ien Lung, MA MING KWANG, envoy of Sulu, came to Peking to bring tribute to the imperial court and also to submit a memorial. Three years later, the envoy came again. The Emperor ordered the envoy to observe the decree issued by the imperial court in the reign of Yong Cheng that the King of Sulu should send an envoy to bring tribute to the Chinese imperial court [only] once every five years. In [1754] the 19th reigning year of Ch'ien Lung, the King of Sulu MAHANWEANJOULYLIM [Muhammad Muᶜizz ud-Din] sent an envoy to carry tribute to Peking. The articles of tribute included a package of Sulu's soil. The envoy also requested of the Chinese Emperor that the name lists of his country's population be registered as part of China's territory.The Emperor then issued a decree proclaiming that ever since the country of Sulu admired the Chinese civilization and had determined to cordially submit her territory and people to China, she should naturally be under the Chinese legal jurisdiction and protection. Therefore, it was unnecessary to submit any records of population and maps whatsoever.

In [1763] the 28th reigning year of Ch'ien Lung, the King of Sulu sent again an envoy to carry tribute to China. Since then, no more envoy was ever sent by the King of Sulu to China. The Sulu people belong to the Malay race. They were good fighters, brave and cruel. When Spain conquered Luzon, she tried her very best to make Sulu one of her protectorates; but Sulu refused to accept. Though the Spaniards dispatched troops to conquer her, they were defeated.

The people of Sulu admired solely China. The kings of Sulu had been sending tribute embassies to the Chinese imperial court for many generations. Sulu, a small country, is full of rocky peaks. The utmost south of the island was surrounded by the Shih Ch'i mountain, Si Chiou Yu and Pearl Pond. Pearls were abundant in the Sulu Sea. The natives traded pearls with the Chinese merchants. The big ones cost about ten times more than the small ones. The local products included lumber, nutmegs, cumins, cubebs, parrots, etc. The population of Sulu had multiplied; but the land was barren. It had to import rice from other islands. The natives worshipped Mohammedanism. They loved to cooperate with those natives of Makassar and Borneo engaged in piracy.[7]

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[7] From the *Ch'ing Annals,* Vol. 528. This interpretative translation was kindly provided by Professor Gideon C. T. Hsu, University of the Philippines.

Appendix B

The Institution of the Juramentado

In connection with the wars between the Spaniards and the Muslims in the Philippines, especially in the second half of the last century, there was an institution which, however, was not fully understood by the Spaniards. This was what they called "juramentado," literally meaning a person who had taken an oath. Originally the term was used to refer to (a) Muslim warriors who after specific religious rites and a night of prayer with *panditas* would on the next day rush at the Christian invaders with the determination to kill as many as possible and not to expect to return alive. The overriding hope of such dedicated warriors was to merit paradise as a recompense. The term was also used to refer to (b) Muslim warriors who battled with such religious ferocity such that they had been judged as fanatical by their enemies. In time, the term came to be used loosely to refer to (c) any Muslim who killed someone in a heat of passion or (d) any Muslim who, instead of committing suicide, courted death by attacking and trying to kill law enforcement agents who were presumably Christians. Clearly in (c) and (d) there are no religious motives involved and the use of the term "juramentado" in them represent a departure from the original meaning. For purposes of the following discussion, the term will be more properly applied to (a).

First of all it is necessary to make a distinction between an amuck and a juramentado. The high degree of spontaneity, the indiscriminate choice of victims, and an absence of the religious motive marks the former. An early account of an amuck given by a foreigner around 1605 is as follows:

> If any Javan have committed a fact worthy of death and that he be pursued by any, whereby he thinketh he shall die, he will presently draw his weapon and cry *Amucke*, which is as much (as) to say: I am resolved; not sparing to murther either man, woman, or childe which they can possibly come at;

> and he that killeth most dieth with greatest honor and credit.... Their ordinarie weapon which they weare is called a crise.[1]

A later but more elaborate description is that written by Crawford:

> The spirit of revenge, with an impatience of restraint, and a repugnance to submit to insult, more or less felt by all the Indian islanders, give rise to those acts of desperate excess which are well known in Europe under the name of *mucks*. This peculiar form of exacting revenge, unknown to all other people, yet universal in the Indian islands, and recognized throughout by one and the same name, I strongly incline to suspect may at first have been of arbitrary institution, and have spread like other general customs by the influence of one great tribe. A muck means generally an act of desperation, in which the individual or individuals devote their lives, with few or no chances of success, for the gratification of their revenge. Sometimes it is confined to the individual who has offered the injury; at other times it is indiscriminate, and the enthusiast, with a total aberration of reason, assails alike the guilty and the innocent. On other occasions, again, the oppressor escapes, and the muck consists in the oppressed party's taking the lives of those dearest to him, and then his own, that they and he be freed from some insupportable oppression and cruelty.... The most frequent mucks, by far, are those in which the desperado assails indiscriminately friend and foe, and in which with dishevelled hair and frantic look, he murders or wounds all he meets without distinction, until he be himself killed.... One of the most singular circumstances attending these acts of criminal desperation, is the apparently unpremeditated, and always the sudden and unexpected manner in which they are undertaken.[2]

Tome Pires, Ludovico de Varthema, and Ramusio made a few references to amucks but failed to make a finer distinction between them and those "Javanese knights" who were resolved to risk their lives in duels or instances involving their pride or honor.[3] The genuine amuck is ultimately a problem for psychiatry. Instances of him are frequently reported in the Manila newspapers; frequently, disgruntled soldiers in the Philippine Army or enraged jealous husbands have run amuck and killed their loved ones for real or imagined grievances. Proportionally speaking, there is the probability that there are more amucks among the Christians than among the Muslims in the Philippines.

A few knowledgeable Spanish officers made a distinction between Muslim warriors who fought bravely in war from those "who had taken a vow" to kill as many Christian invaders as possible until they themselves got killed. The latter fought individually or in small groups and they were the ones originally called "juramentados." However, Spanish officers did not know the full significance of the motives of the latter. To know this a knowledge of some elements of Islamic law and history is essential.

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[1] Edmund Scott, "The Description of Java Major," Found in *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas* 1604-1606 (The Hakluyt Society, Second Series No. LXXXVIII, 1943), p. 171.

[2] Crawford, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 66-68.

[3] Cf. Tome Pires, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 176, and Vol. II, p. 266; and *The Travels of Ludovico de Varthema* (Edited by George Percy Badger, London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society MDCCCLXIII), p. 226 (Notes).

In early Islamic law, the world was conceived as having been divided into two: *dar ul-Islam* (the abode or territory of Islam) and *dar ul-Harb* (the abode or territory of War). In *dar ul-Islam,* the sovereign was a Muslim and Islamic Law held sway. Theoretically, it was a duty of Muslims to extend the frontiers of *dar ul-Islam* to cover the whole world to banish unbelief in it. A function of the *jihad*[4] was precisely this. However, as history demonstrates, a time came when Islamic frontiers could not be extended further. In some cases it even receded. In places where Islam retreated, the function of the *jihad* was to prevent parts of *dar ul-Islam* from falling into the hands of unbelievers. Islamic jurists made careful distinctions between those duties required in extending the frontiers of Islam from those defending them or avoiding their diminution. In the first it was not necessary to have women fight. But in the second, participation was a positive injunction incumbent on all believers. When *dar ul-Islam* was invaded, its defense as a collective effort normally fell under the leadership of the khalif or sultan. But the *jihad* here was both an individual and collective effort. Consequently, should the sultan fail in the organized defense of the realm, the individual was not to consider himself relieved of the duty to resist the unbelieving invaders. Thus, in the original and strictest sense of the word, the juramentado was merely performing such an individual duty.

In *dar ul-Islam*, all non-Muslims were either protected minorities (*dhimmis*) or under the protection of a visa (*aman*); the latter was a development after it became clear that Islam had reached its territorial limits and at the same time it was also deemed necessary to have diplomatic and economic relations with other countries. In the 1876-78 war between the Spaniards and the Sulus, the former were able to forcibly occupy a few points in the Sulu Archipelago including Jolo where they were able to build a fort. In time many of the soldiers brought their families with them to live in the fortified section of the town. Clearly, such invaders and their families, from the standpoint of the Muslims, were neither *dhimmis* nor under the protection of an *aman*. At the same time, since the Sulu sultan proved incapable of preventing the occupation of Jolo, many *panditas* encouraged Muslims to take it as a matter of individual duty to repel the invaders. This was to be done by attacking isolated Spanish soldiers or their families. In some way, such efforts complemented the resistance of the Sultan who was in the interior; but what is important to note here is that such performance of an individual duty was a recognition of the Sultan's ineffectual defense.

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[4] *Jihad* literally signifies a striving or effort. In some Muslim quarters the *jihad* was considered the sixth pillar of Islam. Actually there are two meanings to the term: *al jihad ul-akbar* (the greater warfare which is against one's lusts) and *al jihad ul-asghar* (the lesser warfare, that is, against infidels or unbelievers).

The premeditated character of the act of performing such an individual duty can clearly be seen in the rites accompanying it, its recourse to Islamic terminology, the symbolisms involved, and the function of the *ʿulama* in its performance. The person who had vowed to perform the individual duty was technically called a *mujahid* (lit. one who strives, or performs the *jihad*); upon his death he was called *shahid* (Arabic, martyr). On the eve of the day set for the performance of the duty, the *mujahid* was completely shaved of his hair and eyebrows. He then went through a complete ritual bathing as a symbol of purification followed by dressing completely in white. Sometimes he wore a small white turban. The color here is that of mourning and the clothing signified the burial shroud. The *mujahid* would spend the evening in prayer in the company of *panditas* who would not only recite Qur'anic verses but probably other local prayers not entirely devoid of pre-Islamic elements. The work *Prang Sabil-ullah* (*Fighting in the way of Allah*) with its exhortations and description of Paradise was read to him to encourage him in his decision.[5] He would also carry with him a few amulets some of which would normally contain inscriptions of a few Qur'anic verses. The reading of the *Prang Sabil-ullah,* the use of amulets, and the use of white clothes were also found in similar rituals in Acheh, Sumatra, during the war against the Dutch. Possible influences from Sumatra on the juramentado institution in the Philippines might be the subject of closer studies.

The closest relatives of the *mujahid* would also be present, praying with him. In this connection, some reports say that the permission of relatives who were dependent on the prospective *mujahid* was sometimes needed. It is on record, too, that becoming a *mujahid* was not exclusive to men; some women also became *mujahida.*

After all the necessary preparations have been met, the *mujahid* kept himself out of sight until he was within reach of his quarry, the Spanish soldiers after whom he went with the intent to kill as many as possible. Sometimes he loudly announced his sortie to get all Muslims out of the way. Evidently, he had no intention to harm any but Christians. Invariably, he was ultimately killed since he kept going on looking for Spanish soldiers right up to the very fort itself. After he was killed, the *mujahid* was buried by the *panditas* in the usual Muslim manner except that there was no ritual ablution (*ghusl*) or change of clothes for the deceased.

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[5] The original of this work is probably from Acheh, Sumatra.

The absence of these last two requirements followed the traditional burial for anyone considered a martyr or *shahid*. The idea here was that the corpse of a martyr who died in the defense of the Faith was legally pure and therefore did not require ablution. That he was buried with his bloody clothes served as a testimony of his effort. The belief of the *panditas* and the warriors was that the recompense for one who had died for the Faith is Paradise. This is in consonance with the following Qur'anic verses among so many others.

> Count not those who are killed in the way of Allah (*fil sabil-ullah*) as dead, but living with their Lord. (Sura III, v. 163)
>
> Let those then fight in the path of Allah (*fil sabil-ullah*), who exchange this present life for that which is to come; for whoever fighteth on Allah's path, whether he be slain or conquer, We will in the end give him a great reward. (Sura IV, v. 76).

Some of the Traditions (*Hadith*) on this point are as follows:

> Allah is sponsor for him who goes forth to fight on the road of Allah (*fil sabil-ullah*).
>
> The fire of Hell shall not touch the legs of him who shall be covered with the dust of battle in the road of Allah (*fil sabil-ullah*).
>
> In the last day the wounds of those who have been wounded in the way of Allah (*fil sabil-ullah*) will be evident, and will drip with blood, but their smell will be as the perfume of musk.
>
> Being killed in the road of Allah (*fil sabil-ullah*) covers all sins, but the sin of debt.
>
> He who dies and has not fought for the religion of Islam, nor has even said in his heart, 'Would to Allah I were a champion that could die in the road of Allah (*fil sabil-ullah*),' is even as a hypocrite.
>
> Fighting in the road of Allah (*fil sabil-ullah*), or resolving to do so, is a divine duty. When your Imam orders you to go forth to fight, then obey him.[6]

While such dedicated warriors were called *mujahids* by the sophisticated among the *panditas*, they were more commonly called "*fil sabil-ullah*" (Lit. in the way of *Allah*) or "*sabil*" for short. In time, however, the Spanish term "juramentado" would be used in reference to them even by some Sulus and Maguindanaos.

There is no doubt that the launching of *mujahids* was conceived of and encouraged by the *panditas* who knew enough of Islamic elements to rationalize their actions which represented a combination of patriotism, Islamic consciousness, and hatred for the Spaniards. Actually, their role in preparing Muslim warriors for the above task was indispensable. Spanish officers were quite aware of this latter fact which explains why during the occupation of Jolo they threatened any *pandita* suspected of participating in the rites to prepare such *mujahids*. Sultan Jamal ul-ᶜAzam after making peace with the Spaniards in 1878 completely disclaimed any connection with such *panditas* or *mujahids*.

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[6] Cf. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 244 on "Jihad." For more traditions on the same subject, a good collection is found in Muhammad 'Ali, *A Manual of Hadith* (Lahore), pp. 252-265.

It is believed that the biggest percentage of *mujahids* came from the ranks of the Buranuns. During the American regime it became a matter of official policy of the Sultan of Sulu to officially disown them. In 1899, the Sultan sent letters to his *panglimas* stating that:

> The Americans have come here in exchange for the Spaniards; they are a different people from the Spaniards, and it will not be good to "juramentado" against them. They did not come to take our lands, religion, or customs. They leave us our laws, and if you love yourselves and your country avoid coming to blows with the Americans, because they are like a matchbox—you strike one and they all go off.[7]

Haji Buto himself went out of his way to assert that the "juramentado" system did not fall under the Muslim religion. Actually what he meant here was that he was willing to accede to the point that the new concept of religious freedom need not include it.[8]

During the Pax American in Sulu, *panditas* with a flair for legality held that there were no more real "juramentados" and those so-called were not genuine ones. The assumption here was that the traditional concept of *dar ul-Islam* had ceased to be operative in the Philippines. For all practical purposes, the Sulu sultanate had ceased to exist as a political entity. But the word "juramentado" remained to refer to any Muslim who died fighting bravely for any cause, personal or otherwise. Some of these desired to be fortified by proper rituals and made such demands on *panditas* who would immediately report such persons to the police or government officials. That the *panditas* refused to sanction the action of such juramentados was in consonance with what was happening in other parts of the world where the concept of *jihad* in relation with that of *dar ul-Islam* had ceased to be operative as was shown in World War I when the Ottoman Sultan failed to get response to his universal call for a *jihad*. Actually the forces of nationalism, secularization, and modernization were at work against the Ottoman Sultan.

In time, many Sulus and Maguindanaos would turn juramentado but not in the sense of the original *mujahid*. To avenge an insult to his chief or person, to escape imprisonment, to expiate for one's numerous sins, among other reasons, a few would turn juramentado and believe or act as if there was religious sanction for their actions. Actually, the *panditas* would be the first to report them to the police. Saleeby himself who was not fully aware of the function of the *mujahid*, the original juramentado, in the struggle against Spanish invaders, was actually describing a deviation of the system, when he wrote in 1913 as follows:

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[7] *U.S. Senate Document No. 136, 56th Congress, 1st Session*, p. 16.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

> "Juramentados" are not religious fanatics. No one juramentado in ten could say his prayers or know the doctrines of his creed. There has been no greater misunderstanding by Spaniards and Americans on any one subject than on this—the juramentado question. The juramentado is not actuated by a religious feeling. It is fierce patriotism that excites his rashness and provokes his craziness. A juramentados's state of mind during the execution of his purpose is a condition of frenzy or temporary insanity closely allied in its nature to that of being amuck. A man who runs amuck in a manner avenges himself and his personal grievances, but the juramentado avenges his people and his chief. His chief's call for vengeance rings in his ears and he immediately comes forward as the hero and avenger of the datuship and gets ready for his treacherous fray. No one, however, faces death without religious wakening and fear, and the reckless juramentado can not advance towards his grave without performing the last rites of his creed. He would not otherwise be allowed to proceed even if he wanted to. Religion plays a secondary role in this case and no blame can attach to the juramentado's creed.[9]

Saleeby here was describing the juramentados during the time he was in the Philippines, that is, after 1900. The *panditas* might have agreed with his description provided it did not hold for the real or original *mujahid* that existed during the last years of the Spanish occupation in some points of Sulu and Maguindanao. However, this is not to deny that the element of patriotism or loyalty to their datus might also have been in the minds of the *mujahids;* but to them or the *panditas* that prepared them for their task, the defense of *dar ul-Islam* was paramount. In any case, to the Sulu Muslims patriotism and Islam were closely identified.

There is no doubt that non-Islamic elements might have entered in the institution of the original juramentado. The use of certain kinds of amulets as well as the shaving of the eyebrows do not appear to have similarities to those warriors of Islam in Spain who were charged with the protection of the frontiers. Although the *mujahid's* action was sanctioned in Islam, the manner the system evolved in the Philippines reveals that it was partly associated with a code of honor that might have been pre-Islamic in character. Its emphasis was on some of these non-Islamic elements that made a few Muslim visitors deny that the juramentado system had an Islamic basis. The fact was that the system of the original juramentado had degenerated to purely criminal acts. The author during his childhood witnessed a man in Davao who turned "juramentado" simply because he was dissatisfied with his economic lot. He was probably led to believe that killing a few persons would make him save his honor or merit Heaven. Armed with a kris and running wild in the commercial center of the town, he was shot dead by the police. No *pandita* in Davao cared or dared to prepare him for the act.

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[9] Saleeby, *The Moro Problem,* (Manila: 1913), p. 24.

Appendix C

Kinship Relations between the Brunei and Sulu Royal Families

The figure following is based on the Brunei *Selesilah,* except for a Spanish contemporary information that a sister of Seif ur-Rijal (the seventh Brunei sultan who ascended the throne around 1578) was married to the Sulu ruler.[1] The *Selesilah* gives the information that the Sulu princess who married Sultan Bulkeiah was named Putri Laila Men Chanei.[2] The tombs of both are still extant in Brunei.[3] Bulkeiah was likely the sultan entitled "Rajah Siripada" when Pigafetta arrived in Brunei in 1521. Pigafetta reported that Rajah Siripada had taken to wife a daughter of the "king of Sulu."[4]

Brunei sources also mention that the son of Sultan Hasan (the ninth Brunei sultan who ruled in the early 1600's) with a Sulu princess eventually became a Batara Rajah, that is, ruler, of Sulu. It is said that in Brunei he was entitled Pangiran Shahbander and was a Majarajahlela but that he was dissatisfied there because he did not rank with the other children of his father.[5] It is presumed that, on account of this, he left Brunei for Sulu. If it is true that he did eventually become a ruler in Sulu, he would then be identical to Batara Shah (Batarasa) Pangiran Tengah who in the Sulu Genealogy and Sulu *khutbahs* is stated to have succeeded Pangiran Buddiman (Muhammad ul-Halim). In this case, Batara Shah would then be a grandson of Pangiran Buddiman. It is highly probable that Pangiran Tengah was the Paguian Tindig mentioned by the Jesuit Combes. It will be recalled that Combes reported a story he heard to the effect that Paguian Tindig had come to Jolo with some of

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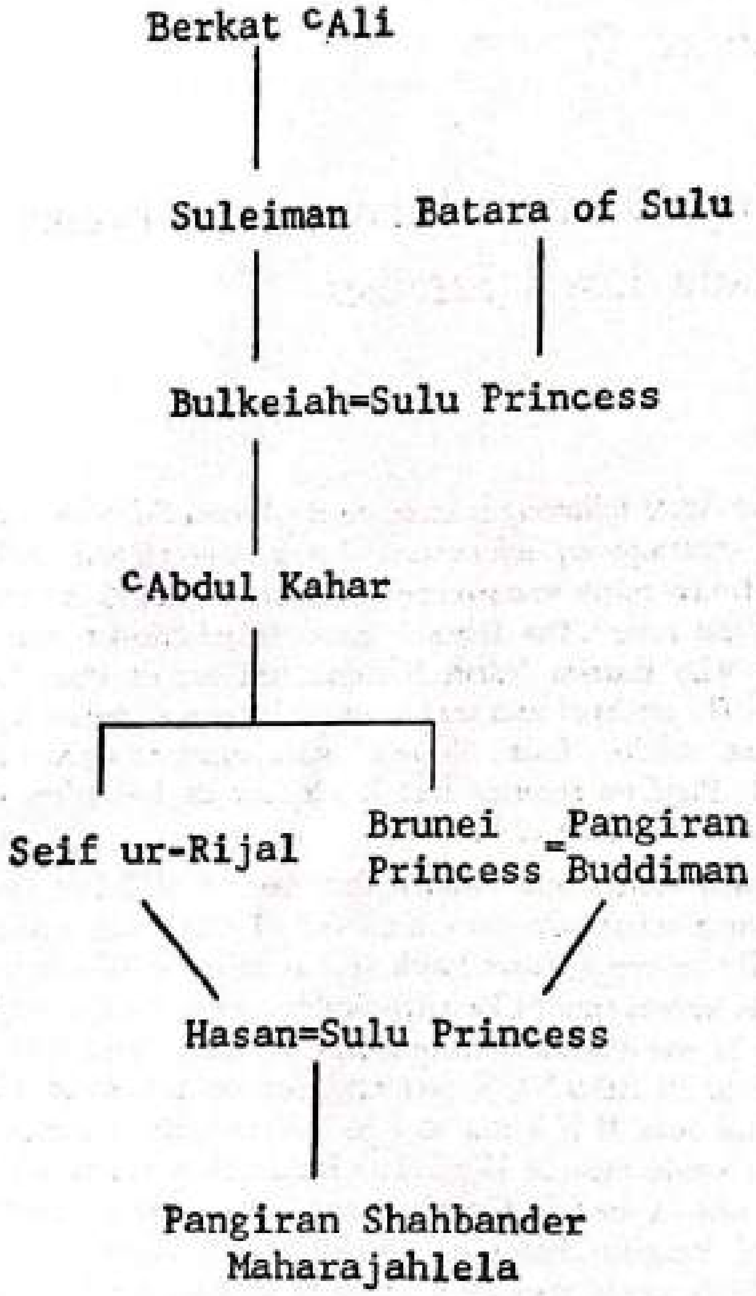
[1] From a report of Governor Sande to Licenciado Antonilez dated July 28, 1578, Ventura del Arco, *op. cit.*, Volume II.

[2] Hugh Low, "Selesilah," *op. cit.*, p. 3, p. 7, and pp. 24-25.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

[4] Antonio Pigafetta, "First Voyage Around the World," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 235.

[5] Hugh Low, *op. cit.*, p. 8.


Berkat ᶜAli
Suleiman
Batara of Sulu
Bulkeiah=Sulu Princess
ᶜAbdul Kahar
Seif ur-Rijal
Brunei Princess=Pangiran Buddiman
Hasan=Sulu Princess
Pangiran Shahbander Maharajahlela

his followers to establish himself on the throne. His rule was later contested by a cousin called Adasaolan who was stationed in Basilan. This cousin was reported to have married a daughter of Dimansankay of Maguindanao, and in his conflict with Paguian Tindig he was supported by Buisan, a younger brother of Dimansankay. The report goes on to say that in a battle between Paguian Tindig and Adasaolan, the former was killed. In this battle, too, Rajah Bongsu was supposed to have fought as a young man defending Panguian Tindig, who was his older relative. Upon the death of Paguian Tindig, Rajah Bongsu was reported to have succeeded to the throne and he even showed Combes the wounds he received as a young man in that battle.[6] The Sulu Genealogy and *khutbahs* place Rajah Bongsu (Muwallil Wasit) as the immediate successor of Batara Shah Pangiran Tengah. The term "Tengah" signifies "middle" and implies that this Pangiran had a brother before and after him. Combes mentioned in his report that Paguian Tindig had left his home on account of dissensions with his brothers. All this further support the identification of the Paguian Tindig of Combes with the Batara Shah Pangiran Tengah in the list of Sulu sultans. They also suggest the possibility that Pangiran Tengah was the son of Sultan Hasan of Brunei with a Sulu princess. In 1775 when Thomas Forrest was in Maguindanao, he received information from Sultan Muhammad Khair ud-Din (Maulana Hamzah) that Pangiran Buddiman was related to the Brunei ruling family and that Rajah Bongsu was a grandson of Pangiran Buddiman.[7] If this information is correct, Rajah Bongsu would be a cousin of Batara Shah Pangiran Tengah whom he succeeded.

The marriage relations between the Brunei and Sulu royal houses might have led some oral traditions to state that Sulu (as well as Maguindanao) sultans could claim descent from a certain Sayyid ʿAli or Amirul Hasan.[8] Now, this individual is no less than Sultan Berkat (the third Brunei Sultan) whose name before becoming sultan was Sharif ʿAli. It was reported in the *Selesilah* that he came from Taif, Arabia, that he was a descendant of Amir al-Hasan (sometimes stated as Amirul Muminin Hasan), a grandson of the Prophet.[9] Traditions to the effect that three brother *sharifs* brought Islam to, and ruled in, Brunei, Sulu, and Maguindanao, with the oldest brother first settling in Brunei might be a folk way of stating that the oldest sultanate among the three was that of Brunei. This event most probably took place in the first half of the fifteenth century since the *Selesilah* reports that the Sharif ʿAli (Sultan Berkat) had married the daughter of Sultan Ahmad (the second Brunei Sultan) who had married a sister (or daughter) of a Chinese official believed to have been a member of the expedition of Cheng Ho.

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[6] Combes, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-44.

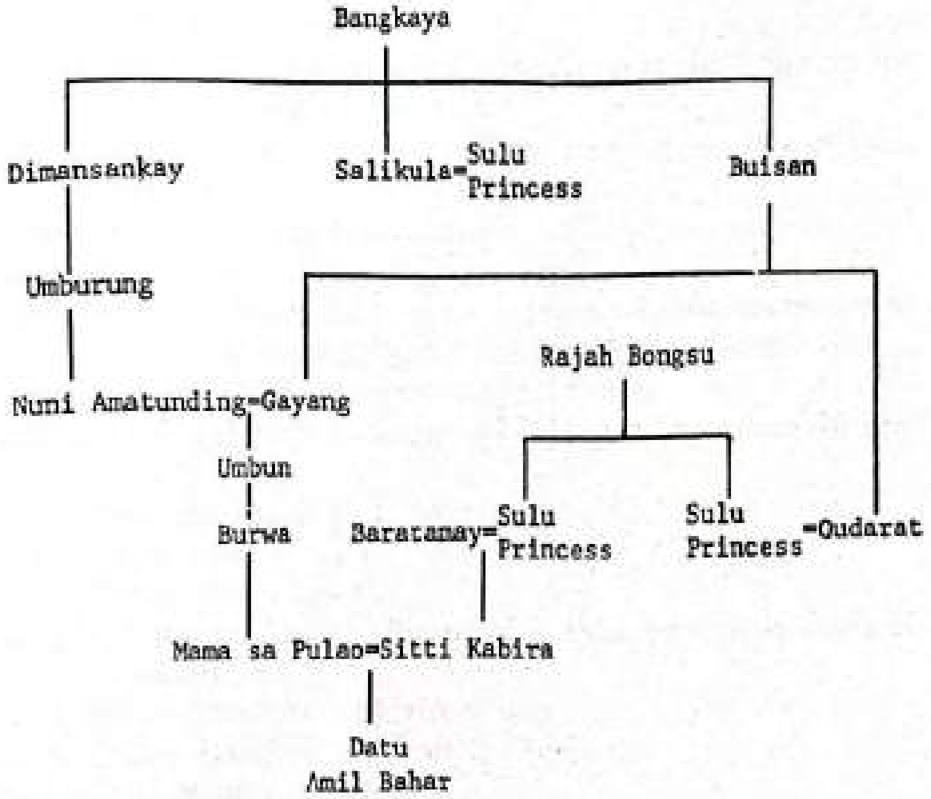
[7] Forrest, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

[8] For example, see Benito Francia and Julian Parrodo, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 204. The name of the Brunei sultan given here is Salip Magalip Armil.

[9] Hugh Low, *op. cit.*, p. 3 and p. 33.

Appendix D

Kinship Relations between Maguindanao, Iranun, Buayan and Sulu Families


Bangkaya
Dimansankay
Salikula=Sulu Princess
Buisan
Umburung
Rajah Bongsu
Nuni Amatunding=Gayang
Umbun
Burwa
Baratamay=Sulu Princess
Sulu Princess=Qudarat
Mama sa Pulao=Sitti Kabira
Datu Amil Bahar

The figure above shows marriage relations between the Maguindanao, Iranun, Buayan, and Sulu royal families as revealed by Saleeby, Dalrymple, as well as Dutch and Spanish sources. Of the eighteen persons enumerated, at least fourteen are referred to by name or title by contemporary sources. Information about the remaining four (Umbun, Burwa, Mama and Amil Bahar) come from Maguindanao and Iranun *tarsilas*. The Sulu princesses married to Salikula, Qudarat, and Balamatay were daughters and/or sisters of Sulu sultans. They were usually entitled "Pangyan" by the Sulus and "Putli" or "Rajah" by the Maguindanaos. Their daughters, in turn, appeared to have been entitled "Pangyan Ampay", as for examples, the daughters of Salikula and Balatamay with Sulu princesses. To be mentioned is that a Buayan and a Maranao *tarsila*, contrary to the above figure, state that Burwa was a datu of Buayan-Maranao descent who married Nungku (or Dungku), a sister of the Iranun datu Nuni Amatunding, and begot Mama. This would make Mama a nephew of Nuni Amatunding rather than a great grandson. An oral tradition heard in Sulu mentions that a certain Birwa (Burwa) who was an Iranun or Maranao datu had visited the Sulu royal family on a marriage mission. The fact is that in the last two centuries there were sizeable Iranun communities in the Sulu Archipelago as well as in North Borneo.

Glossary

‘adat—Arabic for custom.
Ahl al Sunnah wa'l Jama‘ah—Arabic for People of the Traditions and of the (Muslim) Community.
‘alim (plural, *‘ulama*)—Arabic for learned man particularly in religious studies.
aman—Arabic for safety or protection.
aulia—Plural of *wali.*
bilal—From the Arabic but used locally for a religious functionary attached to a mosque with a rank below that of *khatib.*
campilan—One of the longest among local swords.
caracoa—A vessel with outriggers and capable of more than 10 tons burden.
cassis—From the Arabic *qis* for priest.
champan—Sampan.
cotta—Fort or fortified place.
dargah—Places for Muslim pilgrimages in India, particularly tombs of sainted men.
dar ul-Harb—Arabic for the abode of war.
dar ul-Islam—Arabic for the abode of peace.
datu—Chief or petty ruler.
dayang—Princess
dayang-dayang—Daughter of a sultan.
dhimmi—Arabic for member of a protected community, living under bond in a Muslim community.
du‘a—Arabic for supplicatory prayer, spontaneous extempore prayer.
faqih—Arabic for a jurist in Islamic affairs.
fiqh—Arabic for Islamic jurisprudence.
ghazi—Arabic for one who partakes in a military expedition.
ghusl—The religious bathing of the whole body to remove legal impurities.
hadd—Arabic for certain punishments provided by Islamic law.
hadith—A tradition embodying practices of the Prophet.
haram—Arabic for that which is forbidden or must be kept inviolate.
haji—One who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca.
hajj—Pilgrimage to Mecca.

hijra—Refers to the Prophet's flight from Mecca to Medina in 622 C.E. which counts as the starting point of the Muslim era.

hukum—From the Arabic *hakim* for judge.

ʿId ul-Adha—Festival celebrated on the day pilgrims sacrifice in the valley of Mina near Mecca.

ʿId ul-Fitr—Festival referring to the breaking of the fast after the month of Ramadan.

imam—Arabic for prayer leader.

iman—Arabic for faith or belief.

indio—Term used by the Spaniards to generally refer to the inhabitants of the Philippines. Sometimes it was restricted to the Christianized natives in the Archipelago.

jama masjid—The principal mosque.

jihad—Arabic for striving. Some writers refer to *al jihad ul-Asghar* or a struggle against unbelievers, and *al jihad ul-Akbar* or a struggle against one's lust or weaknesses.

joanga—Small boat.

kafir—Arabic for unbeliever. Locally the term *kapil* or *kapir* is used.

kali—Local term for *qadi*.

khatib—Arabic for preacher. Locally it refers to one of the officials of a mosque with a rank lower than that of the *imam*.

khutbah—The sermon or oration during Muslim congregational prayers.

kitab—Arabic for book. Locally it is used to refer to the *Qur'an* or sometimes to any written work.

kris—A wavy kind of sword.

labay—Local term for a mosque official with a rank lower than that of *bilal*.

lantaka—Small brass cannon.

Luwaran—A body of laws used by the Maguindanaos representing selections from various Islamic law books codified for applicability to local conditions.

madhhab—Arabic for rules of living or acting. It also refers to various schools of Islamic jurisprudence.

madrasah—An Islamic school.

makhdum (plural, *makhdumin*)—Arabic for master or one who is served. In India and Malaysia it was used to refer to sainted or pious men.

mantri—A commoner having an official position in the Sultan's government.

marhum—Arabic for deceased.

maulana—Arabic for protector. In India and Malaysia, it was used for teacher, learned man, and occasionally for missionary.

Maulid an-Nabi—The birthday of the Prophet.

moro—A term used by the Spaniards in the Philippines to refer to the Muslims.

mujahid—Arabic for one who strives. Used in the sense of a warrior for the cause of religion.

munajat—Arabic for intimate conversation.

murabit (plural, *murabitin*)—A Muslim warrior stationed in a fort or station on the frontier of an enemy's territory.

nakhoda—Pilot or leader of a fleet.

niyah—Arabic for intention or purpose. In Islam, to make acts of devotion acceptable, a declaration of intention is required.

orangkaya—A commoner and man of means.

Pangyan—Term used for daughter of Sulu sultans.

Pandita—Sanskrit for learned man. Locally used as the equivalent for *ʿalim*.

paramisuli—Term for princess in Sulu and Maguindanao.

praus, prahus—A small boat that can carry from 10 to 15 passengers.

qadi—Arabic for judge.

Rajab—The seventh month of the Muslim year.

rajah muda—Heir apparent.

Ramadan—The ninth month of the Muslim year. The month of the great fast.

salat—Muslim formal and ritual prayer.

salat ul-istisqa'—Prayer for rain.

salat ul-jumʿah—Friday congregational prayers.

sayyid—Descendant of the Prophet through his daughter Fatima.

Sha'ban—The eighth month of the Muslim year.

shafaʿa—Idea of the Prophet's intercession.

shahid—Arabic for martyr or witness.

sharif—Descendant of the Prophet through his daughter Fatima.

sharīʿah—The body of rules making up Islamic law.

shaykh (plural, *mashayikh, shuyukh, ashyakh*)—Arabic for an elder or leader. Used also to refer to leaders of religious organizations.

shīʿa—Muslim theological sect.

silsila—Arabic for link or chain. Used locally to refer to genealogical narrations.

Sirat an-Nabi—Biography of the Prophet.

sufi—A follower of Sufism.

Sufism—Islamic mysticism.

sunni—Orthodox or traditional.

tampat—Locally used to refer to sacred places.

tarawih—Prayers recited at night during the month of Ramadan.

tariqat—A mystical order or brotherhood.

tarsila—A local term for *silsilah.*

tartib—Arabic for order, arrangement or sequence. *Martabah,* derived from the same trilateral root *rtb,* means the rank or grade which a person or element possesses regarding an order.

taslim—The greeting or benediction at the close of the *salat.*

tuan—Title of respect. Presently used locally for religious teachers.

tuhan—The Diety. Also used historically for high ministers of State probably in the sense of "lord."

ʿulama—Plural of *ʿalim.*

vinta—Narrow boat with outriggers and sail. Extremely maneuverable.

wazir—Arabic for minister.

wali (plural *aulia*)—Arabic for saintly or holy man.

wudu'—Ablutions made before *salat.*

zakat—Legal alms.

Selected Bibliography

Books, Articles, and Unpublished Manuscripts

Juan Angles. "*Sucéso de la mision de Jolo.*" This manuscript is found in the British Museum, London, numbered Add. 13,976 (folios 415-448). It is the same as that found in Ventura del Arco with the same title and dated June 18, 1749. However, the former contains a *dictamen* not found in the latter. The importance of this *dictamen* is that it reveals a Jesuit plan for the conquest and eventual christianization of Sulu. In general, the manuscript represents a strong indictment of Sultan ʿAzim ud-Din and is full of suspicions about and charges against the Sultan.

Ventura del Arco. "*Documentos, datos, y relaciones para la historia de Filipinas, hasta hora ineditos fielmente copiados de los originales existentes en archivos y bibliotecas* (Madrid: 1859-1865). This five-volume work in manuscript form is found in the Ayer collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. A xerox copy is in the Main Library, University of the Philippines. Some of the important documents copied are as follows:

> "*Copia de una relacion que un padre de este Colegio de Manila ha hecho del estado de estas islas Filipinas y otros reinos y provincias circumvecinas desde el mes de julio de 1627 hasta el de 1628.*" Volume I.
>
> "*Relacion de lo sucedio en las islas Filipinas y otras partes circumvecinas desde el mes de julio de 1629 hasta el de 1630.*" Volume I.
>
> Copy of a letter of Governor General Sande to the Licenciado Antonilez, dated July 28, 1578. Volume II.
>
> "*Sucesos de las islas Filipinas desde el año 1638 hasta el de 1639.*" Volume II.
>
> "*Relacion de la sorpresa que intentaron hacer en Samboangan los Malanaos de la Sabanilla con su principal Balasi* (11 de junio de 1721). Volume IV.
>
> "*Suceso de la mision de Jolo,*" written by Juan Angles in Manila and dated June 18, 1749. Volume IV. Except for the absence of a *dictamen,* it is the same as that found in the British Museum with the same title.

Copy of a letter from Pedro Estrada to Pedro Altamirano, dated June 25, 1748. Volume IV.

Copy of a letter of the Tamontaka sultan to the Spanish King. Volume IV.

Copy of a letter of the Tamontaka sultan to Juan Moreno, dated March 3, 1748. Volume IV.

Copy of a letter of Alimudin (ʿAzim ud-Din) to Pedro de Estrada, dated May 11, 1748. Volume IV.

"Carta del Jesuita Antonio Masvesi a Pedro Abad, 2 de diciembre de 1749." Volume IV.

Vicente Barrantes. *Guerras piraticas de Filipinas* (Madrid: 1878). Has a good bibliography and notes on Sulu and Mindanao history. Documentary data in the appendices are of value.

Edward Belcher. *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Samarang 1843-46* (London 1848), 2 volumes. Volume I has references to French attempts to have a naval base in Basilan.

Emilio Bernaldez y Fernandez de Folgueras. *Reseña historica de la guerra al sur de Filipinas, sostenida por las armas españolas contra los piratas de aquel archipielago, desde la conquista hasta nuestros dias* (Madrid: 1857). Bernaldez was a Spanish officer who saw action against the Sulus and Samals. His military information is presumably quite reliable.

Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson. (eds.) *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* (Cleveland: 1903-1909), 55 volumes. This compendium contains numerous and lengthy references to Muslims in the Philippines. The following are important: "Account of Expeditions to Borneo, Jolo and Mindanao," Volume IV; "Articles of Contract for the Conquest of Mindanao," Volume VIII; "Pacification of Mindanao," Volume IX; "Moro pirates and their raids in the 17th century," Volume XII; "Defeat of Moros" and "The Conquest of Mindanao,". Volume XXVII; "Corquera's Campaign in Jolo," Volume XXVIII; and "Recollect Missions," Volume XLI.

Juan Nepomuceno Burriel. *"Itinerario de la escurcion hecha a Mindanao y Jolo,"* November 5, 1862-January 22, 1863. Manuscript in the Newberry Library, Chicago. A microfilm copy is found in the Main Library, University of the Philippines. It contains much information on Sulu and Mindanao Muslim settlements and has references to Sultan Makakwa of Maguindanao. Its maps are valuable.

ʿAbdul Baqi Haji Buto. "Traditions, Customs, and Commerce of the Sulu Moros," *The Mindanao Herald*, February 3, 1909. A good summary of the advent of Islam to Sulu and the establishment of the sultanate as based on *tarsilas* and oral tradition. Haji Buto was once a minister in the Sultan's government and had a lot of local historical materials in his collection.

Cartas de los PP. de la Compania de la Mision de Filipinas, 1889 (*Cartas de Mindanao*), Manila. This gives various insights to Jesuit missionary activities in Muslim areas.

Cartas de los PP. de la Compania de Jesus de la Mision de Filipinas, Cuaderno IX (Manila: 1891). This contains the well thought out plan of the Jesuit Pablo Pastells for the military pacification and religious conversion of the Muslims in the Philippines.

————. *Cuaderno* X (Manila: 1895). This contains various letters of Jesuit missionaries regarding the conversion of Muslims. Some show how resistance to Spanish arms was closely intertwined with repugnance to Christian conversion.

Francisco Colin. *Labor evangelica de los obreros de la compania de Jesus* (Pablo Pastell's edition, Barcelona: 1904), 4 volumes. The value of this work for a history of the Muslims lies in the numerous documentary materials supplied by the editor in the footnotes especially those referring to the first two decades of the seventeenth century.

Francisco Combes. *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo* (Retana's Edition, Madrid: 1897). Combes was a seventeenth century Spanish Jesuit who came to know various sultans and datus. In spite of numerous errors, misinterpretations of Muslim institutions, and prejudices, his work is one of the most informative on the sultanates during the first half of the seventeenth century. No single Spanish book contains more information about Sultan Qudarat or Sultan Maputi. However, some of Retana's notes, especially those dealing with the meaning of the names of the Muslims, are very poor and constitute sheer guesswork.

Juan de la Concepcion. *Historia general de Philipinas* (Sampaloc: 1788-1792), 14 volumes. The most important volumes are V, IX, XII, and XIII. The last two deal extensively with 'Azim ud-Din and Bantilan of Sulu and the references appear to have been based on documents still existing in the Bureau of Records Management, Manila.

Horacio de la Costa. *The Jesuits in the Philippines* (Harvard University Press: 1961). Deals with the years 1581-1768 and contains various references to Jesuit missions to Sulu and Mindanao as well as Spanish-Muslim relations in war and peace.

————. "A Spanish Jesuit among the Magindanaus," *Proceedings of the International Conference of Scholars, November 25-30, 1960 Manila, The Philippine Historical Association.* Deals with the capture of the Jesuit Melchor Hurtado by the Muslims and the nature of the Muslim offensive against the Spaniards during the first few years of the seventeenth century. Throws some insight into the Islamic consciousness of Muslim leaders during this time.

————. "Muhammad Alimuddin I, 1735-1773," *Philippine Historical Review*, Volume I, No. 1, 1965. Deals with relations between the Spaniards and Jesuits and ʿAzim ud-Din and the latter's subsequent conversion to Catholicism. Documentary materials in the appendices are important and some of them deal with Sulu relations with the English East India Company.

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Vol. 1 (1624-1629). Dutch trade with Maguindanao. pp. 379-380.

Vol. 2 (1631-1634). Notice of the marriage of a son of the Maguindanao sultan to a daughter of the Sulu sultan. p. 102.

Vol. 3 (1636). Maguindanao sultan asks for guns and Dutch assistance against Spaniards. p. 222.

Vol. 6 (1641-1642). Pampanga natives used against Muslims. p. 31.

Vol. 7 (1643-1644). Various references to the Sulu Embassy to Batavia led by Datu Sarikula, the Rajah Muda.

Vol. 13 (1661). Sultan Qudarat requests Dutch that he be allowed to trade with Amboina. p. 135. Dutch trade with Butuan (Davao). p. 160.

Vol. 14 (1663). Report on the Spanish evacuation of Zamboanga. p. 242.

Vol. 15 (1664). Dutch relations with Qudarat. p. 291.

Vol. 16 (1665). Dutch relations with Qudarat. p. 15.

Vol. 17 (1666-1667). Copy of a letter of Sulu Sultan Bakhtiar (Salah ud-Din) to Dutch Governor General. pp. 93-94.

Vol. 19 (1670-1671). Sulu trade with Batavia. p. 437.

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Vol. 25 (1677). Mindanao trade with Batavia. p. 201 and p. 204.

Vol. 26 (1678). Mindanao trade with Batavia. p. 333.

Vol. 28 (1680). Mindanao trade with Batavia. p. 573 and p. 625.

Alexander Dalrymple. *A Full and Clear Proof that the Spaniards can have no Claim to Balambangan* (London: 1774). This refers to various treaties entered into between the English East India Company and the Sulus. The oft-quoted date of 1704 as the time Sulu acquired the North Borneo possessions of the Brunei Sultan appears to have been based on Dalrymple's calculation as stated in this brief work.

————. "Essay towards an account of Sulu," *The Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia,* Volume III, Singapore, 1849. This essay is also found in his other work *Oriental Repertory* (London: 1808), Volume I. It represents an attempt to present a brief and systematic history of Sulu. The *tarsila* reported is authentic and closely approximates that of the Kiram family. Dalrymple was at various times in Sulu, and he knew at least five persons who were, or who later became, sultans.

William Dampier. *A New Voyage Round the World* (The Argonaut University Press, London: 1927). Dampier was in Mindanao in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and appears to have been the first Britisher to have described some of the social institutions of Maguindanao.

Pedro de la Santisima Trinidad. *Manifiesto en defensa del Rey de Jolo Fernando I, y en su infidelidad Alimudin Mahamad, bautizado en Manila, capital de las islas Filipinas, preso y arrestado en el castillo de Santiago de la misma ciudad por falsas testimonias de sus emulos; dado y declarado por bueno su bautizo por el Ilustrisimo Sr. D. Pedro de la Santisima Trinidad.* A manuscript of 119 folios found in the Main Library, University of the Philippines. It is indispensable for a biography of ʿAlim ud-Din. It is an anti-Jesuit tract and asserts that the Sultan became a sincere Christian. The author appears to have been quite knowledgeable about the Sultan. However, in spite of this, the authorship of the tract can still remain an open question.

Miguel A. Espina. *Apuntes para hacer un libro sobre Jolo* (Manila: 1888). This is valuable for a knowledge of nineteenth century Sulu events, including dynastic problems of the sultanate. Most of the data reported by Espina were based on personal observations and documents still existing in the Bureau of Records Management, Manila. Saleeby relied on Espina to some extent.

Benito Francia y Ponce de Leon and Juan Gonzales Parrado. *Las Islas Filipinas: Mindanao* (Habana: 1898), 2 volumes. The authors were military men and their work contains details about Mindanao datus and their areas of authority. Their work contains some information about the Spanish campaign against Datu Utto of Buayan. It has a few errors on dates and personalities.

Thomas Forrest. *A Voyage to New Guinea and the Moluccas from Balambangan* (London: 1779). This has a fine description of Maguindanao datus and institutions during the second half of the eighteenth

century. Forrest had a few interesting conversations with Maguindanao sultans, and he recorded a *tarsila* orally related to him. This record should be read with some caution, since it confuses some events. Some of Saleeby's errors can be traced to the reports of Forrest.

Francisco Gainza. *Memoria y antecedentes sobre las espediciones de Balanguingi y Jolo* (Manila: 1851). This contains an account of the cruel Spanish campaigns against the Samals.

Antonio Martel de Gayangos. *"La isla de Mindanao: Su estado actual y las reformas que reclama."* Undated manuscript. This is found as Item No. 305 in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. By internal evidence, it was probably written after 1866. It has a good description of various Maguindanao sultans and datus as well as Maranao ones and their spheres of influence. Mention of kinship relations between the datus are important as a supplement to the *tarsilas*.

J. Hunt. "Some Particulars relating to Sulu, in the Archipelago of Felicia." This is found in J. H. Moor, *Notices of the Indian Archipelago, and Adjacent Countries* (Singapore: 1837). Hunt who was in Jolo in the early part of the nineteenth century, was familiar with some members of the Sulu royalty, their spheres of authority, and dynastic rivalries. His report of early Brunei-Sulu relations and succession of Sulu sultans is too condensed and confused to be of much value. However, he has interesting insights into, and descriptions of, contemporary events. Once the Ruma Bichara discussed the feasibility of having him assassinated as a British spy.

Al Habib Ahmad Ibn Hasan Ibn ʿAbdullah Al-Attas Sayyed Ash-Sharif Al-ʿAlawi al Husseini. *Auqud al-Almas* (Singapore: 1950). This contains a great deal of information about the coming of Muslim missionaries to Southeast Asia, including Borneo and the Philippines. Some of the data is taken from Saleeby. However, there are data from Arabic sources especially those dealing with the family of the ʿAlawiyin, some members of which probably came to the Philippines. A new revised edition appeared in 1968.

Hugh Low. "Selesilah (Book of the Descent) of the Rajahs of Bruni," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 5, June 1880. The *tarsila* reported represents one of the most authoritative on the Brunei sultans, and its reference to dynastic relations between Brunei and Sulu is valuable. It also contains a comprehensive and credible account of how the Sulus were able to get the North Borneo territories of the Brunei Sultan.

Jose Montero y Vidal. *Historia de la pirateria Malayo-Mahometana en Mindanao, Jolo y Borneo* (Madrid: 1888), 2 volumes. Its appendices contain valuable materials which are useful for a biography of ʿAzim

ud-Din. Its narration of nineteenth century events is good and based on contemporary documentary materials. However, some of the author's observations, interpretations of historical data, and analyses of the actions of the Muslims are clouded with prejudices and therefore unreliable.

Anne Reber. *The Sulu World in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, M.A. Thesis, Cornell University, 1966. This work questions the usual views of historians and other writers on the question of piracy in the Sulu area. It demonstrates quite well the viable character of most of Sulu's institutions. It contains valuable documents in its appendices.

Wenceslao E. Retana. *Mando del General Weyler en Filipinas* (Manila: 1896). This has a section on the Weyler campaign against the Maranaos and Iranuns in 1891.

Najeeb Mitry Saleeby. *Studies in Moro History, Law, and Religion* (Manila: 1905). The report on Maguindanao and Iranun *tarsilas* is indispensable to the scholar since many of them are now unavailable. There is also a translation of the *Luwaran* which, for a couple or more centuries, constituted one of the basic laws of the realm. Saleeby's historical recension on Maguindanao was partly based on a report by Captain Forrest, which contains a few errors. A translation of a Sulu *khutbah* is of great help in establishing the succession of Sulu sultans.

————. *The History of Sulu* (Manila: 1908). This is still the standard work on the history of Sulu. However, it contains a few errors in chronology, dates, and the succession of Sulu sultans. Its report on the official *tarsila* of the Kiram family, the Sulu Historical Notes, etc., are important since the originals are either unavailable or lost. Saleeby's periodization on the advent of Islam to Sulu now needs some minor rectification.

Agustin Santayana. *La isla de Mindanao, su historia y su estado presente* (Madrid: 1862). Valuable for information on French designs on Basilan, Spanish incursions into Davao, and Sulu political institutions.

Daniel E. Sopher. *The Sea Nomads: A Study based on the Literature of the Maritime Boat People of Southeast Asia* (Singapore: 1965). This deals extensively with the traditions and literature concerning the coming of Badjaos and Samals to Borneo and the Philippines. Its theoretical considerations and chronology deserve close study.

Francois Valentyn. *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, Volume I (Amsterdam: 1724). This contains a few important references to Dutch relations with Maguindanao as well as relations of the latter with Ternate. It refers briefly to the coming of Islam to the Moluccas.

L.C.D. Van Dijk. *Neerland's Vroegste Betrekkingen met Borneo, Den Solo-Archipel, Cambodia, Siam en Cochin-China* (Amsterdam:

1862). This is an authoritative work based on Dutch documents and contains many references to seventeenth century relations between the Dutch and the Maguindanaos. It mentions various Maguindanao-Sulu dynastic relations, the civil war between Maguindanao and Buayan during the early 1620's, and the embassy of Sultan Badar ud-Din of Sulu to Batavia in 1719.

Pedro Murillo Velarde. *Historia de la provincia de Philipinas de la Compania de Jesus, Segunda Parte, que comprende los progresos de esta provincia desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716* (Manila: 1749). This serves well as a supplement to Combes regarding biographical data for Sultan Qudarat of Maguindanao and Sultan Balatamay of Buayan.

Gilles Wibault. "Lettre du Pere Gilles Wibault, Manila, Decembre 20, 1721," *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* (Paris: 1738), Volume XXIII, reports on the seige of Zamboanga in 1721 by the Iranun's and the Sulus.

Johannes Willi of Gais. *The Early Relations of England with Borneo to 1805* (Langensalza: 1922). This deals extensively with British relations with Sulu during the second half of the eighteenth century. The appendices contain important documentary material.

Manuscripts in Foreign Archives

The Netherlands.

General State Archives, The Hague.

Uit Indie Overgekomen Brieven en Papieren (Letters and appendices sent over from the Indies to the Netherlands). This collection of documents is arranged into 2,908 volumes and covers the years 1607-1792. Documents referring to the sultanates in the Philippines are usually classified under "Ternate". Using the manuscript list of Professor M. P.H. Roessingh (later published as "Dutch Relations with the Philippines: A Survey of Sources in the General State Archives, The Hague, Netherlands," *Asian Studies,* Volume V, Number 2, August 1967) a few dozen volumes were consulted and the following documents have been of great assistance:

1. 1630 II, 97-116. Report of an expedition to Mindanao by the ship "Oranje" by Captain Daniel Ottens in 1628, contains insights into the character and strength of Qudarat, his relations with the Rajah of Buayan, the strength of Buayan, and Qudarat's desire for a Dutch alliance.
2. 1633 II, 165. A letter of Sultan Qudarat to the Governor of Ternate asking for cannons and ammunition as previously promised. Qudarat sends some wax as a present.
3. 1639 II, 237-238. A letter from Qudarat to Jan van Broeckum, the Governor of Ternate, reminding the Dutch of the friendly relations

of his father with them and asking that the Dutch help him drive out the Spaniards from Zamboanga. He promises the Dutch half of the booty and offers more intensive trade relations with the Dutch.

4. 1680 VI, 309-310. Report of the freeburgher Pieter Tiedes of Ternate about his conversation (December 2, 1678) with Rajah Kuddy where the latter revealed his differences with his brother, Sultan Barahaman. The Rajah expressed his resentment on the friendly relations of the Sultan with the Spaniards. September 4, 1679.

5. 1688 VII, 197-198. Letter of the Maguindanao sultan to the Ternate sultan, January 1686. A fine example of Islamic protocol between Muslim rulers.

6. 1691 XIX, No. 14. Letter of John Thim to the Maguindanao sultan and his council, dated October 24, 1688. This letter from the Ternate Governor threatens the sultan with war and devastation of his country should he trade with other Europeans.

7. 1701 X, 87-93. Letter of Sultan Kuddy (Kahar ud-Din) of Maguindanao to the Governor General at Batavia, dated November 16, 1699, where he gives information of the death of his brother and his succession to the sultanate. He assures the Dutch of his continued friendship and requests the purchase of guns and ammunition. He sends wax as a gift.

8. 1701 X, 267-270. Letter of S. Lesage, the Ternate Governor, to Sultan Kuddy, dated June 15, 1700. Governor sends twelve muskets and cloth of various kinds as a return gift.

9. 1703 XII, 175-176. Letter of Bayan ul-Anwar to Ternate sultan. It was received in Ternate on April 19, 1702. Bayan ul-Anwar complains about his uncle, the Sultan.

10. 1704 VIII, 394-401. Letter from Pieter Roselaer to the Mindanao sultan, Jamal ud-Din, August 4, 1703. It contains data on the killing of Sultan Kahar ud-Din (Kuddy) by the Sulus at Simuay.

11. 1706 XIV, 1-2. Letter of Sultan Jalal ud-Din Bayan ul-Anwar to the Governor General at Batavia, May 1, 1705. The Sultan asks for two pieces of cannon and ammunition to be paid in wax and Spanish money.

12. 1706 XIV, 2-4. Letter of Mindanao ambassador about the events in 1702 when the Maguindanao sultan was killed by the Sulus.

13. 1708 II, 783-784. Letter of Sultan Jalal ud-Din to Jacob Claese, Ternate Governor, May 14, 1707. The Sultan mentions the marriage of the datu Tubu-Tubu (Umarmaya) of Maguindanao to a daughter of the Ternate sultan and congratulates the Dutch on their victories in Spain and France.

14. 1712 XI, 1-5. Letter of Bayan ul-Anwar to the Governor General at Batavia where he informs the latter about his differences with his brother Jaf'ar Sadiq.

15. 1712 XI, 210-212. Letter of Bayan ul-Anwar to the Spanish Governor General, July 12, 1710. He informs the latter that Jaf'ar Sadiq, the rajah muda, had fled to Tamontaka; that he is at peace with Sulu; and that the Sulu sultan had even stayed in his house as a guest. (This letter was intercepted by the Dutch).

16. 1713, XIII, 229-235. Letter of Jaf'ar Sadiq to the Governor General at Batavia giving details about his conflict with his older brother, the sultan.

17. 1722 XII, 1-9. Copy of a letter of Sultan Badar ud-Din of Sulu to the Governor General at Batavia, received on June 6, 1720, although dated 1719. Letter says sultan is living in Bauang (Jolo) and recalls the former good relations between the Sulus and the Dutch. Expensive gifts are sent possibly intended to be exchanged for arms and ammunition.

18. 1723 XIV, 1-6. Letter of Maulana Jaf'ar Sadiq to the Governor General at Batavia, received September 5, 1722. The Maulana mentions that he went to Zamboanga to see what the Spaniards were doing there and recalled how his late father warned him not to be deceived by the sweet words of the Spaniards who were untrustworthy and who were planning to conquer Mindanao.

19. 1725 XII, 90-92. Letter of Ternate Governor to Jalal ud-Din, May 8, 1724, thanking the sultan for the information that Jaf'ar Sadiq is in collusion with the Spaniards.

20. 1725 XII, 144-149. Letter of Sultan Jalal ud-Din to the Ternate Governor, February 22, 1724, explaining how his younger brother Jaf'ar Sadiq was cooperating with the Spaniards.

21. 1726 XII, 244-261. Letter of Sulu Sultan Badar ud-Din to the Governor General at Batavia, received in 1725. The sultan sends valuable presents and requests for the purchase of guns and ammunition.

22. 1727 XV, 564. Letter of Jaf'ar Sadiq to Ternate Governor, received on October 20, 1726, explaining how his brother, Jalal ud-Din, was in alliance with Sulu against the Spaniards.

23. 1728 XVI, 330-345. Three letters of Jaf'ar Sadiq to the Governor General at Batavia, received on September 5, 1727. He professes his friendship for the Dutch, revealing that Sulu was allied with his brother against the Spaniards and that his brother the Rajah Laut with 200 persons went to Manila for peaceful purposes.

24. 1739 XIX, 375-378. Letter of Jalal ud-Din to Governor General at Batavia, received on June 12, 1738. The sultan reveals that he was holding his capital at Buayan, that he was abdicating in favor of his son Muhammed Tahir ud-Din, that in a contest between him and his brother, Jaf'ar Sadiq, in Tamontaka the latter was killed by his forces.

25. 1750 XIV, 221-223. Letter from Tahir ud-Din Malinug to the Governor General at Batavia, received on March 3, 1749. The Sultan states that he is now governing all of Maguindanao.

26. 1750 XIV, 232-236. Letter of Muhammed Shah Amir ud-Din (Tahir ud-Din Malinug) to the Governor General at Batavia, received on December 15, 1749. The sultan says that he was now the sole sultan and that his father, Jalal ud-Din, and uncle, Jaf'ar Sadiq, were already dead. Requests for Dutch ambassadors as a sign of friendship.

Spain.

Audiencia de Filipinas, Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla.

This is a veritable treasure house for materials pertaining to Spanish relations with the sultanates in the Philippines during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Many of the sixteenth century documents are found in translation in Blair and Robertson and a few in the footnotes of Pastell's edition of Colin. Additional important documents are found in the following *legajos:*

1. *Legajo* 6 contains letters of Governor General Sande to the Spanish King regarding Sulu, Mindanao, and Borneo.
2. *Legajo 10* has a letter dated June 15, 1671, regarding Qudarat's old age and the possible candidates to the Maguindanao throne.
3. *Legajo 11* contains a letter of the Spanish Governor General to the Spanish King, dated June 10, 1683, to the effect that Sultan Barahaman desires to renew hostilities against the Spaniards in the Philippines.
4. *Legajos 13* and *14* contain correspondence regarding the 1682 Brunei embassy to Manila and the return Spanish embassy in 1685.
5. *Legajo 17* has a copy of the June 24, 1645 treaty between Qudarat and the Spaniards.
6. *Legajo 18* has an original letter of the Brunei sultan dated July 27, 1599, expressing his friendship for Governor General Tello.
7. *Legajo 20* contains a letter of the *oidor* Manuel de la Vega, dated August 28, 1608, where it is revealed that some Spaniards had planned to assassinate the paramount chiefs of the Pulangi (that is, Sirungan, Buisan, and the Rajah Muda).

8. *Legajo 122* contains a letter of the Governor General, dated June 4, 1675, informing the King of the difficulties involved in refortifying Zamboanga since there was not only peace with Maguindanao but that the upkeep of the forts in Manila and Cavite was already a strain on the resources of the colony. Another letter of the Governor, dated May 5, 1700, has reference to Maguindanao dynastic rivalries as well as to Brunei affairs.

9. *Legajo 127* contains a great deal of correspondence on the 1702 war between the Maguindanao and Sulus and the consequent death of the Maguindanao sultan in the hands of Shahab ud-Din of Sulu.

10. *Legajo 201* contains additional correspondence on the problem of refortifying Zamboanga.

11. *Legajo 227* contains proposals to colonize Zamboanga, references to Badar ud-Din of Sulu, and correspondence on the 1737 Sulu Embassy to Manila.

12. *Legajo 228* contains correspondence dealing with Sulu-Maguindanao rivalries around 1685. Basilan is mentioned as one of the causes of the rivalry.

13. *Legajo 264* has a 1748 report on the various Spanish-Sulu alliances against the Tiruns of North Borneo.

14. *Legajo 292* contains a great deal of correspondence between ʿAzim ud-Din and the Manila Archbishop regarding the request of the former for baptism. Jesuit reports as well as letters of the Governor on the problem are also found.

15. *Legajo 385* contains a letter of the Marques de Ovando on the imprisonment of ʿAzim ud-Din as well as other letters on the same subject.

16. *Legajo 705* has a July 1, 1718 report on Maranao raids on the Visayas.

17. *Legajo 705* contains correspondence on the 1733 civil war in Maguindanao and the death of Jaf'ar Sadiq in the hands of his nephew Malinug (Tahir ud-Din).

18. *Legajos 706-709* contains testimonies, *expedientes,* and other materials on the imprisonment of ʿAzim ud-Din and conflicts with the Sulus under Sultan Bantilan. *Legajo 707,* in particular, has a copy of the Marques de Ovando's *manifiesto* justifying the imprisonment of the Sultan of Sulu.

Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (Ministry of Foreign Affairs), Madrid.

In the archives of the Foreign Ministry are to be found *legajos 2955-2961* which contain valuable materials on nineteenth century relations between the Spaniards and the Muslims in the Philippines.

Legajos 2956-2957 contain letters referring to Datu Dakula of Sibugay and the 1843 Spanish treaty with him. *Legajo 2957* has useful information on French designs on Basilan and the May 15, 1845 treaty between the Spaniards and Maguindanaos. *Legajo 2959* contains the valuable information taken by Gregorio Tenorio from Vicente Narciso, a secretary of Sultan Jamal ul-ʿAzam of Sulu, dated December 20, 1863, regarding a genealogical account of Sulu sultans. This same *legajo* contains a few references to the Spanish attack on Brunei in 1578. Most of the documents seen in the above-mentioned *legajos* have their corresponding copies or duplicates in the Bureau of Records Management, Manila.

The United Kingdom

Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London.

Foreign Office Records.

F. O. 1-19 have many documents relative to Sulu and Borneo. *F. O. No. 1* contains letters by Brooke and Spenser St. John regarding affairs in Sulu. *F. O. No. 2* contains letters of Sultan Jamal ul-'Azam to the British Queen and British designs on Sulu. *F. O. No. 3* contains a memorandum showing British fears on the increasing influence of the Dutch in Borneo. *F. O. No. 5-10* contains correspondence on the capture of German vessels in the Sulu Seas by the Spaniards, negotiations between Spain, Germany, and Great Britain regarding making Jolo a free port, etc. Confidential prints are found in most of the numbers.

F. O. 572, No. 1-39 contains papers on Borneo and Sulu from 1884 to 1905, with confidential prints on all folders. The papers include memoranda by Brooke on piracy, correspondence on Sulu affairs subsequent to the Spanish campaign against the sultan in 1876, correspondence on the various protocols between Spain, Germany and Great Britain with a great deal of diplomatic details, letters on the nature of the Sultan's possessions in North Borneo, correspondence regarding the lease of Sabah to Dent and Overbeck, information on Badar ud-Din II, Harun ar-Rashid, and Jamalul Kiram, memoranda on British attempts to establish a protectorate over Sulu, reports on conflicts between the Sulus and Spaniards, etc. and etc. Some of the folders (e.g., 27-31, 34-35) deal entirely with Brunei.

Admiralty Station Records

The various documents on Borneo and Sulu are found scattered in the general listing of *Admiralty 125.* Some of the most important are the following: *No. 80* has statements by Sultan Harun ar-Rashid on the cause of the 1876 war between the Spaniards and Sulus, a report of Treacher on his interview with the Sulu Sultan in 1877, and papers on

the Protocol. *No. 133* has a copy of the 1836 treaty between the Spaniards and Sulu, a 1838 British naval report on Iranun pirates, report on the Spanish expeditions to Balangingui. *No. 142* contains many official correspondence on British fears that Spain might impose her sovereignty over Sulu. *No. 144* has a report on the possibility of a Pax Britannica to suppress piracy in the Malay regions. *No. 146* contains many papers on the capture of the *Dolphin* by Iranuns in 1851. *No. 147* has an interesting paper on the government of Perak.

Commonwealth Relations Office, London.

Bengal Secret Correspondence, India Office Library.

To be found here are R. T. Farquhar's dispatches from Balambangan to Calcutta, dated July 18, 1805, and numbered 23-26. No. 23 consists of a letter by Farquhar, dated February 16, 1804, to Marquis Wellesley where he reveals conflicts between the people of Brunei and Sulu regarding Sabah as well as dynastic troubles in Sulu. No. 25 consists of the "Notes relative to the Political State of Sooloo," dated July 18, 1805, where the conflict between the pretender Datu Bantilan (a son of ᶜAzim ud-Din II) and Sultan ᶜAli ud-Din is described and analyzed. No. 26 contains Farquhar's proposed new treaty between the English East India Company and Sulu. (There is no evidence that this treaty ever went into effect).

The United States

Library of Congress (Manuscript Division), Washington, D.C.

Papers of Hugh Scott (containers 55-57). These include various correspondence between American officers and the Sulu sultan and datus during the first few years of the American occupation. Container 55 has a letter from Leonard Wood to Colonel Scott where he expressed his "uncontrollable antipathy" towards Dr. Najeeb Saleeby, a copy of a *tarsila* orally recited by Datu Pangiran on March 26, 1904, and various official letters showing American dislike for the coming of or visits by Arabs to Muslim areas. Container 56 contains a letter from Frank DeWitt, dated June 2, 1907, attempting to describe the various offices in the Sultan's government. Container 57 contains a copy of the letter of the Sulu Sultan to General Wright in 1904 expressing his objections to the unilateral American abrogation of the Bates Treaty, a letter expressing the claimed prerogatives of the Sultan and his claim of sovereignty over 113 islands or land points, a copy of a *kitab* by Haji Buto, a proposed law for Sulu Muslims dated 1903, and a Sulu inheritance law based on orthodox Islamic Law.

"Carpenter's Papers." Apart from letters dealing with Moro affairs, there is a letter by Frank Laubach to Governor Carpenter dated September 23, 1921, revealing how, to Laubach's mind, the Foreign Missions Boards in the United States had been spending millions of dollars "to find some vulnerable point in Mohammedanism. . ." and have not yet found it. An alternative plan for a new assault is to consist in pointing out the resemblances between Christianity and Islam and then transform the converted Moros into missionaries to spread Christianity and Western Civilization to Borneo, Java, Sumatra, "and, perhaps, India." Carpenter is offered the directorship of such a venture and will then "have the privilege of beginning the end of the Moslem regime." What is interesting about this lengthy letter is that it shows a Protestant technique different from, but complementary to, that of the Spanish Jesuits.

"Papers of General Wood." Contains General Wood's recommendations for the abrogation of the Bates Treaty, letters by Haji Buto, Wood's admiration for the fighting abilities of the Muslims in the Philippines, reports on the military operations against Datu 'Ali in Cotabato in 1905, papers on the fight at Bud Dajo on March 6-8, 1906, and a report of the Taglibi Affair where ninety Sulu Muslims were killed by the Constabulary on account of a "misunderstanding."

The National Archives, Washington, contains a wealth of materials on the Muslims in the Philippines but these are restricted mostly to the American occupation. However, some of them make references to personalities and institutions during the last years of the past century. Among the most important seen are the following:

5075—2
5075—7
5075—31-33
5075—47
5075—53
5075—66-68
5075—72
5075—79
5075—83-130
5075—94B
5075—126A-127A
5075—141
5075—147
5075—153-154
5075—164
5075—168
5075—171
5075—180
5075—183
15216—1
21887
21887—21A
21887—20B
25029—21
25029—various numbers
980—40
980—48B
980—61A

Bureau of Records Management, Manila

At the time of the author's research a few years ago, there were about two hundred bundles entitled as "Mindanao and Sulu," containing documents, original treaties, military reports, etc. and etc., on the sultanates. A few other documents were scattered in metal cases. The great majority of them belong to the nineteenth century. Most, if not all, of the thousands of documents studied were still unclassified.

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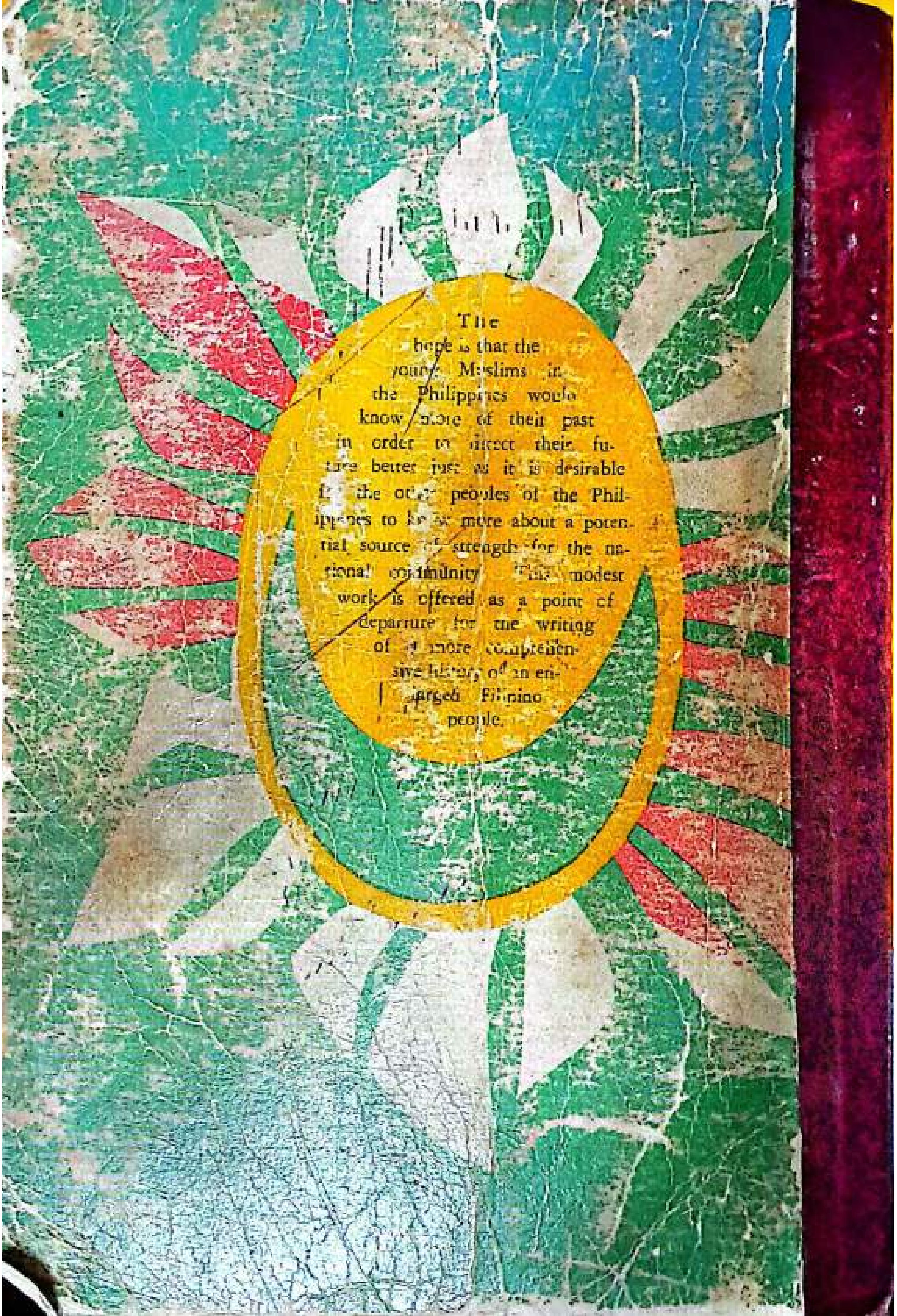

The hope is that the young Muslims in the Philippines would know more of their past in order to direct their future better just as it is desirable for the other peoples of the Philippines to know more about a potential source of strength for the national community. This modest work is offered as a point of departure for the writing of a more comprehensive history of an enlarged Filipino people.

VII

Trade Winds, Imperialists, and Datus

In spite of continuous wars with the Spaniards, there was no apparent sign that the Sulu sultanate under Muᶜizz ud-Din was disintegrating. On the contrary, not only did her political institutions withstand the test of armed external threats, but her commercial activities became even more extensive. Sulu's political cohesion during this time can be partially attributed to the fact that Muᶜizz ud-Din's rule was collegial with the chief datus participating intimately in the formation of all the most important decisions involving the realm. Furthermore, most, if not all, of the datus had a stake in the commercial prosperity of the country and in the strength and independence of the state which made such prosperity possible. The Ruma Bichara, the highest state council which was composed of the most powerful royal datus, had its share in the taxes imposed on all vessels trading in Jolo. Actually, the Sultan and the datus were traders themselves, and some were wont to make substantial investments in particular Chinese junks. This explains to a great extent the rage of the Sultan and the datus in 1751 when two Chinese junks coming to trade from Amoy were captured just off Jolo by a Spanish expeditionary naval force.

Trade had always been a life-line to Sulu which had to import most of its rice from Mindanao and nearby islands. Practically all of its luxury items as well as its firearms and ammunition came from the outside. The Dutch monopoly and restrictive commercial policy in the Indonesian islands which they dominated along with their presence in Makassar, must have served as obstacles to the traditional trade between Sulu and her immediate neighbors. However, the Dutch never did succeed in completely stopping what they proclaimed as "smuggling" or "illegal trading" between the enterprising Bugis and the Sulus. Probably, most of the spices in Jolo were actually brought by the former. Certainly, during the time of Muᶜizz ud-Din and his immediate successors, Bugis traders were often seen in Jolo purchasing captives made by Sulus and Iranuns.

By the end of the eighteenth century, Chinese junks made fewer visits to the ports of Maguindanao even as they frequented those in

Jolo. Thus, Maguindanao and even Zamboanga depended on Sulu traders for Chinese products in exchange for rice and other essentials. Although the British with primarily commercial interests appeared during the reign of Mu'izz ud-Din when the Dutch would also come to renew trade relations, Sulu's major commercial interest lay on the China trade. Actually, the Sulus did not care to trade with Europeans except when it meant the importation of arms and ammunition. In general, commercial relations with the British and the Dutch were carried on with political motives such as to serve as a counterfoil to Spanish ambitions in Sulu.

Chinese traders had been going to Sulu since time immemorial so that in 1628 they were numerous enough to have an *alcayceria* in Jolo which was desrtoyed more than once by the Spaniards. The Sulu report to Dalrymple that the first time the Chinese came to trade in Sulu was during Shahab ud-Din's time[1] needs to be qualified. What the report presumably meant was that a noticeable regularity in the coming of Chinese traders started during Shahab ud-Din's time. For it was during this particular rule which took place in the last decades of the seventeenth century, that the North Borneo territories increasingly fell under Sulu's effective rule. Most of the goods, except for pearls and cowries, which the Chinese sought from the Sulus, originated from Sulu's Borneo territories especially from the Tirun area. These Bornean products were generally sent to Jolo where they were purchased or exchanged for other products by foreign traders. In short, an acceleration of trade with the Chinese came about after Sulu gained the North Borneo territories.

It was Badar ud-Din, a younger brother of Shahab ud-Din, who in 1725 tried to reestablish diplomatic contacts with the Celestial Throne after a lapse of about 300 years (since 1424). This Sultan sent three embassies to China (in 1725, 1726, and 1727) which brought with them articles for trade and presented these to the Chinese Emperor who received them as "tribute." The 1727 embassy presented to the Chinese Emperor "pearls, tortoise shells, flower-designed cloth, gold-filled teeth, white coco, Sulu linen, edible bird's nests, flowered knives with dragon-designed handles, flower-engraved spears, flower-engraved barbarian knives, mats of vines, and twelve species of monkeys." The Sulu envoy and his entourage were treated to an imperial banquet and presented with gifts. By imperial decree the envoy was escorted (presumably on a Chinese junk) back to Sulu. Another decree regulated that Sulu was to pay "tribute" once every five years and that the Sulu envoy's route to Peking was to be through Fukien Province.

The imperial order restricting the "tribute" to once every five years is significant to the Sulus in the light of the fact that the return gifts of the Chinese Emperor usually exceeded the value of the "tribute." As far as the Sulus were concerned, the whole affair was nothing more than a profitable commercial venture.

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[1] Dalrymple, "Essay towards an account of Sulu," *op. cit.*, p. 566.

Through the 1733 embassy, the Sulu Sultan made it known that his ancestor was the Sulu ruler who had sent tribute to China in 1417 and died there in Shantung that year. Upon subsequent investigation of the claim, Chinese authorities repaired the tomb of the deceased and tried to locate some of his relatives who were still living in China. These descendants were grouped into two families and a representative of each was ordered to take charge of the sacrificial rites after being bestowed with gifts from the Emperor. That an eighteenth-century Sulu sultan should have information about events in his country during the fifteenth century is an eloquent testimony to the historical sense of Sulu's rulers.

Sultan ʿAzim ud-Din also sent at least two embassies to Peking: in 1743 and 1746. The second embassy like a previous one was reminded by the Chinese Court that embassies were to be sent only once every five years.

In 1754, Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din sent an embassy to China. Although primarily a trade mission and designated "tributary" as usual, it carried among the articles of "tribute" a package containing some Sulu soil. The Sulu envoy in connection with this unusual item explained that what was requested was "that the name lists of his country's population be registered as a part of China's territory." The Emperor's response was that "since the country of Sulu admired Chinese civilization and had determined to submit cordially her territory and people to China, she should naturally be under Chinese legal jurisdiction and protection. Therefore, it was unnecessary to submit any records of populations or maps whatsoever." Clearly, the Chinese Emperor had no intention of getting involved in some of the political problems between Spain and Sulu about which the Chinese were well informed. According to the *Ch'ing Annals*:

> The Sulu people belong to the Malay race. They were good fighters: brave and cruel. When Spain conquered Luzon, she tried her best to make Sulu one of her protectorates; but Sulu refused. Though the Spaniards despatched troops to conquer her, they were defeated.

The offering of a package of Sulu's soil to the Chinese Emperor was probably a shrewd move on the part of Muʿizz ud-Din to win China as an ally and thus intimidate the Spaniards. It will be recalled that this same Sultan once tried contacting the Ottoman Sultan to strengthen his realm's struggle against the Spaniards. But the trade aspect is not to be ignored. According to Dalrymple who was a personal friend of Muʿizz ud-Din:

> The Sultan Bantilan more than once sent an ambassador to Peking; which was properly speaking, a commercial speculation: for the emperor of China considers the presents brought by ambassadors as a tribute from a vassal; and the presents sent in return, being made with liberality, Bantilan found it a profitable commerce: His ambassadors always went on board the China junks to Amoy.[2]

In 1763, Mu'izz ud-Din was able to send one more embassy to China. This is the last recorded Sulu "tribute" mission to the Celestial Empire.[3]

During Mu'izz ud-Din's reign an average of two Chinese junks came from Amoy every year. The Sultan must have had commercial interests in some junks as was evidenced in 1761 when he appeared to have favored one particular junk over the other. The Datu Bendahara remonstrated to no avail with the Sultan who, it appears, planned to detain the other vessel. The Datu pointed out how the Sultan's action violated the principle for the safeguarding of and the rendering of justice to foreigners and how such actions inevitably caused harm to the Sulu community. When the Datu Bendahara, the Orangkaya Malik, and Panglima Milaham in turn tried to obstruct the departure of the junk in which the Sultan had a particular interest, both junks were consequently accorded equal treatment by the Sultan.[4]

Although in their wars or raids, the Sulus and Iranuns did not spare those Chinese settled among the native inhabitants in Spanish-held territories, they never captured or enslaved Chinese traders going to or coming from Sulu. When the Ruma Bichara deliberated on trade policies, the Chinese community in Jolo was represented.[5] But there were other quarters also interested in the China trade. This fact as well as the geographical situation of Sulu and her dependencies were to have some influence in her destiny and in the lives of Sulu's rulers.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the British East India Company started to think of establishing a trading post or settlement in Malaysia that could serve as a link between India and their factories at Canton. There was the continuous fear that the communications between India and Canton could easily be cut off by the Dutch, commercial rivals of the British in the area. Likewise desired was the establishment of a new, regular, and faster route from the Bay of Bengal to China. In 1757, Commodore Wilson of the *Pitt* sailed eastwards from Batavia with the Northwest wind, through the Moluccas along the coast of New Guinea unto the Pacific Ocean. Using the Northwest wind, round the Philippines, he was able to pass between Luzon and Formosa and reach Canton.[6] This voyage elicited hopes for the realization of a faster route from India to China; but what was important was to have a settlement somewhere along the China Sea. Alexander Dalrymple, a deputy-secretary of the Madras Council of the East India Company who was in search of a place suitable for such a settlement, was authorized by Governor George Pigot of Fort St. George to explore the possibilities. It was then that Dalrymple recommended that such a settlement be established in the area of Sulu or its dependencies in Borneo. Sulu appeared to have been the best choice since it was, strictly speaking, the only independent state in that sector of the world. Pigot's instructions to Dalrymple were to establish commercial relations with Sulu and to get into a treaty with the Sulus that would enable the Company to have a settlement in the Sultan's dominions that would make the China Trade more secure.[7] In January 1761, Dalrymple arrived in Jolo where he was well received by Muᶜizz ud-Din and the datus. Undoubtedly, the Sultan welcomed the British as possible allies against the Spaniards and the Dutch who were slowly but surely extending their influence over the Indonesian islands. On January 28, 1761, a provisional treaty entitled "Articles of Friendship and Commerce" was entered into between Dalrymple and the Sultan. The first Article granted to the Company a piece of land in the Sultan's domain for the site of a factory. Disputes between the English were to be judged by their own laws, but conflicts between the English and the Sulus were to be resolved both by the Sultan and the English Resident. No other European traders were to be allowed in the Sultan's dominions. The Treaty was also one of alliance since it provided that "The English shall be assistant to the Sooloos if attacked and the Sultan engages to protect the English from all enemies."[8] In September 1761, the Ruma Bichara ratified the Treaty. On the 12th of the same month, Dalrymple entered into a separate commercial agreement with the Datu Bendahara by which the English were to bring a cargo of Indian merchandise worth 44,000 Mexican dollars to be purchased by the Datus at double the price in terms of products demanded by the Chinese market at Canton.

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[2] Dalrymple, *ibid.*, p. 560.

[3] For details from Chinese sources dealing with Sulu's various embassies to China, see Appendix I.

[4] Dalrymple. "Essay towards an account of Sulu," *op. cit.*, p. 560.

[5] For a comprehensive account of Chinese-Sulu relations and details about articles of trade see the author's "Chinese Relationship with the Sultanate of Sulu," *op. cit.*, pp. 143-159.

Pyaujian

The signing of the treaty was well-timed and fortunate for the British, for soon the Dutch, worried about British designs in the area, came with a similar proposal from the Governor General of Batavia.

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[6] Cf. Johannes Willi of Gais, *The Early Relations of England with Borneo to 1805* (Langensalza: 1922), pp. 34-36.

[7] For the text of Pigot's instructions see Willi of Gais, *op. cit.*, Appendix I, pp. 135-136.

[8] An English text of this Treaty is found in Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 102, folios 46-48, East India Company Records, *India Office Library*, London.

Actually, the Dutch were alarmed by the presence of the English in Sulu. Banking on past friendship, they hoped the Sulus would deny the English any commercial foothold in Sulu. In formal response to the Dutch offer, the Sulus reiterated their desire to always keep their friendship with the Dutch, and they would have signed a treaty with them except that they had already entered into a treaty with the English.[9]

During his stay in Jolo, Dalrymple did some trading with the Sulus. On his way to Canton he passed through Manila where he made some prudent inquiries about the imprisoned ʿAzim ud-Din in accordance with the request of Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din. It appears that Dalrymple tried to make representations for the release of ʿAzim ud-Din.[10] By this time, however, the Spaniards had apparently made their own plans about ultimately freeing the aging Sultan.

In January 1762, Dalrymple was back in Madras where after some hesitation the Governor and the Council approved the treaty with Muʿizz ud-Din. What dictated some caution on the matter was the fact that the treaty bound the English to protect the Sulus from their enemies—a provision fraught with international implications. However, the trade agreement with the chief datus was welcomed with enthusiasm. Dalrymple was instructed to return to Sulu to inform the Sultan of the ratification of the Treaty and to secure a spot in the Sulu dominions for the use of the Company.[11]

Dalrymple returned to Jolo in August on board the *London Packet* but was disappointed to learn that a smallpox epidemic had raged during his absence, carrying off at least two of the chief datus, including the Datu Bendahara who had signed the commercial agreement with him. He also learned that all the expected goods from the Sulu dominions in Borneo such as birds' nests, agar-agar, and trepang, had not yet been gathered, and these were supposed to be brought to China by Dalrymple. Moreover, the *Royal Captain,* the other ship loaded with English and Indian merchandise, lost her passage to Sulu on account of bad weather and consequently sailed directly to Canton. Thus neither were the Sulu traders nor Dalrymple able to come up with their respective part of the bargain. But on September 12, 1762, Dalrymple succeeded in getting from Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din a cession of the island of Balambangan. Dalrymple chose this island for the site of a settlement and factory for the Company, for it had two good harbors which Chinese junks often visited, and communications with Polynesia appeared to be good all throughout the year. He believed, too, that the geographic position of the island would direct the China trade around its area and draw, to a great extent, the produce of the adjoining countries to it. In particular, it could serve as a port where the Bugis of Makassar could bring in spices. Furthermore, he guessed that it was a healthier island than Jolo island and it could easily be defended against attack.[12] On his way back to Madras, Dalrymple passed by Balambangan where he hoisted the British flag on January 23, 1763.

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[9] Cf. De la Costa, "Muhammad Alimuddin I 1735-1773," *op. cit.*, p. 110.

[10] Quiazon, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

[11] Cf. De la Costa, "Muhammad Alimuddin I, 1735-1773," *op. cit.*, p. 111.

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While Dalrymple was in Sulu negotiating for the cession of Balambangan, a British fleet, probably unknown to him, was approaching Manila Bay to conquer the city of Manila. Spain had become a belligerent in the Seven Years War when she signed an alliance with France against the English who had by then extended their control over many parts of Asia, among them India from where the invading force was dispatched. It is important to note that the expeditionary fleet and army sent to the Philippines was jointly sponsored by the British government and the East India Company. On October 6, 1762, after a brief struggle, the city of Manila fell to the British invading forces.

It will be recalled that the Governor General at this time was Manuel Antonio Rojo, the Manila Archbishop who planned to send ʿAzim ud-Din and Muhammad Isra'il back to Sulu by the end of 1762 in exchange for, among other things, the concession to Spaniards to build a fort in Jolo and to occupy the strongest *cotta* there. But for the moment those plans were laid aside in the face of the city's imminent capture. Rojo, who had treated the old Sultan and son with relative kindness and consideration, accepted ʿAzim ud-Din's offer to help in the defense of Manila against the British. It is believed that consequently the Sultan was wounded in a sortie against the British invaders, leading Spanish officials, not long before the fall of the city, to allow him to retire to Tayabas to recuperate. While in Tayabas, ʿAzim ud-Din communicated with Simon de Anda y Salazar, the member of the Royal Audiencia who refused to surrender to the British and who was able to organize the provinces loyal to Spain in a resistance movement against the British. Reiterating his loyalty to Spain, ʿAzim ud-Din then asked for permission to return to Jolo where he could be of greater service to the Spanish cause. Anda refused, directing him instead to come to Anda's headquarters in Pampanga. Passing through Pasig on his way to Pampanga, ʿAzim ud-Din met a slight accident forcing him to stay indefinitely in Pasig. Appraised of the events after the fall of Manila, ʿAzim ud-Din moved to contact the British authorities in Manila to whom he directed his complaints. He told them of how the Spaniards had kept him a prisoner and how he had to change his religion on account of fear. Asking for the protection and friendship of the British, he promised to repay them with what-

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[12] Cf. Willi of Gais, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

ever services lay in his power to offer. As a sign of his sincerity, he offered to give up himself and his family to the British should they attack Pasig.

On November 26, 1762, the British entered Pasig. Not long after, ʿAzim ud-Din returned to Manila with a British escort. Dawsonne Drake, the British Deputy Governor of Manila, treated the old Sultan well. Not only did he secure for him quarters in Intramuros but he also provided him with a carriage as well as a monthly allowance of 100 pesos. ʿAzim ud-Din kept negotiating with the British for his return to Sulu and showed willingness to enter into a treaty with them. He also took pains to inform British authorities that his brother and the chief datus had invited him to return to Jolo and reassume the Sultanate. He asked for conveyance to his island and was reported to have promised concessions of land to the British. In the meantime, he saw to it that a secret dispatch reached Anda informing the latter of his capture by the British, and that although they had promised to return him to Sulu they were keeping him long enough to exact certain concessions from him adding however that since he had not yet really recovered his throne, any concessions extended by him would eventually be considered null and void. In any case, on February 23, 1763, ʿAzim ud-Din, Muhammad Isra'il, and the British Governor entered into a treaty. In this treaty, ʿAzim ud-Din fully confirmed the January 28, 1761 Treaty of Commerce between the East India Company and Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din. The island or part of the island where the Company planned to erect a factory was to be ceded to the Company. The British promised to respect the prerogatives of the rulers and the customs and religion of the Sulus. The British also committed themselves to aid the Sultan should he be attacked "as the situation of their affairs will admit," while the Sulus were to help the British with a number of men. Furthermore, "the enemies of the one, shall be considered as enemies to the other."[18]

On March 19, 1763, not long after hearing about the just-concluded treaty, Archbishop Rojo lodged a protest to the British to the effect that the treaty violated the terms of capitulations signed after the surrender of Manila. The Archbishop also argued that the treaty would strengthen the Moros and enable them to move more effectively against the Spanish subjects in the Archipelago. But the protests of the Archbishop were not heeded. In the following month of April, Muhammad Isra'il was conducted to Jolo, arriving there possibly around June. He learned that Sulu was under the rule of the three sons of Sultan Muʿizz ud-Din who had recently died. Muhammad Isra'il was well received by his cousins, and they readily admitted him to the Ruma Bichara with the assurance that they would welcome the return of their uncle ᶜAzim ud-Din. However, for some reason or other, ᶜAzim ud-Din's stay in Manila was being prolonged indefinitely. It was then that the eldest son of the late Sultan Muᶜizz ud-Din was proclaimed sultan, and he assumed the regnal title of ᶜAzim ud-Din II. Thus, when Dalrymple appeared in Jolo in September 1763, he had to deal with this son of Muᶜizz ud-Din. He arrived early enough to talk with the new sultan and dissuade him from signing a commercial agreement with Han Koplo, the Chinese envoy of the Batavia Governor General. The Dutch who learned of the February 23 Treaty signed in Manila were not happy about it. However, some observers say that the Dutch were nonetheless eager to encourage British designs in Palawan in the hope of creating more occasions for friction between the British and the Spaniards in the Philippines.[14] On account of Dalrymple's diplomatic maneuvers, ᶜAzim ud-Din II not only refused the Dutch offers but confirmed on September 19, 1763, the cession of Balambangan previously made by his father. Furthermore, a "donation" of southern Palawan and the North Borneo territories was made to the Company. Noteworthy about this "donation" was that three sons of the old ᶜAzim ud-Din (Muhammad Isra'il, Sharaf ud-Din, and Datu Jaᶜfar) were signatories to it.[15] Two days before the "donation," ᶜAzim ud-Din II wrote a letter to the British King requesting for aid in the form of "powder and bullets" and reminding him in a nice manner that his father, the late Sultan, had turned over the island of Balambangan to Dalrymple for the Company, and which he, ᶜAzim ud-Din II, would confirm as a sign of friendship and alliance.[16]

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[18] For a copy of the February 23, 1763 Treaty see *Manilha Consultations, 1762-1763*, Vol. 3, p. 40. Also found in De la Costa, "Muhammad Alimuddin I, 1735-1773," *op. cit.*, Appendix B, pp. 128-129; and Willi of Gais, *op. cit.*, Appendix III, pp. 138-139.

With the new confirmatory treaty, Dalrymple left for Manila arriving there on October 6. It was there that he was able to meet the old ᶜAzim ud-Din with whom he had a couple of sessions. In one of these, Dalrymple learned that prior to the decision of the Spanish authorities to return the old Sultan to Sulu by the end of November 1762, the latter had already promised great concessions to the Spaniards. Dalrymple, of course, realized that in the peace terms that would eventually be concluded between England and Spain the Philippines might revert to its former status as part of the Spanish dominions, and that Spain would likely insist on the priority of ᶜAzim ud-Din's concessions to the Spaniards in 1762 over that of his treaty with Drake in 1763. Dalrymple also speculated that the treaty between the old Sultan and the British might be nullified on the general principle that any treaty entered into by the Sultan with any power while he was outside his realm was not valid. However, such a principle would also apply to any treaty entered into by the old Sultan with the Spaniards. It appeared that he convinced the old ᶜAzim ud-Din to accept this general principle. Thus, Dalrymple then sent a messenger to Jolo with the request that ᶜAzim ud-Din II and the Ruma Bichara pass a resolution to the effect that any treaty or commitment entered into by the old ᶜAzim ud-Din with any party after his departure from the realm in 1748 was null and void. From all indications, Dalrymple succeeded in having this resolution passed by the Ruma Bichara. After that what remained still to be done was the restoration of ᶜAzim ud-Din to the throne. With the old Sultan back in power, he was then to be persuaded to confirm or ratify all the treaties with the British concluded by Sultan Muᶜizz ud-Din and his son ᶜAzim ud-Din II. The Spanish authorities in Manila were aware of all of these. That was why they tried to communicate with the old Sultan and even asked the British authorities in March 1764, that he as a Spanish vassal should be turned over to them. But the British merely replied that the old Sultan had taken quarters aboard the *London* and had placed himself under the protection of "His British Majesty's Flag." In April, while the British vessel stood ready to sail for Jolo with its distinguished guest, Spanish officials tried once more to speak to the old Sultan. The Spaniards met with no success, since the British were determined to see to it that the Sultan had no further dealings with them.

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[14] Cf. Willi of Gais, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

[15] For a copy of the September 19, 1763 "donation" see Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 102, No. 3, folios 49-50, India Office Library, London. Also found in De la Costa, "Muhammad Alimuddin I, 1735-1773," *op. cit.*, Appendix C, p. 130; and Willi of Gais, *op. cit.*, Appendix IV, pp. 139-140.

[16] A copy of this September 17, 1763 letter of ᶜAzim ud-Din II to the King of Great Britain is in the *Bureau of Records Management*, Manila.

On May 17, with his British escort, ᶜAzim ud-Din arrived in Jolo after being away from his realm for sixteen years. He appeared to have been well received. His nephew, ᶜAzim ud-Din II, without further ado retired to a *cotta* in Parang with his closest followers. On June 8, 1764, the old Sultan was formally reinstated to his throne by the Ruma Bichara.[17] Accompanying the old Sultan upon his return was Dalrymple who was determined not only to make additional treaties with the Sulu Sultan but also to collect some of the debts owed the Company by the Sulu datus.

On June 29, barely three weeks after his reinstatement to the throne, ᶜAzim ud-Din agreed to "cede" (probably in the sense of granting a commercial monopoly) to the East India Company for some financial consideration the Sulu North Borneo territory from Kimanis on the North of the island of Borneo to Towson Abai in the North East side together with all the islands north of it. It was, however, understood that Datu Sharaf ud-Din, one of the sons of the Sultan, was to be the Governor of these ceded territories.[18] With the concurrence of the three most prominent members of the Ruma Bichara, the Sultan wrote on July 2, a formal document to the effect that he had "sold" the above mentioned territories as well as Palawan to the Company. He also ratified once more the cession of Balambangan to the Company.[19] On July 30, the Company granted Sharaf ud-Din a commission, vesting in him the "power and authority to take upon him the Government of these Countries in behalf of the East India Company . . . "[20] On September 28, another Treaty of Commerce and Friendship was entered into between the Sultan and Dalrymple. Close to, but slightly more elaborate than the January 28, 1761 Treaty between Muʿizz ud-Din and Dalrymple, it explicitly provided that the English and the Sulus were to assist each other in case of attack.[21]

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[17] The above narrative starting from the time Dalrymple arrived in Sulu in 1761 to his return to Sulu with the old ᶜAzim ud-Din in 1764 have been partially based on the following: De la Costa, "Muhammad Alimuddin I. 1735-1773," *op. cit.*, pp. 109-125; Willi of Gais, *op. cit.*, 36-56; and "Anda to Carlos III," Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol XLIX, pp. 306-307.

Pleased and possessed of all of these documents, Dalrymple sailed away from Sulu for China around the end of September (or early October), leaving behind him about 400 Sepoy soldiers. Possibly they were originally intended for the settlement at Balambangan. Almost from the time they were left behind, the Sepoys suffered from want and occasional harassment by the Sulus who obviously did not favor the presence of foreign troops in their midst. By 1765, the half-starved Sepoys had been withdrawn and returned to Madras.[22] That same year the Company made another effort to collect the still unpaid debts of the Sulu datu merchants in the amount of nearly 55,000 Mexican dollars. No evidence exists to show that the Company was ever successful in this venture.[23]

To arm itself further with legal documents, lest the Spanish Government start questioning its presence in the Sulu territories in North

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[18] Dalrymple, *A Full and Clear Proof that the Spaniards can have no Claim to Balambangan*, p. 33; and Willi of Gais, *op. cit.*, p. 56 and p. 140.

[19] Home Miscellaneous Series, Vol. 102, folios 50-51. *India Office Library*, London. Also found in De la Costa, "Muhammad Alimuddin I, 1735-1773," *op. cit.*, Appendix D, p. 131.

[20] Dalrymple, *A Full and Clear Proof that the Spaniards can have no Claim to Balambangan*, p. 33.

[21] A copy of this September 28, 1764 Treaty can be found in Anne Lindsey Reber, *The Sulu World in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: A Historiographical Problem in British Writings on Malay Piracy* (Master of Arts Thesis, Cornell University, September: 1966), pp. 276-278.

[22] Willi of Gais, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

[23] Cf. Quiazon, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

Borneo and possibly because it might have been having second thoughts about the sincerity of the commitments of the Sulu Sultan, the East India Company addressed another request to ʿAzim ud-Din in 1769. The latter was asked to execute another document stating that he had sold the island of Palawan and the North Borneo territories of the Sulu sultanate to the Company. As finally made, the document added that the Sultan also allowed the Company to search for pearls in his dominions and even promised either to go in person or send a proper official to all the lands ceded "to bring their respective people under due subjection to the aforesaid Company."[24] However, not soon after, Muhammad Isra'il was for all practical purposes acting as the Sultan of Sulu. Muhammad Isra'il seemed to have resented the presence of the British in Balambangan but showed a correct if cool attitude to the *Britannia* in 1773 when it passed by Jolo on its way to further strengthen the settlement at Balambangan. In September of the same year, ʿAzim ud-Din formally abdicated his powers to his son who appeared to have been formally crowned early in 1774 as evidenced by his seal.

Having grown up in Manila and acquired Spanish ways, Muhammad Isra'il was generally sympathetic to Spaniards. He kept friendly relations with Zamboanga and encouraged trade between Zamboanga and Sulu. This did not please the British, whose agents in Jolo always tried to incite the chronic fear for, and hatred of, the datus against the Spaniards. At times when Muhammad Isra'il tried to pursue a friendly policy towards the Spaniards, some of these datus, evidently upon the prompting of the British agents, would call him a traitor to the realm and the religion, attributing the Sultan's actions to his long stay in Manila and consequent lack of appreciation for the Sulu way of life. Thus, in Jolo there were two groups: that of the Sultan which was generally in favor of a friendly policy towards Spain, and that of datus who were close to the British agents, a situation that inevitably gave occasion to some unexpected turn of events.

There was the time when the British party nearly succeeded in placing themselves in power on account of a near-fight between the Spaniards and the Sulus. It seems that when the Spanish Government in Manila received news about the establishment of the British settlement in Balambangan and the assignment of some soldiers there, it decided to send a small fleet to the island. While patrolling the channel nearby, the Spaniards were to evince surprise on seeing that the island, which lay within Spain's sphere of influence, had been fortified by the British. The commander of the fleet was also to take note of the island's fortification and military strength and on the return of the fleet to

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[24] A copy of this Grant is found in Reber, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

Manila it was to pass by Jolo to remonstrate with the Sultan for allowing such a settlement to the unjustified detriment of Spanish interests. However, instead of proceeding to Balambangan, Juan Cencelly, the commander, went first to Jolo where he failed to give the Sultan the customary naval honors. To make matters worse, the Sultan was not previously informed about the Spanish plan. The Sulus, alarmed at the possibility that the Spaniards planned to invade Jolo again, started strengthening their *cottas* and building new ones in other islands. Even the Buranuns came down from the hills armed to the teeth while the British agents busied themselves spreading rumors about the supposed plans of the Spaniards to invade Sulu. What further upset the Sultan were the advances made by the Spanish commander towards some Sulu women. Only the timely intervention of the Zamboanga Governor and the carefully made explanations of a Spanish Ambassador halted the progressive deterioration of the situation. What could have been a war was prevented.[25] More than before, the Spaniards realized that their so-called friendly relations with the Sulus were tenuous and the fact that Muhammad Isra'il was Sultan was no assurance that the Sulus would follow an invariantly friendly policy. It was obvious that British intrigue and their recourse to the "bribery" of some datus were behind the growing hostility against Spaniards even as the noticeably pro-British feeling began to grow. The settlement and the fort at Balambangan had begun to be a thorn on the side of the Spaniards in the Philippines and yet for the moment the Spaniards could not have taken any offensive move, since they did not have the power to coerce the Sulus to follow their bidding.

Clearly, by the logic of events, Balambangan would not indefinitely remain a purely commercial venture. If Dalrymple had his way, Balambangan would also serve as a military outpost preparatory to the establishment of a sort of British protectorate over the Sulu domains in North Borneo with Sulu serving as a buffer state between this protectorate and Spanish Philippines. The neutralization of Sulu was to be guaranteed by Great Britain and Spain.[26] This was just a plan of an official of the Company, but there is no reason why it should not be concretized were it not for the fact that the Sulus sooner or later would find the British in their area just as intolerable as the Spaniards.

The Balambangan fort was originally well equipped with artillery and about 400 British and Sepoy soldiers. But the unexpectedly enervating climate coupled with the British confidence that the fort could stand with less, led to the reduction of the troops to about seventy-five infantrymen and twenty-eight artillerymen. Meanwhile, a couple of Sulu datus, notably Datu Teteng, a royal datu and cousin of Sultan Muhammad Isra'il, was supplying the British in Balambangan with enough laborers to clear forests and build the fortifications and warehouses. This arrangement apparently went well till discussions about payment as well as the disarming of Datu Teteng by the military authorities humiliated the proud datu and caused him to go after the British. In combination with other datus, and with the help of some resident Iranuns from Borneo and Sulu, Teteng landed his force in an uninhabited part of the island, crossed the forest at night, and on the early morning of March 5, 1775, surprised the fort. At the time a great many of the soldiers were still tired and sleepy after the previous night's celebration in honor of the Governor. Many were nursing a hangover. Except for the Governor and five men who were able to escape in a boat ready for just such an eventuality, the Balambangan garrison was practically wiped out. The Sulus were able to capture booty valued in the amount of about 926,886 Mexican dollars, consisting of silk and other textiles, precious stones, ivory, silver, artillery, and others. A brig and three smaller boats were also captured. These were used to transport the booty to Jolo.

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[25] For a comprehensive discussion of the events that led to this near war between the Spaniards and the Sulus, see Barrantes, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-91.

[26] For a more detailed discussion of this plan of Dalrymple, see De la Costa, "Muhammad Alimuddin I, 1735-1778," *op. cit.*, pp. 119-120.

When the news of Teteng's devastating victory reached Jolo, the British mercantile agents, except one, immediately took the first trip out to Jolo, fearful for their lives. The only one who remained behind was reported to have succumbed later on out of shock and fear, thus leaving all British merchandise in the warehouses in Jolo to the Sulus who spent no time in taking everything. The artillery captured by Teteng, amounting to forty-five pieces of different calibers, as well as powder and iron, were given to the Sultan as a matter of traditional right. On a voluntary basis the Sultan was also given 2,000 pesos and other effects as a personal gift from the datu. Part of the booty consisted of 228 muskets, 35 pistols, 22,000 rounds of ammunition, 45 swords, and other forms of arms. Many of these were distributed among the members of the Ruma Bichara and other datus. There was so much merchandise to go around that even the slaves of the Sulus got their share. Since practically the whole of the Sulu nobility as well as their followers became beneficiaries of the successful attack on Balambangan, they were all persuaded to rationalize or defend it. The Sultan officially declared that he had nothing to do with the attack and that he was neither a party to it nor that he was even consulted about it. But there is no doubt that the Sultan, including his aged father who had come to develop a distaste for the British and who had expressed regret for his so many concessions to them, must in his own manner have been pleased. For their part, the Spaniards were so jubilant as to consider Datu Teteng as a datu with definitely Spanish sympathies. In any case, one of the first things the Sultan did, in concurrence with his datus, was to write to Spanish officials requesting Spanish protection in the event of British attempts at revenge against the Sulus. The 1737 defensive and offensive alliance was invoked by the Sulus who had conveniently chosen to ignore the provision of this treaty which specified that such an alliance excluded conflicts involving other European Powers. Datu Teteng, who had the graciousness to send a gift originating from the booty to Raimundo Español, the Zamboanga Governor, explained to the Spanish official that the attack was prompted by the continuous insults of the British against his beloved Sultan. With this explanation, the Datu asked permission to sell some of his recently acquired merchandise in Zamboanga.[27]

But a British warship not long after was sent to Jolo demanding the return of everything taken away from the British at Balambangan and a full explanation for what the British believed to be an insulting and criminal attack upon them. Sultan Muhammad Isra'il and his Council for their part said in effect that the raid was unauthorized. In any case, when the report about a few British ships cruising in the vicinity north of Borneo reached Jolo, the Sulus became definitely apprehensive about a possible attack. Many of them retired to the hills of the interior. However, on this issue on Balambangan, no drastic action was ever taken by the British against the Sulus.

Meanwhile, from September to October 1775, Datu Teteng with other datus started to assemble another fleet, even going as far as Basilan to invite the Samals to join him. Spanish reports concerning this indicated that he was able to muster 240 warriors who were to be used in a projected attack on Zamboanga. According to the Spaniards, their vigilance prevented any attack on Zamboanga when the men of Teteng landed. The fact that soon after a few raids took place in Cebu and Masinloc (in Zambales) led the Spaniards to believe that their suspicions were justified.[28] Actually, there is no evidence that Teteng had plans to attack Zamboanga. To be sure, as reported by the Spaniards, Teteng's warriors were willing to disarm themselves (a rare occurrence among Sulus) if only to demonstrate that their presence in Zamboanga was for trade and peaceful purposes. On the other hand, Datu Teteng sold part of his booty in Zamboanga, as he said he planned to do, after which he left. The raids on Cebu and Masinloc could have been done by other peoples. Another conjecture was that Datu Teteng was preparing the fleet to attack Maluso in Basilan as evidenced by a letter of Sultan Muhammad Isra'il to the Zamboanga Governor. Dated February 6, 1776, it states that Datu Teteng at that time had gathered 700 warriors to attack Maluso, but this plan did not have the approval of the Sultan.[29] Nevertheless, the Sultan could have made a wrong assumption, for the facts show that Datu Teteng went to Maluso to recruit Samals for his fleet, and a Sulu tradition says that part of the men of Teteng went to settle in Davao. One of them was the father of the famous Datu Bago who fought Jose Oyanguren.

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[27] For details about the attack on Balambangan by Datu Teteng, cf. Barrantes, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-101; Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol I, pp. 347-349; and Willi of Gais, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-111.

[28] For details of Spanish suspicions that Teteng planned to surprise Zamboanga, see Barrantes, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-105.

It is possible though that the attacks reported by the Dutch in the Celebes during this year were made by Teteng's fleet. The raid caused the Dutch Company losses, as the raiders took a few boats and captured some of the inhabitants. The irony of this was that the Dutch had always been among the first to buy captives from the Muslims.

Early in 1778, Sultan Muhammad Isra'il died. He was believed to have been poisoned by his cousin ʿAzim ud-Din II who had once been sultan and who expected to be the sultan after the abdication of ʿAzim ud-Din I.[30] Anyway, after the death of Isra'il, ʿAzim ud-Din II became sultan once more. Rumored to be more sympathetic to the British than to the Spaniards, actual facts demonstrate that he worked for increased commercial relations with the Spaniards, and more than once he evinced his desire for permanent friendly relations with them. However, raids made by private bands of Samals and Iranun rovers were invariably blamed on him. The Spaniards consequently feared that such raids might increase in intensity even as they anticipated the possibility that the British might again attack the Philippines with the aid of the Sulus, now armed with British weapons and trained by them in modern warfare. In view of all these, the Spaniards started to increase their fortifications in Mindanao and the Visayas. A new fleet was prepared for any eventuality. However, Jose Basco, the new Governor General, tried to preserve the diplomatic lines with Sulu, encouraging commerce with them in the hope that such an activity might reduce the predatory ventures of some Sulus. One of his first acts was to congratulate ʿAzim ud-Din II not long after the latter's enthronement.

In 1791, Sharaf ud-Din succeeded his cousin ʿAzim ud-Din II to the throne. Sharaf ud-Din stayed in Manila for many years, in the company of his father ʿAzim ud-Din I. He brought with him to his post his qualities as a good merchant and as a skilled navigator. The British appeared to have liked him, and Dalrymple once wrote that he was a man of integrity. The Spaniards mistrusted him though and, as usual, blamed him for the piratical ventures of some Samals and Iranuns. Actually, however, this sultan cooperated with the Spaniards. There was no British move in Sulu or North Borneo that he did not report to the Spaniards. Trade between Sulu and Zamboanga noticeably increased during his reign.

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[29] This letter is found in the *Bureau of Records Management*, Manila.

[30] Cf. a letter by a Spanish Army man to the Spanish Governor General dated July 15, 1778. *Bureau of Records Management*. Manila.

In 1803, a few pitched battles took place between the Bruneis and the Sulus. The Sulus claimed that one of their ambassadors to Brunei was killed, while the Bruneis announced their determination to take by force their hereditary possessions which were at that time under the Sulus.[31] Clearly, the hold of the Sulus on their North Borneo territories was secure in spite of rising Brunei ambitions to recover them.

In the same year, Arthur Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, the Governor General in Bengal, decided to reoccupy Balambangan. The main purpose was to have a point from which the English could watch the doings of the Spaniards in the Philippines and the Dutch in the Moluccas. Robert T. Farquhar, the British Resident at Amboina, was instructed to take charge of the reoccupation. Farquhar brought with him 800 soldiers from Malacca to garrison the island. Part of the fleet of the East India Company, before going to Balambangan, passed by Zamboanga, bombarding it until repulsed.

Sharaf ud-Din, who at this time had reached a venerable old age, was beset by dynastic troubles caused by the many pretenders anticipating his imminent death. What complicated the problem was that the British and the Spaniards each had their own candidate. The Spaniards wanted as successor a younger brother of the Sultan, Datu Jaᶜfar, who had also stayed for many years in Manila. If this was not possible, they would have been satisfied with the young ᶜAzim ud-Din, a son of the Sultan. Another pretender was another brother of the Sultan, Datu Putong, who was closely allied with the Iranuns and, therefore, not acceptable to the Spaniards. On the other hand, the British appeared to have favored Datu Bantilan, the eldest son of ᶜAzim ud-Din II. For his part, Datu Bantilan contacted the British and promised them closer political ties were they to recognize him as sultan. The weakness of Datu Bantilan was that few families were willing to risk lending him support.[32] After having built a few *cottas*, he started calling himself "sultan." Possibly the British had a hand in encouraging this.

Farquhar had plans for cementing closer political and commercial relations between the East India Company and Sulu. He prepared an elaborate proposal for a Treaty of Amity, Commerce and Navigation, in which he stated that the Sulu Sultan was to adhere to all treaties entered into by his predecessors and Dalrymple. Noteworthy about this proposal was that it stipulated that "All little differences and vexatious circumstances that may have occurred be entirely buried in oblivion, so that there shall be from this day forward and forever, a true and inviolable peace . . ." between the British and the Sulus.[33] It appears that the Company was willing to forget the Balambangan Affair to get other advantages. But nothing came of this proposal, for in November 1905, Balambangan was evacuated by the British. In this same year, too, the Spaniards began a strong diplomatic offensive to prevent British influence from increasing in Sulu and Mindanao. Sharaf ud-Din was induced to enter into an agreement with the Spanish Government not to allow Europeans, except Spaniards, to come for trade. However, in spite of this treaty, the British continued to come.

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[31] Cf. A letter of Robert T. Farquhar dated February 16, 1804. Found in Farquhar's dispatches from Balambangan to Calcutta, Bengal Records, Secret Consultations, July 18, 1805, No. 23. *India Office Library.* London.

[32] Cf. Farquhar's dispatches from Balambangan to Calcutta, Bengal Records, Secret Consultations, July 18, 1805, No. 23 and No. 25. *India Office Library,* London.

In 1808 Sharaf ud-Din died and was succeeded by his son ʿAzim ud-Din III. According to Sulu reports, ʿAzim ud-Din III ruled only for forty days. Possibly, he succumbed to the smallpox during the epidemic which visited Sulu that year. The epidemic was so virulent that many datus and their followers left the island of Jolo for safer places. This explains why ʿAli ud-Din, a younger brother of ʿAzim ud-Din III, and who was not the Rajah Muda, was able to have himself proclaimed as sultan. It appeared that Datu Bantilan (the son of ʿAzim ud-Din II) expected to become the Sultan, but it so happened that he was one of those who fled from Jolo on account of the epidemic. On April 13, 1810, Datu Bantilan made a bid for the sultanate by landing near Jolo with 500 men and some artillery.[34] But Sultan ʿAli ud-Din, who had the support of the older and most powerful datus, was able to expel the pretender from Jolo and drive him back to Parang, his base for operations.[35] Not long after, Datu Bantilan died but his claim to the throne was carried forward by his son Datu Aranan (Adanan). ʿAli ud-Din was a strong ruler who cared neither for the British nor for the Spaniards. Very much interested in commerce, he saw to it that those datus who were closest to him shared in the customs duties levied on all arriving merchant vessels.

In the meantime John Hunt, a British agent, was sent to Sulu in 1814 for political and commercial purposes. At various times from his arrival he contacted Datu Aranan who, in exchange for British recognition of his being sultan, promised to enter into an alliance with the British for both offense and defense purposes. He further promised to abide by all the Sulu treaties entered into with Dalrymple. In a communication to Stamford Raffles, the British Governor in Java who had sent him to Mindanao and Sulu, Hunt recommended that a few well-placed datus be bribed and the sending of 100 Javanese troops and two British gunboats. These he said might tip the scales in favor of Datu Aranan. Hunt went so far as to sound out the opinions of the Chinese community in Jolo regarding the idea of a British-sponsored sultan. Nothing came of Hunt's recommendations on account of the resolution of the officers in Calcutta to defer action on Sulu and other neighboring states pending a decision from the Directors of the Company in London.[36] Hunt's indiscretions, in the meanwhile, aroused the ire of the Ruma Bichara which once discussed whether it should order the killing of all British traders in Jolo and seize all the properties of the Company. But the proverbial cooler heads prevailed. But from that time, Hunt and his party were subjected to every form of harassment and insult during their brief residence in Jolo.[37]

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[33] A copy of this proposal is found in *ibid.*, No. 26.

[34] Letter of Manuel de Fuentes, a Spanish trader in Jolo, to the Spanish Governor General, dated May 12, 1810. *Bureau of Records Management*, Manila.

[35] Moor, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

Sultan 'Ali ud-Din died either at the end of 1821 or the beginning of 1822, and he was succeeded by his brother Datu Sakilan, who was the Rajah Muda. The new Sultan, who assumed the regnal name of Shakirullah, tried to upgrade the learning of the *'ulama.* He was supposed to have been quite learned in Islam and very orthodox in his religious beliefs. He is mostly remembered for having been very pious and a charitable ruler. Shakirullah died in 1823 and was succeeded by a nephew, a son of 'Azim ud-Din III, who took over the name of Jamal ul-Kiram.

In this same year there were Muslim raids, principally on the Calamianes and the Visayas, which yielded about 200 captives. In one of these raids, the Provincial of the Recollects, who was on an ecclesiastical visit, was captured together with another priest of his order. The Recollect Order had to pay a ransom of 10,000 Mexican dollars for their release. Juan Antonio Martinez prepared a fleet in 1824 to search for the lairs and hideouts of the captors. The fleet attacked various Iranun bases in Mindanao and a Samal base in Pilas Island, just off Basilan. Not satisfied in just destroying all boats off Jolo, houses and orchards were destroyed, too. In 1827, another expedition was sent to Jolo on the presumption that the Sulu Sultan was responsible for the raids of the Samals and Iranuns. About 500 soldiers landed, but in the face of the determined defense put up by the Sulus, the fleet had to retire without accomplishing anything. It then sailed to Mindanao to destroy a few Iranun settlements around Illana Bay. At this time Spanish policy was to regularly send naval expeditions simply to destroy the shipping arm of the Sulus and Iranuns. However, after it became evident that this policy was ineffectual, it was decided to encourage anew more intensive commercial relations with the Sulus in the hope that with the latter busy at their business they would not molest Spanish-held territories anymore.[38] Quite vexing to Spanish authorities in the Philippines was that British and Dutch authorities continually blamed them for failing to prevent alleged Sulu marauding in the Celebes or attacks on shipping in the nearby Indonesian islands.[39]

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[36] Reber, *op. cit.,* pp. 61-62.

[37] *Ibid.,* p. 110.

On the whole, the Spaniards were generally sincere in promoting commercial activities with the Sulus as again proven with the sending of Captain Jose Halcon to Jolo in 1836 to negotiate a commercial and amity treaty with Jamal ul-Kiram. To do a good job, Halcon carefully studied all available treaties entered into by the Sulus and other European powers before proceeding to Jolo. He also made an effort to understand the ways of the Sulus in order to be able to deal with them more effectively. Evidently, his studies helped. He was generally liked by the datus who dealt with him. But the commercial treaty was not merely planned to bring about intensive commercial activities that would keep some Sulus so busy they would have no more time for activities like piracy. The Sulus' economic activities with the Spaniards, would, likewise, indirectly prevent English and Dutch designs in Sulu. To be sure, the Spanish officials were actually apprehensive over such prospects as they were also afraid lest the Portuguese should also try to open trade with the Sulus. Good commercial relations with the Sulus, it was further believed, would also benefit the Philippine colony.

On September 23, 1836, two treaties were signed by the Sulu Sultan and Jose Halcon, representing the Spanish Governor General. One was a commercial treaty and the other was one of amity and alliance. The commercial treaty dealt with the nature of the licenses to be required of the trading vessels of both parties and specified the port duties to be paid by them. Duties to be paid in Manila were to be higher than those to be paid in Zamboanga. Trading without license by the Sulus in Spanish ports was to be considered as smuggling. Spanish vessels bringing Chinese to Jolo were to be required a higher duty than those without any Chinese passengers. Should the Sulus reduce the duties to other foreign vessels coming to Sulu, the same was to be applied to Spanish vessels such that Spanish vessels would not pay more than other foreign vessels. The treaty of alliance provided Spanish protection for, and aid to, the Sulus against their enemies, while the Sulus were also to aid the Spaniards against their enemies with the understanding that other European powers, as previously stipulated by the 1737 Treaty, were not to be covered by this provision. The Sulus were to allow the building of a Spanish factory or warehouse in Jolo and the assignment of a Spanish Resident there. The same condition was also offered to the Sulus in Manila, if they so desired. The Sulu datus pledged to combat Samal and Iranun pirates and cooperate with the Spaniards in this venture.[40] This treaty, including the commercial treaty, was ratified by the Madrid government in 1837.

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[38] For the 1827 Spanish Expedition against Jolo, see Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 375.

[39] Cf. "Sobre el commercio de esclavos en el archipelago de Filipinas," Expediente 1828, Legajo 2955, *Archivos: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores*, Madrid.

In 1842, Sulu was visited by an American scientific expedition authorized by the United States Government. Heading the naval expedition to explore the southern ocean was Charles Wilkes. He was able to enter into an agreement with the Sulu Sultan who promised to protect commanders and crew members of American ships coming to trade. It appears that an American merchant ship had previously visited Jolo, and the Sultan had expressed the desire for Americans to come and trade in his dominions. The agreement with Wilkes was a follow-up of this desire.[41]

Also in 1842, the Spaniards were able to build a stone fort in Basilan to serve as check point on the Samals in Basilan and neighboring islands, principally the Balangingi islands. That this had the permission of the Sulu Sultan, who had always claimed that Basilan was tributary to him, is doubtful. Actually, the ability of the Spaniards to erect and maintain a fort in Basilan was a function of their increasing strength and expansion in Mindanao.

Simultaneous with the Spaniards' efforts to increase their political and commercial relations with the Sulus, was their slow but sure penetration into the territories of the Maguindanao Sultan, especially in the Sibugay area, east of Zamboanga. In January 1794, they entered into a commercial pact with Sultan Kibad Sahriyal of Maguindanao. In the same agreement this Sultan also promised to return as many as possible of the sacred vessels and Church ornaments still in the hands of the Maguindanaos. On November 4, 1805, the Maguindanao Sultan Anwar ud-Din, a son of Kibad Sahriyal, concluded another Treaty with the Spaniards where he promised not to allow any enemy of Spain in his territories. On May 22, 1837, the Maguindanao Sultan Iskandar Qudratullah entered into another friendly treaty with the Spaniards.[42] At this time there were indications that some Iranun subjects of the Maguindanao Sultan were trying to act with more independence from their former overlord. Some of the Iranuns in Malabang were actually now looking to the rising sultanate of Ganassi in the Maranao Lake area as their lord. The chief datu of Sibugay, Datu Dakula (Muhammad Iskandar Amirul Hamza), was persuaded to give up to the Spaniards the Biasungan (the area around the later port of Sta. Maria) territory in the western part of Zamboanga on October 21, 1843.[43] On December 21 of the same year, he accepted an invitation to become an ally and subject of Spain.[44] The foregoing incidents were significant in themselves but more so because Dakula was an uncle of Sultan Iskandar Qudratullah. Recipient of so many Spanish courtesies and favors, Datu Dakula thus became a staunch and dependable ally of the Spaniards. In 1844 Narciso Claveria, the Spanish Governor General, thought of securing his aid for the projected plan to take over the whole of Basilan and the Balangingi Islands and place it under the Spanish flag in the hope of blocking French and English designs in the area.[45] For all his efforts, Datu Dakula expected the Spaniards to secure a good political position for his son and heir. When Sulu Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram died in 1842 the datu went so far as to propose to the Spaniards that his son be installed as the Sulu sultan. Fortunately for all parties concerned, the Spaniards did not act on the datu's suggestion.[46] However, after the death of the datu, it was essential for the Spaniards to have the Maguindanao Sultan Iskandar Qudratullah confirm the cessions made by the datu. This was done in the treaty of June 10, 1845, where the Sultan alienated more of his territories on the western part of Zamboanga. The need to confirm the previous act of cession by Datu Dakula by the Maguindanao Sultan arose from the fact that, theoretically speaking, the Datu of Sibugay was subject to the Maguindanao Sultan. Moreover, some of the Muslims in the ceded area did not accept Spanish sovereignty. Consequently, when the Spaniards started to collect duties on Muslim ships calling at the small port of Sta. Maria in the ceded territory, a cry of protest came from the datus which ended in the attack by about 100 of their followers on the port, forcing the Spanish garrison of about 150 men to abandon the fort and port. It appeared that the collection of the duties was a violation of the treaty made with Datu Dakula. Among the important provisions of this 1845 Treaty was one which said that the Maguindanao Sultan not only allowed the Spaniards to have a trading house in the settlement of Cotabato, adjoining the site of old Maguindanao, but had also accepted Spanish protection. Significant about Spanish policy regarding Mindanao at this time was that, aside from checking ambitions of other Europeans in the area, there was a plan to exert full control over the whole of the vast resources in Mindanao. There was no interest, as far as official policy was concerned, in Christianizing the Muslims.

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[40] A copy of the 1836 Treaty between Spain and Sulu as well as the commercial Treaty attached to it is found in Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, pp. 86-91.

[41] A copy of this trade agreement is found in Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years* 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842. (New York: 1856), Vol. V, p. 532. A description of Sulu is found in pp. 323-367 (Chapter IX), *ibid.*

[42] Mention of this treaty is found in the "Tratado de 15 de Mayo de 1845," Legajo 2957, *Archivos: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores*, Madrid.

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[43] "Consultas: Carta No. 10," Legajo 2956, *ibid.* Also Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 377.

[44] Cf. the instructions of Narciso Claveria to Agustin Bocolan on Dec. 30, 1844 in Legajo 2957, *Archivos: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores*, Madrid.

[45] "Carta de Narciso Claveria, 17 de Diciembre de 1844," Legajo 2957, *ibid.*

[46] Cf. a letter of the Governor General dated March 10, 1843 (Carta 39), Legajo 2956, *ibid.*

In 1842, Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram of Sulu died, and he was succeeded by his son Muhammad Fadl, popularly known as Pulalun, after the settlement of a few dynastic disputes. One of his first acts was to reassure the Spaniards that he intended to honor the treaties entered into by his predecessors. The response of the Spaniards was to send him a few hundred permits for his Sulu vassals to travel freely and frequently to Spanish ports. To this was appended a request for the release of whatever Christian captives might still be held in his territories.

It was during the beginning of Sultan Pulalun's reign that the Sulus had the occasion to feel the impact of France's imperial ambitions in the Philippine South. French war and trading vessels on their way to China sometimes frequented the Sulu Sea. As facts will later on demonstrate, French war vessels were actually looking for an island belonging to an independent principality in the area to serve as a commercial and military base relative to their ambitions in China. On April 23, 1843, T. F. Page, the commander of the French corvette *Favorite*, entered into a commercial and friendly treaty with Pulalun to the dismay of Spanish authorities. However, in spite of this, a French naval officer was killed and three sailors were captured by Samals from the French warship *Sabine* in Maluso. In November 1844, Guerin, the commander of this war vessel, anchored at Zamboanga and asked the Spanish Zamboanga Governor to help him ransom the three captives. With the help of Zamboanga authorities, the French sailors were able to return to their ship. After this, the French commander announced to the Zamboanga Governor that he was ordering a blockade of Basilan and neighboring islands in order to obtain satisfaction from Datu Usuk of Maluso who was deemed responsible for the death of the French officer. In spite of Spanish protests, the blockade which was reinforced by additional French war vessels was maintained for some time. The Spanish Governor then gave instructions to Brigadier Agustin Bocolan to proceed immediately to Basilan to watch French moves, and then pass over to Jolo to remind Sultan Pulalun about his treaties with, and commitments to, the Spanish government. Bocolan was also instructed to build anew a fort in the port of Sta. Maria in the area ceded by Datu Dakula to the Spaniards.[47]

Early in 1845, the French minister Grene, who was aboard the frigate *Erigone*, one of the vessels that helped in the blockade of Basilan, was able to initiate negotiations with Pulalun for the cession of Basilan to the French Government. The French wanted the outright sale of Basilan to them and tried to convince the Sultan of the advantages his realm would get by having friendly relations with the French nation. After a great deal of lengthy discussions in the Ruma Bichara, the amount of 100,000 Mexican dollars was agreed upon as the price for the island. A royal datu suggested that the French immediately pay one half of the sum and occupy the island at once. Clearly, the French could not forthwith accept this since they had to get prior authorization from their government and besides such a treaty needed ratification. It was finally agreed on February 21, 1845, that the French would pay the full amount on their actual occupation of the island provided this was done within six months after the agreement. In any case, what ultimately happened was that the French Government did not ratify the treaty because it feared involvement with Spain and possibly because it was not sufficiently sure that the Sulus could be depended upon to keep their part of the agreement. The whole incident alarmed the Spaniards nevertheless. An ambassador was again sent to Jolo to persuade the Sultan not to get involved with any other European power.[48] On March 13, the Zamboanga Governor reported to the Governor General about the failure of the French attempts as well as the Sulu Sultan's explanation that he never had the intention of alienating any of his lands to the French since Islam prohibited the alienation of Muslim lands to non-Muslims.[49]

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[47] Cf. "Instructions of Narciso Claveria, dated December 30, 1844," Legajo 2957, *ibid.*

In 1846, Governor General Claveria decided to make a move to prevent any French ambitions from materializing in the Sulu area. He decided to fortify Pagsanjan (Pangasahan) in Basilan. The Sulu Sultan protested on the principle that his treaties with the Spaniards were commercial in nature and while involving provisions of mutual defense did not authorize the Spaniards to occupy, or build forts in, his territories. He then warned the Spaniards about possible repercussions and announced that he would not take any responsibility for hostilities which may break out in Basilan. The Spanish response was that the fort in Pagsanjan was there precisely to protect the Muslims from the French and should any hostilities actually break out in the island, the Sultan would be blamed. The Sultan was also told that the strength of the fort to be erected and nature of the garrison were such that he would not have a chance to dislodge it. It was at this point that a serious attempt to reduce the datus of Basilan to submission began.

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[48] For the documents relating to French designs on Basilan and treaties with the Sulu Sultan see Agustin Santayana, *La isla de Mindanao, su historia y su estado presente* (Madrid: 1862), pp. 43-66; Montero y Vidal, Vol. I, *op. cit.*, pp. 381-401 (Footnotes); and Vol. II, *ibid.*, Appendix, pp. 47-50.

[49] Found in the *Bureau of Records Management*, Manila.

In 1846, the Spanish Government started negotiations with Sultan Iskandar Qudratullah of Maguindanao for the cession of his territories in the area around the present Davao Gulf. The Sultan had just about lost all interest in lands over which he had for all practical purposes lost control. Actually, the whole area around the Gulf was under the control of Sultan Bago, a Sulu datu who after years of fighting the English and Spaniards had decided, with his followers, to carve out a kingdom for himself in Davao. The datu succeeded in founding a settlement around the site now occupied by Davao City as he was able to extend his dominion and control over the pagan tribes around the area. Jose Oyanguren, a Spanish Judge assigned to Tondo and who had travelled extensively all over the Philippines, including Mindanao, upon hearing about Iskandar Qudratullah's alienation of some of his hereditary possessions, proposed to the Governor General at Manila to allow him to undertake the conquest and pacification of Davao, provided that he was granted the powers of government as well as the trade monopoly in the area. The plan was to expel the Muslims there, or at least pacify them, and at the same time form Christian settlements. It was understood that the Spanish Government was to supply men and arms for the enterprise. Some *oidores,* in spite of the enthusiasm of Governor General Narciso Claveria, objected to the granting of such great concessions to a private individual since it savoured much of the old *encomienda* system. However, it was finally agreed in 1846 that Oyanguren was to take charge of the conquest of Davao, but that his rule was not to extend to over ten years. Moreover, his trade monopoly was limited to only six months. With the help of Christianized Samals along with Spanish troops, Oyanguren proceeded with his project. He defeated Sultan Bago in spite of the fierce resistance of the Muslim warriors in the Gulf. By April 1848, the coastal area of Davao was under the control of the Spaniards from where they slowly worked their way into the interior section of the area. But due to intrigues in Manila, Oyanguren was not able to complete his ten-year term of office as Governor. He returned to Manila where he was reported to have died a poor man.[50]

In 1845, a Spanish frigate accompanied by a few smaller vessels stopped at the island of Balangingi in order to make some inquiries. The Captain of the frigate tried to communicate with the chief Datu of the island who not only refused to see the Captain but ordered the Spaniards to leave the island immediately. One of the ships closest to the shore was even fired upon, and the angered Spaniards tried to effect a landing. But they were forced to retire hurriedly on losing the leader of the landing party and a few of his men.

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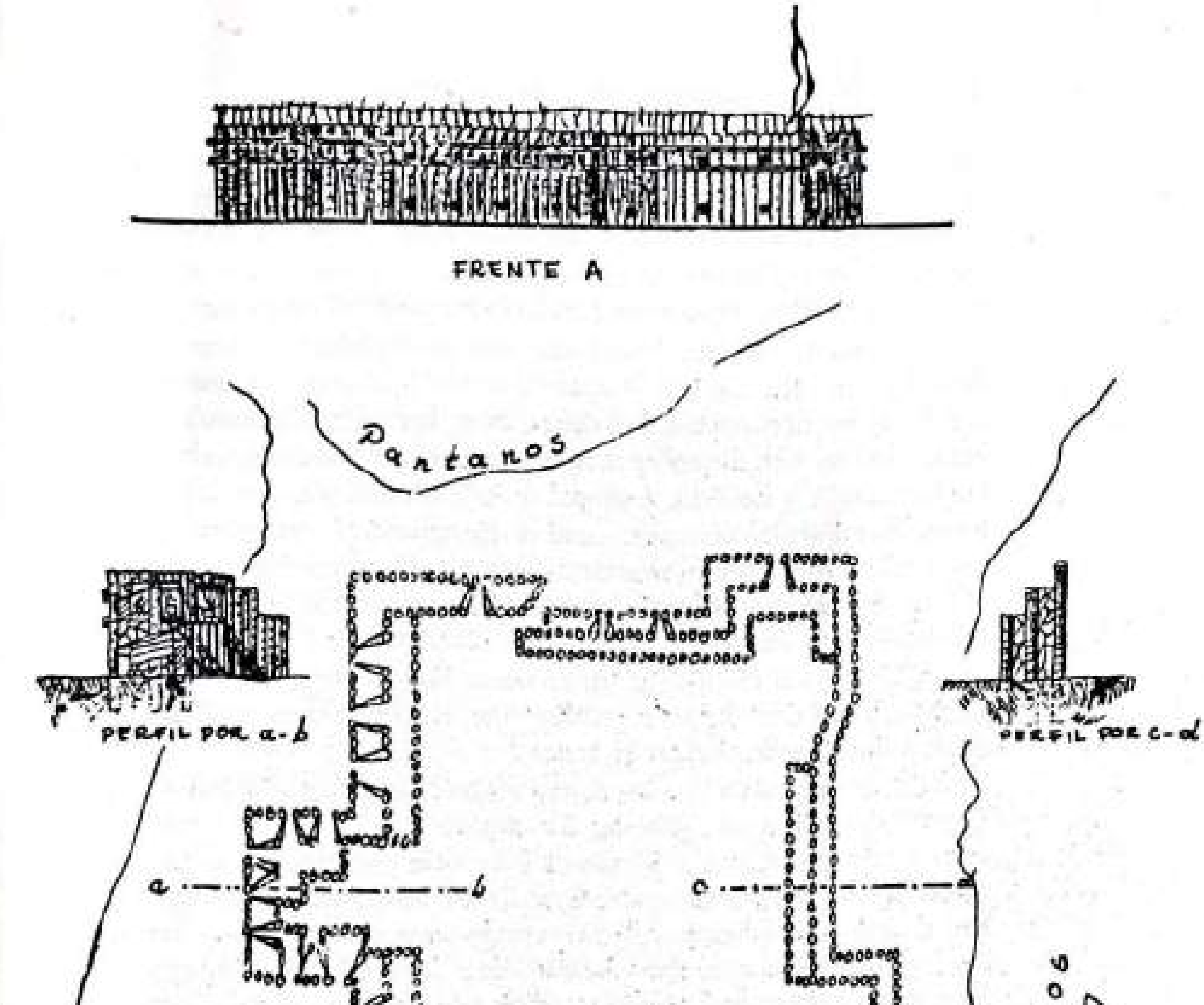
[50] For details about Oyanguren and Spanish incursions into Davao, see Agustin Santayana, *op. cit.,* pp. 67-71.

The inhabitants of Balangingi were Samals like those in the neighboring islands referred to as the Samales Group. They maintained a vague form of allegiance to the Sulu Sultan. Many of the depredations in Spanish-held territories in the Philippines were perpetrated by them, leading the Spaniards to call them the "fiercest pirates" of the Sulu Sea. The Spaniards had at various times attempted to subdue them but to no avail. On Balangingi island the Samals had four *cottas:* Sipak, Balangingi, Sungap, and Bukotingul. The most formidable of these was that of Sipak. While still at the task of pacifying Davao, Governor General Claveria was already determined to plant the Spanish flag on the Samales group of islands. At the end of January 1848, part of the naval expedition left Manila for Mindanao. On February 6, the Governor General himself sailed with the rest of the fleet. Noteworthy about this fleet were three steamships built by the British. One of these ships had a 160-horsepower engine while the other two were equipped with 100-horsepower engines. This was the first time that the Spaniards would use steamships against the Muslims in the Philippines. In the fleet were also six gunboats, two schooners, and eight smaller vessels manned by about 650 soldiers equipped with field artillery pieces. By February 15, the fleet was already reconnoitering the island of Balangingi. Landing early in the morning of the next day, the Spaniards and their native allies attacked the Balangingi *cotta* which fell but only after a fierce though futile defense. About 100 Samal warriors died while the Spaniards lost ten men. There were also 50 wounded on the Spanish side. The invading troops later sailed for the southern part of the island where they landed near the Sipak *cotta.*

As the most formidable *cotta* on the island, that of Sipak had under its protection the riches of the island. Its walls of tree trunks closely fitted together reached twenty feet. It had towers at strategic positions and was well equipped with artillery. It was surrounded by a deep pit in which sharpened bamboo stakes had been set in the ground.

The invaders landed in the evening of the 18th and early the next morning the bombardment of the *kotta* by land and sea commenced. The ladders they had brought with them to scale the walls were at various times pushed back. Ultimately, however, the *cotta* fell; but only after the defenders had killed many of their women and children to save them from becoming prisoners of the Spaniards. About 440 Samals were killed. The casualty list of the Spaniards included one officer and sixteen Spanish soldiers. About 124 of their soldiers were wounded. On the newly-captured island the Spaniards came across 300 captives of the Samals probably from both Spanish and Dutch territories. The invaders confiscated bales of silk and brocade, gold and silver ornaments, Qur'an and other Arabic manuscripts, artillery, and ammunition. The captured Samals numbering


FRENTE A
Pantanos
PERFIL POR a-b
PERFIL POR c-d
a
b
c
mar
Pantanos [SWAMPS]
Lineas de pozos de lobo [defense moat]
Escala de 1/400
0 20 40 60 80 100 pies

A Plan of the Samal *cotta* of Sipak. From Emilio Bernaldez, *Reseña Historica de la Guerra al Sur da Filipinas* (Madrid: 1857)

150 and mostly wounded women and children were eventually shipped to Luzon where many of them found a home in the Cagayan Valley. Some of their descendants are still to be found there. However, during the last decade of the nineteenth century, a few who had by then grown up, were allowed by the Spanish authorities to emigrate to Zamboanga.

The capture of the other *cottas* was accomplished without much difficulty after the fall and destruction of the Sipak *cotta*. A few brave and hardy warriors remained to defend them, but the rest sailed to other islands. In line with the policy to render the captured island uninhabitable, the invaders, it is believed, destroyed from 7,000 to 8,000 coconut trees. Seven Samal settlements were razed to the ground. A systematic effort was made to find all boats that the Samals might have left behind. About 150 *prahus* were subsequently destroyed. Mission accomplished, the Spanish fleet left on February 25, leaving the island in utter ruin and desolation. Claveria was received on his return to Manila like a hero. He was given a jewelled sword and conferred the title of "Conde de Manila" along with some other titles of honor.[51]

Completely taken by what he saw of the Spaniards' might and ways, Datu Wali of Pilas, a neighboring Samal island, at once accepted Spanish sovereignty. In return, the Samals of Pilas were exempted from paying tribute to the Spanish Government, and they were given full guarantee that their Islamic religion and local customs were to remain unmolested. Some previously uncommitted Basilan datus followed suit in accepting Spanish sovereignty and renouncing their allegiance to the Sulu Sultan. The belief that the Samals living on the islands between Jolo and Basilan were greatly responsible for attacks on islands under the Spaniards in order to take captives, was supported by the fact that for one whole year after the destruction of Balangingi no single captive was taken from Spanish Philippines. In the next two years, although a few captives would be taken, the number was so insignificant as not to cause alarm and concern.

Actually, most of the depredations caused by Samals of Basilan, Tungkil, Pilas, and Balangingi, were blamed on the Sulu Sultan. But while it was true that he claimed sovereignty over them, he did not have full control over all their activities. The Dutch, not knowing fully the relations between the Samals and the Sulu Sultan, once sent a fleet to Jolo to demand the return of captives which they had presumed were taken by order of the Sulu Sultan. In April 1848, they appeared before Jolo and demanded satisfaction from the Sultan and the return of their captured men. When the explanations of the Sultan and the datus were not found to be satisfactory, the Dutch commenced the bombardment of Jolo which lasted for about 24 hours. The Sulus answered with their artillery, and they succeeded in causing damage to one of the Dutch vessels. Not having enough resources to land and contest the Sulus, the Dutch fleet left without accomplishing anything except the destruction of Sulu houses and plantations.

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[51] The above narration of the Balangingi Expedition has come from various sources: Francisco Gainza, *Memoria y Antecedentes sobre las espediciones de Balanguingui y Jolo* (Manila: 1851); and Emilio Bernaldez, *Resena historia de la guerra al Sur de Filipinas* (Madrid: 1857), pp. 150-169. An English report on the subject is found in "Spanish expedition against the Pirates," Admiralty Station Reports, No. 133, p. 106. *Public Record Office*, London.

In December 1848, Panglima Tampan, a Samal chief who was a leader of an armada, asked the Sulu Sultan for authority to raid and take away a few captives in Spanish-held territories. Upon the refusal of the Sultan, the *panglima* together with his followers proceeded with his plan and fortified the island of Paat, near Balangingi. The Spaniards subsequently attacked Paat, forcing the remaining Samals to leave the island.[52] But back to Balangingi the Spaniards went upon hearing that the Samals were out to refortify Sipak. True enough there was found the beginnings of a newly reconstructed but apparently abandoned *cotta.* After destroying the foundations of the *cotta,* the Spanish fleet attacked the island of Tungkil whose *panglima* was persuaded to accept Spanish sovereignty. Maluso in Basilan was the next target. The Samals there were forced to flee from their homes to the interior. The Spaniards then burned all the settlements and plantations in Maluso. All Samal boats found were destroyed. Thus, the Samals of the so-called Samales and Tapiantana groups lying east of Jolo island, ceased to represent a formidable group. Once they could rival the Tausugs in power and wealth and sometimes even disobey the Sulu Sultan with impunity. Now they were so completely intimidated by the awesome character and fire power of the steamboats that not long after they were to convince their kin in Basilan who had not yet accepted Spanish authority to do so. In time, some Samals living on the island of Jolo would be induced to settle on other islands under full Spanish control. But there would be another group to be feared for their depredations and captive-hunting expeditions. These were the Iranuns settled in the domains of the Sulu Sultan both in Sulu and in North Borneo.

In December 1848, while Spanish war vessels were scouring the waters of the Samales islands, the British war vessel *Maeander* arrived in Jolo for a visit. The ship carried aboard James Brooke, the British Governor of Labuan and Consul General for Borneo. Brooke's careful diplomacy and offers of commercial advantages to the Brunei Sultan had previously obtained for him the latter's consent to cede Labuan to the

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[52] Cf. Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.,* Vol. I, pp. 418-419.

British. When he came to Sulu in 1848, he was out to discover what political and commercial advantages could be secured there for the British. He sounded Sultan Pulalun on the possibility of a treaty with the British. To this the Sultan gave some encouraging answers even as he recalled the kindness of the English to his ancestor ʻAzim ud-Din I.

On May 28, 1849, James Brooke returned to Jolo on the war vessel *Nemesis*. The next day he concluded a treaty with the Sulu Sultan. This provided for the establishment of intensive trade between the British and Sulus in each other's territories and that they were to treat one another as favored nations. British subjects were authorized to buy properties from the Sulus and the Sultan was to guarantee the protection of Britishers in his domains. The Sulu Sultan promised to allow British war vessels to stop in his dominions for supplies to be made available at reasonable prices. The British Government and the Sulu Sultan also pledged to suppress piracy in the places of their respective jurisdictions and the Sultan promised not to harbour pirates in his realm. The seventh article provided that the Sulu Sultan was not to enter into any relation of vassalage with nor cede any territory to any other nation without the previous consent of the British Government. The eighth and last article provided that the exchange of ratification was to take place in Jolo within two years.[53]

After concluding the treaty with the Sulu Sultan, James Brooke went to Mindanao and anchored in the vicinity of Zamboanga. Cayetano Figueroa, the Spanish Governor of Zamboanga, who had just returned from some minor expedition against isolated communities of Samals, conferred and exchanged notes with him. The Governor requested for a copy of the treaty signed with the Sulu Sultan which was furnished to him. It was then that the Governor lodged a formal protest before Brooke claiming that Article Seven ran counter to Spanish sovereign rights over Sulu. The Governor even went as far as to claim that Sulu was Spanish territory by conquest and that, therefore, neither the Sultan nor his datus could cede or alienate any part of the Sulu Archipelago which belonged not to them but to Spain. The response of Brooke was that the matter was one to be discussed by their respective governments.

Not long after lodging his protest, the Zamboanga Governor, with a small fleet, went to Jolo to complain personally to the Sulu Sultan about the treaty concluded with Brooke. A series of conferences were held with the Sultan and the chief datus who tried to placate the Spaniards by promising to hoist the Spanish Flag over their *cottas*. But the population under the leadership of the *panditas* raised a furor. After staying for nearly a month, the Zamboanga officials returned to Zamboanga without getting anywhere in their discussions with the Ruma Bichara. However, during their stay, some of the Spanish military officials, especially Emilio Bernaldez, who had previously figured in the Balangingi campaign and who was the chief of the military engineers, was able to observe much and made vital notes and draw plans of the Sulu *cottas* and other fortified positions. Bernaldez was also able to assess Sulu fire power and the number of armed men. As later events would demonstrate, this visit of Spanish military officials was probably not intended to be merely for diplomatic purposes.

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[53] A copy of this treaty is found in Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, Appendix, pp. 242-243.

French

// Meanwhile, the French attempts to purchase Basilan, the Dutch own efforts to extend their influence over the island of Borneo promoted to a great extent by the British presence on that island, and clear British intentions to exert their political influence over Sulu all led the Spaniards to decide once and for all to take every possible step to make more secure her southern Philippine frontiers. The Manila Government was also desirous of imposing a policy of commercial monopoly in the Muslim South. Thus the conquest of Sulu as well as an extension of Spanish sovereignty over a greater part of the domains of the Maguindanao Sultan, by peaceful means if possible, was decided upon.

The plan of the Spanish Government for the conquest of Sulu as early as 1849 can be seen in a letter written by Governor General Claveria to the Spanish Secretary of State in Madrid. In this letter, the Governor General wrote of possible Dutch designs and obvious British attempts to exercise political influence in Sulu. To counteract these, he said in his letter:

> Thus I cannot but earnestly recommend to your Excellency's notice the necessity that the Governor of the Philippines have very detailed instructions of very ample powers to proceed as regards the Southern regions in accordance with what he believes best suited to her Majesty's interests and to the security of these rich possessions. In this connection I take the liberty of recommending to your Excellency such action as our Sovereign the Queen may deem most wise on my communication (*consulta*) number 359 and others relative to the same subject.
>
> Perhaps, as I mentioned in my communication of the 4th of July last, the only advantageous issue for us would be to send a strong expedition and to occupy Jolo, our action being warranted by the piratical acts committed by several small boats of Bwal, Sulu; the Dutch may avail themselves of the same excuse and send an expedition before us, if, as is possible, other pancos [Moro boats] have gone south for the same purpose; but anyhow the behaviour of the Sultan and Datus of Sulu would give us excellent reasons for taking action against them at any time.[54]

The Spanish decision to conquer Sulu was guided by the fear that it might fall to another European power. It was not to contain or eliminate piracy in the region. Besides, the Balangingi campaign had temporarily reduced this to a minimum. However, the official excuse or rationalization was that the conquest of Sulu was needed to contain piracy and ensure free shipping. As anticipated by the Spaniards, it was not hard to find a few spirited Samals or Sulus who would provide the necessary and much sought after pretext.

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[54] A copy of this August 16, 1849 letter of the Spanish Governor General is found in Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, Appendix, pp. 249-250.

On the evening of September 29, 1849, about 3,000 Sulus under the leadership of the *panglima* of Luuk and another religious leader, the Imam Buyok, landed in Basilan and commenced to attack the recently established Spanish garrison of Isabela. But the Spaniards since they were previously informed of the war preparations of the Sulus easily repulsed the first attack. Notwithstanding the failure of this first attack, the Sulus launched another one the next day only to be turned back by superior fire from the enemy. The Spaniards took a great number of prisoners whom they immediately transported to Zamboanga. In the belief that Sultan Pulalun had consented to the attack,[55] the Spaniards retaliated by burning to the ground the Luuk settlement of Bual and other neighboring settlements from where the Sulus had embarked for their attack.

It is understandable if the Sulu Sultan actually authorized the attack on Basilan since Sulu sultans had always considered Basilan part of their domains, and the establishment of Spanish garrisons there had been made without their authorization, thereby committing what was tantamount to an aggression against the Sulu sultanate. The *panglima,* too, was a subordinate official of the Sultan and assuming that the attack was on orders of the Sultan then the probability was that he was acting under an official capacity when he led the attack on the Isabela fort.

In 1850, Samals from Tungkil, Bucutua, and Bulan islands, all from the Samales Group, attacked Samar and Camiguin, taking with them as captives 75 natives. The Spanish Governor General sent an envoy to Jolo to complain about the state of affairs and indignantly demanded that the Sultan punish the Samals responsible for the attacks. The reply of the Sultan and the Ruma Bichara was that the complaint was reasonable and justified and that they had therefore voted for the punishment of the Samals. However, since they lacked the necessary resources to carry out the punishment, it was requested that the Spaniards render the punishment themselves and initiate efforts to retrieve the captives.[56] This reply was all that the Spaniards wanted. On the charge that not only was the Sultan unable to contain the piratical expeditions of his Samal subjects, but that he often acted in concert with them, the Spaniards justified the opening of a new campaign against the Sulu Sultanate. Preparations were immediately commenced for the campaign, but the plan to find a pretext had already been hatched more than a year earlier. Thus the sixth and last stage of the Moro Wars between the Spaniards and the Sulus started in the Spanish Campaign of 1851 and was to continue up to the last days of Spanish rule in the Philippines.

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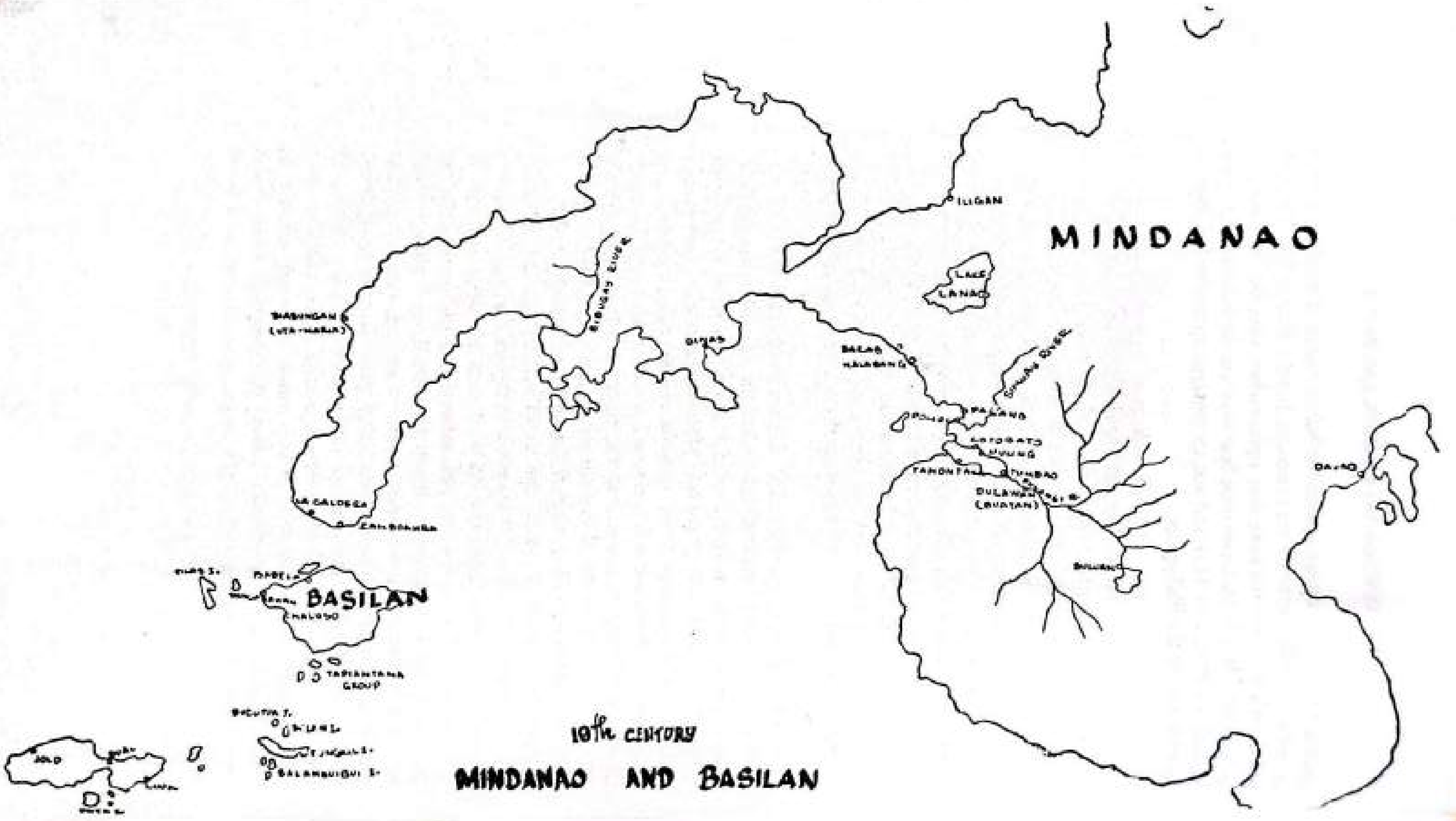
[55] Cf. Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 424-425.

[56] Cf., *ibid.*, p. 425


MINDANAO
ILIGAN
LAKE LANAO
SIBUGAY RIVER
DINAS
BALAS
MALABANG
POLLOC
COTOBATO
TUMBAO
DULAWAN
(BUAYAN)
BULUAN
DAVAO
LA CALDERA
ZAMBOANGA
BASILAN
ISABELA
MALOSO
TAPIANTANA
GROUP
JOLO

19th CENTURY

MINDANAO AND BASILAN

VIII

The Decline of the Sultanates
The Sixth Stage of the Moro Wars

Spanish policy in the middle of the nineteenth century was to conquer the Muslim sultanates, especially that of Sulu, and place them securely under Spanish sovereignty. A primary reason for this policy was that the British and Dutch were extending their influence over the Malaysian world so that the Spaniards had to secure the southern frontiers of their Philippine Colony. The Spaniards watched with misgivings the trade activities of the British in Sulu while they made strong efforts to limit the trade of the Muslims to their Colony. The Spaniards were likewise very apprehensive regarding the slow but steady incursions of the Dutch in the Sulu possessions situated east of Borneo. For these reasons, it was deemed necessary for the Spaniards to be there first before the British or the Dutch gained a strong economic and thereby a political foothold in Sulu. Thus the piratical activities of Samals were used as an excuse to war on the Sulus and to force their Sultan to acknowledge Spanish sovereignty. The sixth stage of the Moro Wars commenced with the Spanish Campaign of 1851 against Sulu and ended only towards the end of Spanish rule in the Philippines. This stage was marked by the increasing influence of the Spaniards over the Maguindanao sultans and the steady decline of the power and influence of the latter in the affairs of Mindanao. Corollary to this was the transfer of leadership of resistance against the Spaniards in the Pulangi to the ancient sultanate of Buayan. With the acceptance of Spanish sovereignty by the Iranun datus of Sibugay, the Spaniards proceeded to secure a stronger foothold on the Iranun areas north of the Pulangi including Malabang, after which they tried to conquer the Maranaos of the Lake. All these steps were taken to prevent any possible juncture or alliance between the Maranaos and recalcitrant Maguindanaos and Buayanens and at the same time to establish Spanish-controlled land communications between the western and northern parts of Mindanao. In this manner, the conquest of the whole of Mindanao would only have been a matter of time.

Aware of Spanish intentions to utilize the piratical activities of some Samals as an excuse to wage war on his realm, Sultan Muhammad Pulalun tried hard to explain to Spanish officials that the Samals had been recently cowed by the Spaniards and that with their elimination as a danger to Spanish shipping, there was no genuine need to make trouble for him and the people of Jolo, who, in the first place, had no hand in the piratical activities of the Balangingi Samals. The sincerity of the Sulu Sultan's protestations was evident when in May 1850 he had a brother and an *imam* in Manila to deal with Spanish officials to find ways and means to reduce if not eliminate friction with the Spaniards. Actually, what complicated the problems of the Sultan was that there were many Iranun settlements in his realm which he could not fully control.

The Iranuns in Sulu were closely related by political and kinship ties with the Iranuns around Illana Bay as well as with the Maranaos of the Lake. They also had settlements in the North Borneo territories of the Sulu Sultan. Some of these settlements could have been established as early as the time of Sultan Qudarat of Maguindanao. In all likelihood, the number of settlements in Sulu probably increased in the last decades of the seventeenth century when there were marriage alliances between Iranun and Sulu datus. Meanwhile, the Iranuns established in the Sulu realm often attacked foreign shipping with impunity and for which depredation the Sulu Sultan was invariably blamed. The raids of the Iranuns sometimes extended as far south as the Straits of Makassar and as far north as the Straits of Malacca. Some sultans of Johore even conspired with them to harass British shipping so as to lessen British pressure on their principality. Since these Iranuns were based in Sulu territories and gave a vague form of fealty to the Sulu Sultan, the general impression was that subjects of the Sulu Sultan were attacking foreign shipping and peaceful settlements with the Sultan's consent. An accurate report on the Iranuns spoke of the contrary. It said that the Sulu Sultan neither equipped nor authorized their piratical incursions. Neither was the Sultan able to eradicate their settlements nor chastise their datus.[1] An obstacle in the way of the Sulu Sultan in his efforts to control the Iranuns in his realm was harassment from, and interference of, the Spaniards in his affairs. In effect, these so lessened his powers that he could not give his realm the proper supervision or control demanded. Moreover, any chastisement of the Iranuns in his territories would lead to a conflict with the Iranuns in Mindanao which the Sultan could ill afford at the time. However, on some occasions, the Sultan's representatives in his North Borneo territories did their best to stop the piratical activities of Iranuns there. A case in point was an act of Sharif Yasin, a Sulu datu in Labuk Bay. At one time he endeavoured to seize Iranun pirates and, in fact, even recaptured the British schooner *Dolphin* from them. All the evidence points to the fact that the Sulu Sultan and chief datus never encouraged or approved of piracy by Samals or Iranun pirates, for they were themselves traders having an interest that all shipping lanes be kept safe especially for traders going to or coming from Jolo. However, what complicated the matter was that leaders of successful piratical expeditions often presented gifts to the Sultan. But this only meant that the pirates sort of looked up to the Sultan as a kind of sovereign but not necessarily because the Sultan approved of their activities. In any case, it was the acceptance of gifts from the pirate chiefs that led some British traders to infer that the Sultan was often in connivance with the pirates, especially Iranuns. What the traders failed to note was that the Iranuns were living in settlements on land belonging to the Sultan, and the least they could do was to make him a few gifts, which, probably, the Sultan might have claimed as a right without feeling that he was an accessory to their activities.

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[1] Cf. "Report from Commander P. I. Blake of Her Majesty's Sloop *Larne* relative to Sooloo Pirates (1838)," *Admiralty Station Records 125/133*, pp. 6-9. Public Record Office, London.

The Spanish Campaign of 1851 was launched ostensibly to devastate once and for all the Samal settlement of Tungkil as well as to punish the Sulu Sultan as the ultimate author of the piratical activities of his Samal subjects. The expeditionary force led by Governor General Antonio de Urbiztondo arrived in Jolo in the last week of December 1850. The Governor demanded that the Sulu Sultan and two of the highest datus come on board the flagship to have an interview with him. But the two Spanish officials who went ashore to inform the Sulu Sultan about this request were badly treated by highly excited Sulu warriors, forcing the datus to intervene to protect their lives. The Sulu Sultan received the officials courteously but refused outright to go on board any Spanish ship, for, as he later on explained to an Englishman, he knew of no rajah who would willingly go to a "snakes nest" or the boat of an enemy.[2] Upon their return to their ship, the officials reported that there were about 10,000 Sulu warriors ready for battle and that their women and children had already been sent to the interior preparatory to a Spanish attack. Fearing that his troops were not sufficient to attack Jolo, Urbiztondo decided to sail away on January 1, 1851, at which point they were fired upon by the Sulus causing damage to a few ships and death to some Spanish soldiers. The Spanish fleet retaliated; it forthwith proceeded to Tungkil, completely burned the settlement which consisted of about a thousand homes, and destroyed about 100 boats. But the majority of the Samal population had by then already fled, leaving the place with practically no resistance against the invaders. Actually only about twenty-five Samals who had for some unexplained reason remained behind were killed. In the second week of February, the Spanish fleet returned to Zamboanga in preparation for an attack and landing in Jolo.

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[2] "Letter of Sulu Sultan to James Brooke (8 Rabil Akhir 1267 A. H.)," *Papers of Charles Barker R. N., No. 52, Department of Local History and Archives*. Sheffied City Libraries.

The fleet was reinforced in Zamboanga while the Spanish priests there preached a veritable crusade to recruit volunteers. The fleet now consisted of one corvette, one brigantine, three steamboats, two gunboats, nine transports, twenty-one *barangays,* and smaller vessels of varying sizes. About 142 Spanish officers, 2,876 privates, and 925 volunteers formed part of the expedition, not counting rowers and other workmen.[3] On February 27, after a fierce bombardment of Jolo, the troops landed. After a gallant resistance where eight of their *cottas* were destroyed, the Sulus together with their Sultan retired to the interior. In the battle for Jolo, the Spaniards lost 34 men, while the Sulus lost 300 dead. Jolo was again razed to the ground.[4] The Spanish fleet rested for four days and then sailed away. The Spaniards feared a Sulu counterattack and they could not leave a strong garrison behind. In any case, the Spaniards consoled themselves with the notion that, for the meantime, the Sulus had been defeated and sufficiently punished.

Actually Sultan Pulalun never desired the war, although in his extremity he sought help from the English at Labuan by involving the terms of the treaties with Dalrymple.[5] Taking advantage of the Sultan's inclinations towards peace, the Spaniards offered him peace conditions. On April 30, a treaty was signed between the Zamboanga Governor and the Sulu Sultan and chief datus. In it the Sulus promised to fly the Spanish flag, prohibit piracy, allow a Spanish trading post in Jolo with a modest garrison to protect it, and not enter into any agreement with other foreign powers. For their part, the Spaniards promised to protect Sulu shipping and made provisions for the payment of salaries to the Sultan and chief datus of the Ruma Bichara. In effect, therefore, the Sulus accepted a mild form of Spanish protectorate, but they did not interpret the treaty to mean the acceptance of Spanish sovereignty. They actually considered the peace treaty as one of friendship which the Spaniards, however, conveniently interpreted to mean the sultanate had become incorporated into the Spanish Monarchy. Soon, the Spaniards had a few certificates printed confirming the datus in their ranks as though the Spaniards themselves had conferred the position upon their holders. In any case, such certificates, if ever given, could not have meant much to the proud datus who had other bases for their power. After the peace treaty, the Sultan, the datus and the other Sulus, as well as the Chinese merchants, returned to Jolo to rebuild it. For all practical purposes, the Sulus acted as if nothing dramatic had recently happened to them.

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[3] Saleeby, *The History of Sulu,* p. 100.

[4] Another letter of Sultan Pulalun to James Brooke claimed that only 102 Sulus were killed. *Papers of Charles Barker R.N., No. 50, Department of Local History and Archives.* Sheffied City Libraries.

[5] *Ibid.*

In the meanwhile, the British were terribly apprehensive over the results of this Spanish Campaign, for it tended to block their intentions. On July 12, 1851, Spenser St. John, the British acting commissioner for Sarawak, wrote to Viscount Palmerston:

> The annexation of Sulu to the Philippines will tend greatly to injure our interests in these seas as the native princes consider that the reason for the late attack on the Sultan was to punish him for having entered into a treaty with the British Government.

The Commissioner then added that should the Sulus cede their territories to Spain, the whole of the Sulu Archipelago as well as the Sultan's possessions in Borneo "may be completely closed against British commerce."[6] A subsequent follow-up letter of July 18, emphasized that:

> It is from these rich and valuable countries that Labuan is expected to derive the principal portion of its trade, and should the Spanish government be allowed to extend their frontier to Kimanis, the objects anticipated from the formation of our new settlement will be completely defeated.[7]

Spenser St. John never seriously considered that the Spaniards had prepared their campaign to suppress piracy. To him, it was a move on the part of the Spaniards to impose their sovereignty over Sulu as well as "to punish the Sultan for having entered into a Treaty with us, against which they protested at the time."[8] But one of the effects of the Spanish campaign was that the British became impressed by Spain's determination to see to it that no other power exercised any form of influence on the Sulus. Consequently, although the British still questioned the actual exercise of Spanish sovereignty over the Sulu Sultan, they conveniently forgot about Brooke's Treaty. Or, as the Earl of Malmesbury put it, in order not to endanger the friendly relations with Spain, "this question is to sleep."

Another effect of the Spanish campaign was the depopulation of the Samales group of islands, since most of its inhabitants decided to move to Basilan. Among them was the *panglima* of Tungkil together with half a thousand of his followers and their families. And when the older residents of Basilan made a move to accept Spanish sovereignty, the Samals who emigrated there likewise followed. Thus, at this time, it can be said that Basilan progressively fell under Spanish rule. With Basilan under Spanish sway the Spaniards sometimes used it as a base to intimidate some recalcitrant Samals who in revenge once attacked and burned part of the town of Zamboanga.

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[6] "Letter of Spenser St. John to Viscount Palmerston, dated July 12, 1851," *Foreign Office Records 71/1* (*Sooloo* 1849 *to* 1865). Public Record Office, London.

[7] "Letter of Spenser St. John to Viscount Palmerston, dated July 18, 1851," *ibid.*

[8] "Letter of Spenser St. John to Rear Admiral Charles Austin, dated June 22, 1851," *ibid.*

To follow up their success in Sulu in their effort to control the Muslims, the Spaniards moved next to secure a stronger foothold in Muslim territories in Mindanao. By the end of October 1851, Pollok, situated north of the mouth of the Simuay River, was garrisoned by them and other places soon followed. Completely intimidated by the Spaniards and fearful of the growing strength of the sultanate of Buayan, the Maguindanao Sultan began to cede parts of his ancient realms around the Pulangi to the Spaniards. It was probably in return for such concessions that the Spaniards by a Royal Decree in 1860 recognized the Maguindanao Sultan as a lieutenant general of Spain with the title of "Feudal King of Tamontaka."

In 1861 new opportunities for more acquisition by the Spaniards appeared. Sultan Marajan ud-Din (Marajanun, Bangun), the Rajah of Buayan, wanted one of his sons to become the Sultan of Maguindanao and was ready to attack Datu Amirul (Intirinu) and his son Muhammad Makakwa, the Maguindanao Sultan, to get at it. By this time, the Maguindanao Sultan had lost his power over some of his relatives among the datus of Sibugay, and was continually losing lands to members of the Buayan royal family. Consequently, in exchange for Spanish protection against the threats of the Buayan datus, the Maguindanao Sultan allowed the Spaniards to occupy the settlement of Cotabato and have a garrison there. In May 1863, by Royal Decree, the Maguindanao Sultan was granted a salary from the Spanish Government. He had become quite poor by this time, since the tributes to him had been progressively decreasing.

Simultaneously, the Spaniards also tried to establish friendly relations with the Rajah of Buayan and his close relatives. On June 14, 1857, they concluded a treaty of friendship with the Sultan of Kabuntalan who controlled Tumbao at the strategic point where the Pulangi forked into its two main branches. Noteworthy at this time is that some of the old domains of the sultanate of Buayan were under the control of the Kabuntalan Sultan who invariably had to be a very close relative of the Sultan of Buayan.

Thus in 1860, certain of some of their gains, the Spaniards established a politico-military government over the areas they held in Mindanao as well as Basilan. Divided into six districts, five were in Mindanao, while the sixth district was that of Basilan which was intended to include the island of Basilan and also "the Spanish possessions in the Archipelago of Sulu." Clearly, in spite of the Spanish assertion that by the Treaty of 1851 all the Sultan's possessions in Sulu had been incorporated in the Spanish Monarchy, the Spaniards were not too sure that they did in fact control the whole of the Sulu Archipelago. The law forming the Government of Mindanao also provided for the sending of Jesuits to Mindanao to convert the non-Christian peoples there and for each missionary to be paid from the Royal Treasury. Furthermore, government help was provided to encourage prospective colonists to settle in the pacified areas. The Cotabato settlement, near the old seat of some of the first sultans of Maguindanao, was designated as the capital of the Mindanao government.

In August 1862, a Spanish vessel went to the Sulu Sultan's possession of Sandakan in the north of Borneo and inveigled about twenty-seven Sulu datus, *imams*, and other petty officials, to make a declaration of their acceptance of Spanish sovereignty. The Sulu chiefs, in return asked for Spanish protection for their trade activities.

In September 1862, Sultan Pulalun died. The throne was offered to his uncle Datu Aranan, who at a younger age once aspired to the throne. However, he declined the sultanate on the grounds that he was too old and lacked wealth. Thus was the sultanate offered to Jamal ul-ʿAzam, a son of Pulalun. Datu Daniel, the Amir Bahar, and whose *cotta* in Jolo once gave the Spaniards a great deal of trouble in the Jolo Campaign of 1851, contested the succession. The datu desired to have his son-in-law, Datu Jamal ul-Kiram, a grandson of Sultan Shakirullah, to become the sultan. But Datu Aranan's intervention in the matter as well as Spanish refusal to show any sympathy for Datu Daniel's cause, led the majority of the datus to proclaim Jamal ul-ʿAzam as sultan. With a flair for legalism coupled with the desire to claim a hand in the succession of Sulu sultans, the Spaniards issued a certificate of recognition to the new Sultan, denominating him, however, as the feudal governor of Sulu and a subject of Spain. The Sultan was then granted a yearly emolument of 1,500 pesos and, as usual, warned against entering into any treaty with any other foreign power.

The Spaniards at Manila were not blind to the fact that the Sulus never really intended to accept the Spanish Government as their lord. Actually, there seemed to be an increased traffic of arms and ammunition to Jolo after 1851 to the extent that in 1860 the Spanish government announced that "no direct traffic will be permitted under a foreign flag with Sulu and its Dependencies, which, according to the capitulations of 30th April 1851, formed an integral part of the Philippine Archi-

British (German)

pelago."[9] Spanish firmness on the blockade was demonstrated in 1873 when two German trading vessels, the *Gazelle* and the *Maria Louisa,* were seized in Sulu waters and their cargos confiscated. Not long after, the German brig *Minna* was also captured by the Spanish fleet.

To the German protest on the blockade was added that of the British who challenged the Spanish claim of sovereignty over Sulu, which the Spaniards said was their basis for the right to enforce the blockade. On November 7, 1873, Mr. A. H. Layard, the British minister in Madrid, wrote to the Spanish government that "it is my duty to state to the Spanish Government that Her Majesty's Government reserve to themselves the right to dispute the Spanish claim to sovereignty in the Sulu Archipelago, which they have never acknowledged."[10]

But it was the Sulus who were to feel the impact of the blockade most heavily. Their boats going to Zamboanga or other parts of Mindanao were stopped and searched. When they failed to heed the instructions of Spanish boats, they were subjected outright to artillery fire. In retaliation, some Samals attacked Spanish settlements. Desultory hostilities broke out anew between Spaniards and Sulus. Around 1872, just off the coast of Jolo, a Sulu vessel carrying eight persons, including one woman, were asked by the Spanish warship *Valiente* to stop. Upon refusal the boat was chased and fired upon causing the death of three of the Sulus. The Spaniards then demanded that the Sulu Sultan deliver up to them the remaining five who had managed to escape. The Sultan refused to give them up contending that not only did the survivors not commit any crime but that they were people of the interior and, therefore, difficult to contact or induce to accede to the Spanish demand. When the survivors did not appear at five in the afternoon, the end of the period of grace given to them, the Spanish warship fired a volley of 100 cannon shots at Jolo. After a few days, it returned and sent a Spanish flag with the demand that the Sultan fly it in his capital. The Sultan had the flag publicly burned.[11]

Not content with the damage to Jolo, a Spanish fleet sailed to Sulu settlements as far as Simunul, firing shots and killing innocent people simply to intimidate or cow the Sulus. As part of an over-all plan, Puerto Princesa in Palawan was occupied by a Spanish garrison, preparatory to the occupation of Balabak and other points south of Palawan. On August

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[9] "Correspondence relating to the affairs of Sulu subsequent to the Spanish Expedition against the Sultan in 1876," *Foreign Office Records 572/4* (*Sooloo 1873-1876*), p. 2.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[11] Cf. "Statement of Datu Haroun (Inclosure 2)" and "Statement of the Nakhoda (Inclosure 8)" in "Report by Commander Buckle on the State of the Sulu Archipelago," *Admiralty Station Records 125/80.*

2, 1873, the Spanish Admiral Juan Anteguera y Bobadilla issued a proclamation to the effect that since Sulu was in rebellion, all vessels in the Sulu Archipelago manned by Muslims were to be destroyed and their crew and passengers sent to labor on public works in the northern part of the Philippines. If such vessels were armed, its occupants were to be considered as pirates subject to court martial. Furthermore, all Muslim-owned vessels, although not directly manned by Muslims, were to be destroyed by Spanish warships.[12] The Sulus had no other alternative but to defend themselves. They also hoped to complicate the problems of the Spaniards by playing Spanish pretensions against those of the British. The Sultan thus wrote two letters to the British Queen inviting the English to occupy Tuliyan [Talysian?] in the coast of Borneo,[13] a settlement port offered to Dalrymple about a century earlier. One of these letters, dated May 14, 1872, presented a long explanation of how hostilities between the Spaniards and Sulus commenced and explicitly requested aid from the British Queen. The Queen's reply on November 19, was not very encouraging. She maintained that the relations between her country and Spain were friendly in consequence of which she could not help the Sulus in the manner requested. The response of the Sultan on June 8, 1873 was to ask the Queen's intercession to bring about a halt to the attacks of the Spaniards.

The Spanish Campaign against Sulu in 1876 represented the final pages of the last chapter of the Moro Wars. It was launched primarily to settle once and for all the issue of Spanish sovereignty over Sulu, the delimitations of Spanish territories in the Southeast Asia region, and the presentation of a *fait accompli* to other ambitious and similarly envious European powers who were out to contest Spain's influence in the southern borders of her Philippine colony. The campaign was carefully planned and no stone was to be left unturned. Public opinion in the colony was deliberately roused to support it to the extent that the *Diario de Manila* on October 30, 1875 proclaimed:

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> The terrible historical "delenda" applied to the Sultanate of Sulu, and the Datus depending thereon, exists in the opinion of all here as an absolute necessity, equally recognized by those who command as by those who obey.

An official Spanish explanation for the campaign was that the Spaniards were simply enforcing the treaties entered into between them and the Sulus which the latter, they said, continually ignored. But to many Manila residents, the issue was one of piracy. The Spanish clergy, eager to enter an area closed to them, welcomed the war to open the gates for evangelization even as many of them made efforts to convince the people that the Muslims were traditional enemies of the Christians. Writing in *El Oriente,* the Dominican friar Ramon Martinez Vigil exhorted: "The war against Jolo is now a just war, a holy war in the name of religion. . . ."[14] Following him was the Recollect friar Salvador Font who, in the same paper, exclaimed: "War and war without quarter or rest for the wicked sons of the Qur'an; war to the death with blood and fire. Go brave Spanish soldier to the combat in the fiery arena without fear because you are supported and protected by the fury of the God of the armies. . ."[15] Many Filipinos convinced that the Muslims were the traditional enemies of their faith, together with a few rich Chinese who were out to demonstrate their loyalty to the Spanish government, made substantial contributions to the campaign. Towns subscribed to it. Different friar orders and even students of their schools donated thousands of pesos in money or in kind to a cause deemed just and holy. It has been estimated that public subscription for the campaign reached 250,000 pesetas.[16]

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[12] See Inclosure 11, p. 15, *ibid.*

[13] "Letter of Henry Bulwer to Earl Granville, dated June 15, 1872," *Foreign Office Records* 71/2.

Thus, on February 5, 1876, a strong Spanish force led by Governor General Jose Malcampo left Manila for Zamboanga where it was reinforced by volunteers from towns in the northern part of Mindanao. With about 9,000 troops, the fleet composed of ten steamboats, eleven gunboats, and eleven transports reached the island of Jolo on February 21. Orders for landing were given the next morning. The troops actually landed in Patikul, four miles east of Jolo. With them were many priests and even sisters of charity.[17]

The Sulus were prepared for the coming of the expedition while it was still grouping itself in Zamboanga. The Sultan called a meeting of the datus, *panglimas,* and leaders of the people of the interior. A plan for resistance and retreat was made. Many of those who had earlier opposed the election of the Sultan flocked to his standard and the *ʿulama* proclaimed the war against the Spaniards as a holy and patriotic duty and its support as an expression of loyalty to the Sultan. Actually, the *ʿulama* was very much endeared to the Sultan who was quite pious and strict in the performance of his religious duties. He also appeared popular with the Buranuns of the interior whom he always consulted on important decisions.

The Spanish forces which landed at Patikul were stubbornly resisted by the Sulus who were eventually forced to retreat to the interior.

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[14] *El Oriente,* January 1876, No. 16. Quoted from Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, footnote, p. 520.

[15] *El Oriente,* February 6, 1876, No. 19. Quoted from *ibid.,* footnote, p. 521.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 521.

[17] For details of the Spanish forces cf. Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.,* Vol. II, pp. 523-529; Saleeby, *The History of Sulu,* p. 114; and Miguel A. Espina, *op. cit.,* pp. 249-262.

The attempt by the Spaniards to cut across a swampy and forested area in order to attack Jolo from the rear cost them heavy casualties due to heat and thirst, with the result that those who survived were forced to use the coastal route. On February 29, the Spanish fleet bombarded Jolo simultaneously with a general advance of Spanish infantry units. Jolo was well fortified by *cottas* and deep trenches. But the *cottas* eventually fell one by one, forcing the Sultan and his loyal warriors to retreat to Bud Datu. The Spanish troops tried to follow up their successful assault on Jolo by destroying Sulu settlements in other parts of Jolo island, including Maimbung, as well as in the nearby islands. A fort was then built in Jolo that was complete with hospital facilities and provisions for the expansion of the garrison. Meanwhile, the Sulus devised guerilla tactics, ambushing workmen and small detachments. Not content with these, the Sulus resorted to the ways of a *"juramentado"* or what was known as *sabil allah* to them. After some initiation rites and proper prayers and with the determination to die while liberating Muslim lands from the enemy, the *juramentados* rushed at the enemy, trying to kill as many as possible, until they were themselves killed. Scores of Spanish soldiers thus perished and there is no record of a *juramentado* who had returned home alive. From his mountain hideout, Sultan Jamal ul-ʿAzam kept up with the struggle and coordinated the attacks of his datus on the Spanish garrison that was plagued by sickness. Actually, the Jolo garrison was beleaguered. Only a couple of miles away datus with their warriors kept close watch on Spanish moves. The Sultan meanwhile kept his contacts with other Europeans, some of whom often visited him. He was even able to levy customs duties on European traders since the Spaniards effectively controlled only Jolo. The Sultan kept up the struggle until July 1878, when he entered into a peace treaty with the Spaniards.

While the Sultan kept up with the struggle and the Spaniards held fast to their garrison in Jolo, two events of great importance to the Sulu sultanate took place. The first was the March 11, 1877 Protocol of Sulu signed by Germany, Great Britain, and Spain. The other was the lease of the Sulu possessions in North Borneo on January 22, 1878, to the British North Borneo Company represented by Baron Gustavus Von Overbeck.

The first event resulted from the diplomatic repercussions arising from the Spanish blockade of the Sulu Archipelago. The Germans made strong representations against the seizure of their vessels while the British raised doubts over Spain's claims to exercise sovereignty over Sulu. The Spanish foreign minister assured the British and German ministers in Madrid of the freedom of trade in Sulu, a stand, however, which the Governor General in Manila did not honor. The German government thus insisted that in view of the verbal nature of the assurances of the

Spanish foreign minister, it was necessary to formalize them. This was the situation in November 1876. By January 1877, the Spanish government, certain of its secure hold on Jolo and believing that the final conquest of Sulu was just a matter of time, indicated its willingness to discuss possible measures to guarantee British and German rights to direct commerce in Sulu as well as Spain's rights of sovereignty over it.[18] But the British, afraid that the Germans might expand their interests in the area, had second thoughts about their objections to the exercise of Spanish sovereignty over Sulu. This is quite evident in the views of the British Consul Gifford Palgrave as expressed in his report to the Earl of Denby. In effect, the opinion was that it was better for a power like Spain to hold Sulu if only to prevent it from falling to the Germans who, by all indications, could outbid and undersell the British. Furthermore, "it is most undesirable for our Imperial interests in this part of the world that a German foothold should be established in the middle of one of the principal lines of sea-communication between ourselves and our Austrolasian colonies."[19] What finally resulted was a protocol entered into among Great Britain, Germany, and Spain which took effect on March 26, 1877. In this protocol, British and German ships were allowed to trade freely at any port in Sulu without having to stop first at a Spanish-held port to secure the necessary permit. With this protocol, Spain was able to temporarily block any foreign interference in her current war with the Sulus and in a way even secured the recognition by the foreign powers of the fact of Spanish occupation of some Sulu ports.[20]

After the signing of the Protocol, the British paid more visits to Sulu apparently to test the efficacy of the terms of the agreement. On August 15, 1877, William Hood Treacher, the Colonial Secretary assigned to Labuan, even had an audience with Sultan Jamal ul-ᶜAzam and other principal datus who were shown a copy of the Protocol. The Sultan thanked the British official for the efforts of the British to carry on the trade with the Sulus but remarked that he could not see how the Protocol would benefit him since the Spaniards obviously planned to occupy all the main ports of Sulu, including Maimbung and Parang. By his remarks, the Sultan was possibly suggesting that it was to British and German interests that the above two ports remain in his control, presumably with British help. In the course of the interview, the Sultan remarked that the "cry of piracy raised by the Spaniards was a mere pretext to hide their designs against his country from other Powers." Claiming the existence of piratical acts as due to Badjaos and Balangingi Samals, he explained that his problem of suppressing them was the same one confronting the Spaniards, although he had done his best to stop piracy in his dominions. He then asked the official whether British traders had been molested by Sulus. Admitting that in the war he had to submit to superior forces, he expressed his determination to resist the imposition of Spanish sovereignty to the extent that he did not care if he had to retreat from one place to another "to arrive ultimately in his Bornean possessions." To demonstrate his peaceful inclinations, the Sultan revealed that he was willing to abide by the 1851 Treaty with Spain provided that the clause relating to piracy was left out, for, although he was willing to help reduce piracy, he did not have all the means to suppress it. He was very apprehensive, he asserted, over the possibility that the Spaniards would again utilize the issue of piracy as an excuse to pursue their designs to conquer the Sulus. What was necessary, therefore, to prevent the Spaniards from evading their commitments was a peace treaty between them and the Sulus to be witnessed by Great Britain and Germany. The Sultan alluded to this condition at various times.[21]

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[18] Cf. *Foreign Office Records* 71/8, 71/9, and 71/10; and "Letter of Mr. Layard to the Earl of Denby, Madrid, November 14, 1876," (No. 36), *Foreign Office Records 572/5 (1876)*.

[19] This letter of Palgrave is found in "Report by Consul Palgrave on the Island and Archipelago of Sulu and their relations with Spain, January 24, 1877." *Foreign Office Records 572/4* (1873-1876).

[20] A copy of this protocol is found in Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, pp. 259-262.

Although the interview clearly revealed that, to strengthen his hand, the Sultan wanted to involve the British and the Germans in his struggle with Spain, it also suggests convincingly that the Sulu Sultan never approved of piracy in his realm. He could not really contain it effectively for the same reason that the Spaniards themselves, with superior forces, were unable to eradicate it completely. But the Spanish propaganda on this latter point was such that the Sultan himself was led to write to his datus in Borneo not to believe that he was harboring wicked or criminal elements in his realm or that he had encouraged piracy. On the other hand, he exhorted them to accelerate their commercial activities as far as Singapore.[22] The fact was that it was to the Sultan's advantage to increase trade and guarantee the safety at sea that merchant shipping required, for he was himself, like his ancestors, a trader.

In any case, regardless of the veracity of the Sultan's declaration on piracy, it was expedient for the British at this time to insist that the Sultan had indeed spoken the truth since it would become clearer that the Spanish attempt to conquer Sulu was to thwart the "legitimate rights" of the British there. This explains the instructions of the Earl of Denby to Consul Palgrave on August 25, 1877:

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[21] A report of this interview is found in a letter of W. H. Treacher to Commander Edward Church of the *H.M.S. Curlew* dated August 16, 1877, *Admiralty Station Records 125/80*, pp. 298-303. Also found in *Foreign Office Records 572/7* (1877-1879), pp. 41-42.

[22] Cf. "Letter of the Sulu Sultan to the Tuan Besar, Governor of Labuan, 1294 A. H.," *Foreign Office Records 572/7* (1877-1879), p. 10.

> Her Majesty's Government has never regarded the Sultan of Sulu in the light of pirate; they have never admitted the claim of Spain to Sovereignty over the Archipelago; and in the interests of British trade they have never been disposed to regard with favor any extension of Spanish authority or influence in Sulu waters. Her Majesty's Government see no reason to modify their views, and they rely upon your regulating your language and conduct in accordance therewith.[23]

While the negotiations for the Protocol were going on, the Dutch were consolidating their position on the island of Borneo. In effect, they were slowly encroaching into the eastern part of the island which, during the time of 'Azim ud-Din I, was effectively ruled by, and paying tribute to, the Sulu sultanate. In due time when the problem of delineating the extent of the Sulu territories would be discussed, the Dutch would brazenly claim that the Tirun and Bulungan areas never pertained to the Sulu sultanate.

It was in January 1878, while the Sulu Sultan was still engaged in war with the Spaniards, that he was visited by an Austrian adventurer, Baron Gustavus Von Overbeck, who was accompanied by William Treacher, now the British Governor of Labuan and concurrently Consul General assigned to Brunei. Von Overbeck was once honorary consul for Austria-Hungary in Hongkong. He had acquired a barony for helping supply oriental pieces to a Vienna Exhibition. With the financial backing of Alfred Dent, a businessman, he was able to form a company for the commercial and agricultural development of large areas in northern Borneo. Since the leases which the Baron had previously bought from an earlier company appeared to have become worthless, it was deemed necessary for the Company to negotiate with the Brunei Sultan for another lease on the desired territory. It was on December 29, 1877, that, for a certain amount of money, the Brunei Sultan leased in three grants parts of North Borneo that extended from Gaya Bay (just off present Jesselton) on the west coast to the mouth of Sibuko River on the east coast. Another lease covered the area from Kimanis to the Gaya area. The Brunei Sultan further conferred on the Baron the title of Rajah of Gaya and Sandakan as well as that of Maharajah of Sabah. But what the Baron failed to realize at that time was that for nearly two centuries, the Brunei Sultan had ceased to have any control over nearly all of the area he had leased. It will be recalled how his ancestor had ceded to Sulu the whole area from Kimanis to all Brunei territory eastwards. Sultan Jamal ul-'Azam claimed that he was sovereign from the Kimanis River to Balikpapan despite the fact that the Dutch had already encroached on Balikpapan and even northwards to the Tirun area including Bulungan. However, he appeared to have ceased to exercise effective control over the area from Kimanis to that west of Maludo Bay. But neither did the Brunei Sultan exercise sovereignty over this entire area, although there is evidence that he did have some control from Kimanis to Gaya Bay. In any case, although the Sulu Sultan, on account of his waning powers and concentrated resistance to the Spanish invasion had ceased to rule in some points between Kimanis and Balikpapan, he was still considered sovereign from Maludo Bay to Sibuko where the Tausug datus remained fiercely loyal to him. All these explain why the Baron had to go to Sulu to negotiate for a lease of the territory from the Pandassan River along the whole east coast to Sibuko River, including all the offshore islands lying within nine miles. He was accompanied by Treacher who possibly wanted to see to it that the negotiations of Overbeck did not in any manner endanger British interests in Sulu and North Borneo. For there was nothing to prevent the Baron from selling later on any lease granted to him by the Sulu Sultan to another European power.

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[23] "Letter of the Earl of Denby to Mr. W. Gifford Palgrave, August 25, 1877," *Foreign Office Records 572/7* (1877-1879), p. 29.

On January 22, 1878, the Baron, with Treacher as a witness, was able to secure a lease from the Sulu Sultan over the latter's dominions in Borneo "commencing from the Pandassan River on the east, and thence along the whole coast as far as the Sibuku River on the south, and including all territories, on the Pandassan River and in the coastal area, known as Paitan, Sugut, Banggai, Labuk, Sandakan, China-batangan, Mumiang, and all other territories and coastal lands to the south, bordering on Darvel Bay, and as far as the Sibuku River, together with all the islands which lie within nine miles from the coast."[24] In exchange for this, the Company promised to pay the amount of five thousand dollars annually to the Sultan. On the same day, the Sultan granted a commission to the Baron appointing him Datu Bendahara as well as Rajah of Sandakan "with absolute power over life and death of the inhabitants of the country with all the absolute rights of property over the soil of the country. . . ." From the reports of Treacher on the matter, the areas specified in the lease represented the territory where the Sulu Sultan had his datus and where he actually exercised sovereignty. The Sulu Sultan, however, wanted Kimanis and Balikpapan to be mentioned specifically in the lease simply to prevent the Sulus from believing that their Sultan was giving up his claim to the entire continuous area between these two points.[25]

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[24] This is based on the Conklin translation of the Grant.

[25] A great deal of the above and following data regarding North Borneo is based on documentary sources found in *Philippine Claim to North Borneo*, Vol. I (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1964) and Vol. II (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1967). Both of these books were published by the Department of Foreign Affairs to make known the Philippine claim to Sabah.

The Sultan's explanation to the Spanish Governor General Domingo Moriones, six months after he had entered into the contract with Overbeck, why he had leased the North Borneo possessions of the Sulu Sultanate were twofold: he was being hard pressed by Spanish forces and the Baron had told him that the Spanish Governor General was on his way to destroy everything of the Sulus, and that the Brunei Sultan and his men were ready to occupy Sandakan without the Sulu Sultan having the power to prevent it. The Sulu Sultan also reported that the titles of Datu Bendahara and Rajah of Sandakan were solicited by the Baron who made out the commission to be signed by the Sultan. What the Sulu Sultan was suggesting here was that his signing of the commission was not spontaneous but done under duress. Another point clarified by the Sultan was concerned with the money paid to him which he said was for rent.[26] Twelve days later, on June 26, 1878, the Sulu Sultan, while asserting that Overbeck as a datu and rajah of the realm was his subject and subordinate official, complained to Treacher:

> .... I have made Baron Overbeck Datu Bendahara at his request, although he is a white man. And he thereby acknowledges himself as one of my subjects. Now, to my surprise, he makes out vice versa that the Sulus are his subjects, and he has thrown away my flag. This was not so provided in the agreement that he should hoist a flag for himself and throw away mine.[27]

Decrying to Treacher that he never sold the land to anyone, the Sultan reflected that "There is a difference between farming out a country and selling [it]." He finally added in true Tausug fashion that "if anything happens to the Englishmen at Sandakan, the Datu Bendahara will be responsible."[28] In reply, particularly to the last remark, the Consul-General said that "as you still claim to be ruler of the district of Sandakan, and fly your Highness' flag, and have appointed your deputy there, all British subjects residing there are under your Highness gracious protection."[29] The lesson of Balambangan must have been still fresh in the minds of the Britishers.

The Sultan's claim that he never sold the North Borneo territory of the sultanate was quite consistent with the language of his contract with Overbeck which uses the word "*pajak.*" Although some persons have used this word variously to mean sale, cession, or lease, to Sulu royalty it most probably meant the right to exploit the land and monopolize the sale of its products. To the people of Brunei, at least, *pajak* meant a monopoly of trade. This is borne out by a letter from Rajah Brooke of Sarawak to Consul-General Treacher on April 6, 1878:

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[26] For a copy of this July 4, 1878 letter of the Sulu Sultan, see *Philippine Claim to North Borneo,* Vol. I. p. 67. Also found in Inclosure 2 in Document No. 1/397, *Foreign Office Records 572/7* (1877-1879), p. 321. In the English translation of this letter, the term used is "lease."

[27] Inclosure 2 in No. 226, *Foreign Office Records 572/7* (1877-1879), p. 191.

[28] *Ibid.*

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 191-192.

> I have the honor to inform you that representations having reached me that Baron Overbeck has received from the Court of Brunei a *bona fide* cession of the whole of the north part of Borneo, drawn out in perpetuity, on his paying a certain sum to His Highness the Sultan of Brunei. I have made inquiry at Brunei, and find that this has been done, although the Sultan represents it as being merely a "pajak" or monopoly of trade.[30]

In any case, for many years after the lease of the North Borneo possessions of the Sulu sultanate was made, the official British position regarding these territories was that they were the Sultan's possessions and that he retained his suzerainty over them. Consequently, when the Dutch expressed apprehension over what they believed were indications of Britain's political ambitions in the area, they were officially assured by the British Government that "That British Government assumes no sovereign rights whatever in Borneo..."[31]

On July 22, 1878, a peace treaty was entered into between Sultan Jamal ul-'Azam and the Spanish Government. Credit goes to Colonel Carlos Martinez, the Spanish Governor at Jolo, who conducted the negotiations. Likewise, contributory factors were the patient efforts at mediation of Harun ar-Rashid, a royal datu whose domicile was at the southern tip of Palawan. Signed by the Sultan and the Jolo Governor, it was later ratified by the Manila Government on August 15 of the same year. It was also the last treaty entered into between the Spaniards and a Sulu Sultan. It made Sulu a sort of protectorate of Spain while retaining a great deal of autonomy for the Sulus both in matters of internal administration and commercial activities. For example, in ports controlled by the Sultan and not occupied by the Spaniards, the Sultan had all the rights regarding the imposition and collection of duties. Although there were two versions of the Treaty, they coincided on most principles and details. The Sulu Sultan bound his subjects in the Sulu Archipelago and dependencies to obey the Spanish King. The Sultan and the principal datus were to receive salaries from the Spanish Government. The Spaniards were to be allowed to occupy certain points of the Sultan's dominions and if lands were to be expropriated by the Spanish Government for the public good, due compensation was pledged. Certain specified land points were reserved for the Sultan which were to be occupied by the Spaniards only in case of war between the Spaniards and other foreign powers. The

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[30] "Rajah Brooke to Acting Consul-General Treacher, dated April 6, 1878," (Inclosure 1 in No. 177), *Foreign Office Records 572/7* (1877-1879), p. 138.

[31] "Earl Granville to Count de Bylandt, November 21, 1881," Quoted from *Philippine Claim to North Borneo*, Vol. II, p. 40.

Sultan was empowered to collect duties on foreign traders in areas not occupied by the Spanish Government. He was even authorized to issue licenses to those of his subjects desiring to carry firearms. The Sultan promised to help curb piracy and was not to be held accountable for piratical acts of which he was uninformed. The Spanish flag was to be hoisted in Sulu settlements and craft. The Islamic religion and customs of the Sulus were to be respected while Spanish missionaries, under certain conditions, were allowed to travel in Sulu.[32]

The British looked upon this peace treaty with misgivings, since their policy was to maintain that the Sulu Sultan was sovereign in the Sulu dominions. Although they did not actually appear very intransigent later on to go so far as to contest Spanish rights over the Sulu Archipelago, they were determined to see to it that Spanish claims did not extend to the North Borneo territories of the Sulu Sultanate. The view of the Marquis of Salisbury in 1879 was that if Spain could claim sovereignty over Sabah, all the more could Great Britain which had a prior claim to it. Moreover, he pointed out, at no time did any Sulu ruler cede any part of Borneo to the Spaniards, and this was according to the Sulu Sultan. The Marquis did not like the idea of the Spanish flag flying in Sandakan.[33]

Meanwhile, the Spaniards were doing precisely what the Britishers feared the Spaniards might do. The Spanish government solicited a letter from the Sultan affirming Spanish rights in Sabah and simultaneously persuaded him to write a letter to Overbeck cancelling the January 1878 lease. This last letter was even indorsed by the Spanish government to the Baron.[34] On April 16, 1879, Treacher, as acting Governor of Labuan, wrote to the Sulu Sultan protesting the hoisting of the Spanish flag in Borneo. Similar protest letters were sent to the Sulu datus in Maludo Bay and nearby points.[35]

In brief, while the Spanish Government questioned the validity of the January 1878 lease to Overbeck as well as the treaties entered into by the Sulu sultans and Dalrymple in the eighteenth century, the British still spoke of "the Bornean possessions of the Sultan of Sulu." For their own purposes, it was expedient for the British Government to consider the Sulu Sultan as an independent sovereign. In the meantime, the Spaniards began to occupy a few more points in Sulu and to strengthen their garrisons. Jolo was being rebuilt by them along permanent lines. The Spanish Government at Madrid did what it could to force the British

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[32] For copies of the July 22, 1878 Treaty, see Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, pp. 119-123; and Montero y Vidal, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 80-84.

[33] "Letter of the Marquis of Salisbury to Mr. West," *Admiralty Station Records, 125/142.*

[34] *Philippine Claim to North Borneo*, Vol. I, pp. 68-70.

[35] Inclosure 4 in No. 326, *Foreign Office Records 572/7* (1877-1879), pp. 257-259.

Government to recognize Spanish rights over Sabah. In utter disregard of British objections, the Spanish flag, by 1880, was flown in at least twenty-five islands, including points in Sabah belonging to the Sulu dominions. The Sulu Sultan washed his hands on the matter when he told Treacher that the hoisting of the Spanish flag in his dominions never had his approval.[36]

Sultan Jamal ul-ʿAzam tried to live up to as many provisions of the 1878 Treaty as possible. He tried to improve his capital at Maimbung and foster trade. For a time, it even appeared as if he had lost all interest in the old capital of Jolo; and from all indications he did not participate in any of the attempts of some Sulus to recapture the town. Some isolated groups of Sulus, ranging from four or five to a few dozens, occasionally attacked Spanish soldiers as *juramentados*. Egged on by the *ʿulama* who became convinced that the Sultan was too weak to oppose the Spanish presence in Jolo, the *juramentados* took it as a matter of individual duty to expel the Spaniards. There is no evidence that the Sultan ever approved officially of these acts of the *juramentados*. In any case, he could not do anything to restrain them. It became common for isolated groups of Spanish soldiers and their native subjects from the Philippines to be ambushed. What the Spaniards desired was for the Sultan to consider all those who attacked the Spaniards as rebels to him for disobeying his orders for a general peace. On March 30, 1880, about forty warriors from Luuk attacked the Jolo plaza killing two Spanish soldiers while wounding one sergeant and two other soldiers. The attack was repulsed and twelve of the Luuk men were killed. On April 10, Colonel Rafael Gonzalez, the Spanish governor of Jolo, reported to the Spanish Governor General that the Sulu Sultan showed firmness in controlling the people of Luuk by punishing a few of them.

The Sultan did his best to discourage *juramentados*, but apparently could not keep the same pace the moment his health began to fail. Soon there was a noted increase in their number. On February 22, 1881, armed Sulus tried to force the gates of Jolo, but were repulsed with great losses. On April 7, the ailing Sultan died, and for some time the position of sultan was left vacant since there were at least three contestants.

Meanwhile, before his death, the Sultan was able to inform Spanish authorities of a planned attack on Jolo. Apparently the Sultan decided to take this step, as he did not want himself or his successor to be blamed for the forthcoming attack. On April 10, more than a thousand Sulus, principally from Luuk and Taglibi, attacked the Jolo plaza. The Spaniards, prepared as they were for this strong attack, frustrated the efforts of Sulus among whom more than 100 were killed.

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[36] "Letter of Sulu Sultan to Acting Governor Treacher, May 1, 1880," (Inclosure in No. 41), *Foreign Office Records 572/8* (1880-1881).

The question of succession to the vacant post of sultan had for its contestants Badar ud-Din (the rajah-muda) and Amirul Kiram, both sons of the late sultan, and Datu 'Ali ud-Din, a grandson of Sultan Shakirullah. Inchi Jamila, the mother of Amirul Kiram, intrigued for her son asserting that it was the will of the late Sultan to have the Rajah Muda bypassed in favor of her son. Meanwhile, Datu 'Ali ud-Din decided to bide his time. Eventually, Badar ud-Din was proclaimed sultan upon the declaration of support from the majority of the datus, the chiefs of the Buranuns, as well as representatives of the non-royal Sulus who had become prominent. The Spanish Government forthwith recognized Badar ud-Din II as the sultan. Apparently to test his loyalty, the new Sultan was asked to punish the people responsible for the April 10 attack on Jolo which he did with the assistance of his loyal datus. Various settlements in Luuk and Taglibi were subjected to attack. They killed a few recalcitrants and forced their chiefs to tender their loyalty to the Spanish Governor at Jolo. This partly explains why in the future there was continuous friction between some datus and the Sultan's family.

Meanwhile, some peace came to Jolo. It was then that the new Sultan decided to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving behind Inchi Jamila and Datu 'Ali ud-Din as regents during his absence. On his way to Mecca, while on a brief stop-over at Singapore, where he was given all the honors due a sultan by the British, the Sultan took time to negotiate for the purchase of 200 rifles from an English firm. When the Spanish consul there heard of, and reported the matter to the Manila Government, the Spanish Governor General Fernando Primo de Rivera then planned to hold a meeting of Sulu dignitaries for the purpose of electing another sultan. However, this plan was not carried out. Instead the consul was instructed to invite Badar ud-Din II to pass by Manila on his way back from the pilgrimage. But this message arrived after the Sultan had left and he got it only during his return trip which was again routed via Singapore. The Sultan did not however go to Manila, saying that with the recent death of one of his sons it was imperative for him to return immediately to his capital in Maimbung. Badar ud-Din II returned to Sulu in January 1883. After attending to a few personal affairs, he made plans to visit Manila. This provoked such an unusual excitement in Sulu, especially in Luuk, Parang, and Taglibi, that the Sultan was advised by his chief datus to abandon his plans.

It was during the reign of Badar ud-Din II that the Spaniards established a naval station at Bongao in Tawi-Tawi and garrisoned Siasi. These led the Sultan to write a letter to the British minister Earl Granville to the effect that the Spanish occupation of these two points were done without his consent since only the occupation of Jolo by the Spaniards was allowed by treaty. The Sultan asked the British to help prevent the Spaniards from troubling him further in occupying his territories. As before, the 1761 Treaty with Dalrymple was invoked.[37] To this appeal of the Sultan, the British, however, did not react favorably. They claimed that there was no justification for British Government intervention in matters regarding the relations of the Sultan with Spain.[38]

On February 22, 1884, Sultan Badar ud-Din II died. On February 29, Inchi Jamila used her influence to convoke the majority of the members of the Ruma Bichara to have them elect Amirul Kiram as sultan. Not satisfied with this, she had the assembly convoked again on March 11 in the presence of Spanish authorities to declare her son as sultan. But three days later, under the initiative of Sharif Usman and Panglima Damang of Parang, the chiefs of Parang, Luuk, Lati, and Tandu, met in Patikul and elected Datu ʿAli ud-Din as sultan. The famous brothers Datu Kalbi and Datu Julkarnain supported ʿAli ud-Din. In general, the northern part of Jolo island supported ʿAli ud-Din while the southern part, centered around Maimbung, supported Amirul Kiram. The strength of the latter derived from the support of most of the royal datus. Although the Spaniards initially recognized Amirul Kiram as the rightful heir to the throne for having been the rajah muda during Badar ud-Din's time, they were to some extent partial to Datu ʿAli ud-Din who received from them a salary of 600 pesos yearly and a large house at Matanda. Amirul Kiram's first move was to seek the retroactive recognition by the Spaniards of his legitimate claim to the position of sultan and consequently to demand his salary from 1881 to 1884. He also informed them that he was preparing an expedition against Datu ʿAli ud-Din. Skirmishes between parties soon began to occur more often and with growing intensity. Julian Gonzalez Parrado, the Jolo Governor, who realized that the situation could get out of hand and cause his administration more problems, tried to bring about peace between the factions but to no avail. It was during this time that the March 7, 1885 Protocol between Spain, Germany and Great Britain was signed.

It will be recalled that the Spanish Campaign against Jolo in 1876 was launched to ultimately bring about the establishment of Spanish sovereignty over Sulu and forestall other foreign ambitions in the area. The British response to this was to consider the Sulu Sultan as an independent sovereign. However, by the end of 1882, Earl Granville was willing to recognize Spain's sovereignty over the Sulu Archipelago "subject to her renunciation of all claim to territories tributary to the Sultan of Sulu on the mainland of Borneo." Granville then instructed the British ambassador in Berlin to find out Germany's reaction to this proposal.[39] It appeared that Spain was willing to accept the British position provided that Germany would recognize Spain's sovereignty over the Sulu Archipelago. Germany, however, did not evince any desire to take action on the matter unless Spain previously agreed to a commercial agreement proposed by Germany. What Germany specifically desired was that the freedom of commerce allowed in Sulu be also extended to the North Borneo Territory. On July 27, 1884, after a few months, as requested, for a study of the proposal, the German Ambassador in London informed Granville that the German Government was ready to discuss in Madrid the problem of the recognition of Spanish sovereignty over the Sulu Archipelago, provided Spain abandoned claims of sovereignty over the Borneo terrritories and provided further that freedom of trade would exist in all of the Sulu Sultan's dominions. Also in 1884, various meetings were held in Madrid for the purpose of discussing a new protocol. During these meetings the Germans insisted that the March 11, 1877 Protocol covered the Borneo territories. The British, for their part, expressed the desire that no foreign flag should fly over Sabah as long as it was administered by the North Borneo Company. Although the British claimed that the March 11, 1877 Protocol did not refer to the North Borneo territories, they were willing to have now "complete freedom of commerce and navigation" extended to these territories.[40] The new protocol was ready by the early part of 1885, but Germany hesitated to sign it on account of strained relations between Spain and Germany at the time. However, it was finally signed on March 7, 1885.

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[37] "The Sultan of Sulu to Earl Granville, July 30, 1883," *Foreign Office Records 572/10 (1883)*, p. 50.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

This second protocol provided for the recognition of Spain's sovereignty over the Sulu Archipelago which was to include Balabak and Kagayan de Sulu, as well as other areas in the Archipelago not yet occupied by Spain. Spain relinquished her claims of sovereignty over the Sulu domains in North Borneo including the offshore islands and guaranteed the freedom of trade and navigation in the Sulu Archipelago. The British Government pledged to abide by the arrangement regarding the territories administered by the British North Borneo Company.[41] Thus did the Spanish Campaign of 1876 pay off initially in Spain's favor. But gone was her claim to the whole of Borneo by virtue of her victory over Brunei in 1578.

The struggle between Amirul Kiram and ʻAli ud-Din was in the meantime partially resolved when the forces of the former attacked and destroyed the *cotta* of the latter in Patikul. Datu ʿAli ud-Din was forced to flee to Basilan where he hoped to have some protection from the Spanish authorities and the Sharif ʿAqil. Amirul Kiram followed his successful attack with a demand from the Spanish authorities for the latter to accept him as the legitimate sultan of Sulu. But the Spaniards were not too happy it seems to have an independent man like Amirul Kiram as sultan. They wanted a more friendly and pliable man like Harun ar-Rashid who was a royal datu descended from ʿAzim ud-Din I and actually placed in charge by the Spaniards of the governance of parts of Palawan and Balabak. He tried at various times to bring peace between Amirul Kiram and Datu ʿAli ud-Din. The Spaniards more than once broached to him the idea of becoming sultan. The offer was taken so seriously that Harun once contracted the British in April 1885, to find out whether the British would also recognize him as sultan.[42]

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[39] "Earl Granville to Lord Ampthill, October 30, 1882," *Foreign Office Records 572/9 (1882)*, p. 93.

[40] Cf. *Foreign Office Records 572/11* (1884).

[41] For a copy of the March 7, 1885 Protocol, see Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, pp. 263-265.

But aware of the popular support behind Amirul Kiram coming from the majority of the datus and Sulus, the Spaniards proposed him for the post of Sultan with Harun ar-Rashid as regent, and that both go to Manila to take the oath of loyalty to Spain. Amirul Kiram was not amenable to the Spanish proposal not only because his mother wanted to be the regent but more so because he felt that the Spaniards should have no hand in the internal affairs of the sultanate. Moreover, many datus who had not forgotten the story of ʿAzim ud-Din I's sojourn at Manila counselled him not to go to Manila. It was then that the Governor General Emilio Terrero, on the recommendation of Juan Arolas, the Jolo Governor, decided to have Harun ar-Rashid as the Sultan. With the authorization of the Madrid Government, Harun ar-Rashid was invited to Manila to be proclaimed sultan there and take the oath of fidelity to Spain as well.

Fearful that Harun ar-Rashid might have an edge over him on account of Spanish support, Amirul Kiram was to have second thoughts about his cancelled trip to Manila. On April 8, 1886, he contacted the British to find out their reaction and consult them on the advantages or disadvantages of going to Manila. But the British, who had no more use for the Sultan since they had gotten Spanish concessions regarding their claims to North Borneo, appeared correct but cold towards Amirul Kiram. The answer of Sir F. Weld, the Governor of Singapore, on May 31, was a piece of advice to the Sulu Sultan who was told to look up to the Spanish Queen in the same manner that Singapore looked up to the British Queen.[43] It became evident to Amirul ul-Kiram that he could depend only on his own resources and that nothing could be expected anymore from any European power. Actually, at this time, the British and the Dutch had begun negotiations for the delineation of their spheres of influence on the island of Borneo.

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[42] Cf. "Datu Harun Al-Rashid of Tianggi to Acting Consul-General Treacher, April 24, 1885 (10 Rajab 1302)," (Part IX: Further Correspondence respecting the Affairs of Sulu and respecting the concessions of territory in Borneo to Messrs. Dent and Overbeck, 1883), *Foreign Office Records 572/13 (1885)*, p. 10.

On September 24, 1886, at Malacañang, in the presence of the Spanish Governor General and other high Spanish officials as well as by Shaikh Mustafa Ibn Ahmad, his Arab chief minister (*wazir*), Harun ar-Rashid was officially proclaimed sultan. He swore by the Qur'an to be loyal to Spain. In October, escorted by Spanish troops and a small fleet, the new Sultan landed at Parang. The reception of the Sulus was lukewarm while Amirul Kiram prepared his forces against the newly-proclaimed Sultan.

Clearly, Harun ar-Rashid needed Spanish help to assert his authority. As did happen on January 24, 1887, the Sultan had to request Juan Arolas, the Jolo Governor, to subjugate ʿAli Maranan, the *panglima* of Damang. The Spaniards, only too willing to cooperate, attacked the settlement of the *panglima* the following day where they burned twenty-nine houses, and captured a few *vintas* trying to escape to Tapul. The *panglima* was forced to submit to Harun ar-Rashid. However, as long as Amirul Kiram was free and continued to refuse to recognize the new sultan, Harun ar-Rashid's claim to legitimacy seemed untenable. Thus Maimbung, the seat of Amirul Kiram, had to be attacked. On April 16, Arolas, with a column of about 850 soldiers attacked Maimbung by land, while Harun ar-Rashid attacked it by sea. The column led by Arolas was harassed on its way from Jolo to Maimbung; but many Sulus died in these attacks. Maimbung itself was defended by two neighboring *cottas* and in the fierce fight to capture them the Spaniards suffered fourteen dead and 118 wounded. It is believed that about eighty-three Sulus died defending the main *cotta*. Among the Sulu casualties were a few datus, *sharifs*, and members of the household of Amirul Kiram, including his secretary. The battle was one of heroic proportions, but ultimately victory fell to the Spanish side. Amirul Kiram, with about 2,000 of his followers, was able to escape the Spanish dragnet and reassemble in the Talipan mountain. The Maimbung *cotta* was reduced to ashes but the settlement was allowed to remain practically intact, since the Spaniards decided to occupy it. The mother of Amirul Kiram sent a message to the Spaniards where she expressed her willingness as well as that of her son to accept Spanish sovereignty. She went so far as to send to Harun ar-Rashid the seal of the Sultan Jamal ul-ʿAzam. But Amirul Kiram and his datus refused to consider the Spanish demand that he come and personally surrender to the Jolo Governor.

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[43] For this exchange of letters, see *Foreign Office Records 572/14 (1886)*, pp. 133-134.

In early May, the Spaniards attacked some of the offshore islands near Maimbung to force the chiefs there to accept Harun ar-Rashid as sultan. On May 24 Tapul was attacked by 800 soldiers under Arolas himself. The Panglima Sayadi was among the victims of the fierce fighting. Patikul and Lati were also attacked. Thus, ʿAli ud-Din and his followers in Patikul, including the Panglima Damang of Parang, were forced to declare their allegiance to the Sultan.

Harun ar-Rashid exerted all efforts to enable him to exercise his claimed prerogatives. He wrote to the Consul General of Labuan not to trade with Maimbung whose people still refused to accept him as sultan. He also wrote to Governor Treacher who stationed himself at Sandakan to the effect that every ship trading at Palawan needed a pass which could be had at his station at Sulu-Tianggi (Jolo).

In the meantime, due to the return of Datu ʿAli ud-Din to Patikul on the insistence of his followers who went back on their previous decision to accept Harun ar-Rashid as Sultan, Governor Arolas had to once more attack Patikul with the result that ʿAli ud-Din had to flee for the second time. In 1888, after ʿAli ud-Din announced his decision not to seek the post of sultan anymore he returned to Patikul where he was given hospitality by Datu Kalbi and Datu Julkarnain. There he lived quietly and peacefully till his death on August 10, 1891.

In the course of time when ʿAli ud-Din struggled to have the sultanship, an aspect of Harun ar-Rashid's character was revealed. The Spaniards, who earlier had some sympathy for ʿAli ud-Din, and consequently wanted to avoid sending an expedition to Patikul just to assert the sultanate of Harun ar-Rashid, suggested as a *modus vivendi*, a meeting between the Sultan and ʿAli ud-Din to bring about an understanding between them. The Sultan refused on the ground that he was the Sultan and that it would not be fitting for him to travel to Patikul to seek an understanding with a subject. When the Sultan took this stand, the Jolo Governor was led to sustain him in his refusal, alleging that he never asked the Sultan to go to Patikul. Although Harun ar-Rashid was, in effect, a Spanish tool, he did not consider himself so; he always demanded from the Spaniards and the British the courtesies that befitted his office. The British North Borneo Company was led to pay Harun ar-Rashid the annual rent for Sabah.

But Harun ar-Rashid never completely succeeded in obtaining the allegiance of the majority of the Sulus. In 1890, a British report revealed that, for all practical purposes, Jolo was in a stage of seige and that no European ventured to go outside the walls of the town. Harun ar-Rashid lived in a heavily guarded and fortified palace. To the majority of the Sulus, the real sultan was Amirul Kiram. Business in Jolo was practically at a standstill.[44]

Harun ar-Rashid discovered that he could not even get the Sulus who were supposed to be loyal to him to hoist the Spanish flag in their vessels. Smuggling of arms from Labuan increased to the embarrassment of the Sultan. His fast dwindling forces became the object of the attacks of Amirul Kiram. To keep peace with Amirul Kiram and his mother, who happened to be a cousin, the Sultan gave up his claims to the rent paid by the British North Borneo Company in their favor. Thus upon the departure of Governor Arolas from Jolo in 1893, the Sultan who looked upon this Spanish official as a real ally and support, asked the Spanish Government to relieve him of the sultanate. The Spanish Government welcomed this offer of the Sultan, as he had become an embarrassment to them. The Governor General authorized his retirement to Palawan as well as the payment of the same salary he had enjoyed as sultan. He was allowed the title of "*sultan jubilado de Palawan.*" Characteristically, the Sultan asked the Spanish Government to be compensated for the palace the Spaniards had built for him and which he was leaving behind. On December 16, 1893, Harun ar-Rashid left Jolo for Palawan attended by a few friendly and courteous Spaniards who saw him off. He died a few years after in April 1899.

But Harun ar-Rashid was still in power when the Sultan of Brunei began to claim that Palawan, Balabak, and Kagayan de Sulu belonged to him. The British appeared to be involved in this claim, for they expressed doubts whether the March 7, 1885 Protocol included the recognition of Spanish sovereignty over Palawan. The Spaniards firmly declared that Palawan was part of the government of the Calamianes and thus formed an integral part of Spanish territory. Probably, Sultan Harun ar-Rashid's request that British vessels first stop at Palawan to secure a pass to trade in Jolo was part of the Spanish design to convince the British that Palawan belonged to Spain.

By early 1894, the Spanish Governor of Jolo had adjusted himself to the fact that Amirul Kiram was the Sulu Sultan. Actually, Amirul Kiram had now assumed the new name of Jamal ul-Kiram II. This time the Spaniards did not even ask him to go to Manila for his investiture as sultan. Meanwhile, one of the first things the young Sultan did to reassert his authority was to go to Basilan with his chief datus and some warriors to demand the tribute that since time immemorial had been due to the Sulu Sultan. The Spanish authorities tried to be as tactful as possible and did nothing to restrain the Sultan.

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[44] "Commander Giffard to Consul Gollan, July 1, 1890," *Foreign Office Records 572/25 (1890)*, p. 64.

Possibly in exchange for Spanish recognition, the Sultan on his mother's advice appeared to have committed himself to Spanish authorities such that beginning January 1895, one *real fuerte* would be paid by each of his subjects as tribute to the Spanish Government. The money collected was to be used mainly for roads in Sulu. On March 1, 1894, Ramon Blanco, the Governor General, issued a decree ordering a census to be completed by October of the same year with details of how the tribute was to be collected. According to Saleeby, the Sultan, unwilling and unable to collect the tribute, paid the Spanish Government from his own purse the equivalent of ten thousand pesos to cover the tribute on the basis of a population of 100,000 Sulu subjects.[45] The fact was that the majority of the datus, especially those from Patikul, like Kalbi and Julkarnain, refused to cooperate with the Sultan. They claimed that they were not consulted by the Sultan on the tribute and some of them began to commence hostilities against the Spaniards. In any case, the tribute was never again paid and neither did the Spanish Government insist on following it up.

Once recognized as sultan, Jamal ul-Kiram II kept the peace with the Spaniards, although it seemed ominous to the Spaniards that the Sultan kept on importing arms or receiving them as gifts from Borneo. In 1895, a few thousand Sulus under the leadership of Datus Kalbi and Julkarnain attacked Jolo but were repulsed. Such an attack could not have been done with the consent of the Sultan whom they always tried to embarrass. Also, they previously supported the pretensions of ʿAli ud-Din to the sultanate. By 1897, the Sultan was so sure of his position that he even made a trip to Sandakan, leaving his brother, the rajah muda, to act as regent during his absence.

On May 18, 1899, the Spanish troops evacuted Jolo to allow American troops to occupy the town. The next day, American troops formally occupied it. It is believed that the Spanish troops were willing to allow the Sulu Sultan to occupy Jolo but were prevented by the Americans from doing so. In any case, when the Spaniards evacuated Siasi earlier, they allowed the representatives of the Sultan to occupy it.

Returning to events in Mindanao, it will be recalled that the Spaniards garrisoned Cotabato in 1861. In 1871, it became the capital of the province of Mindanao. But after an earthquake and fire that visited it, the Spaniards decided the following year to return the capital to Zamboanga. At this time, Sultan Muhammad Makakwa of Maguindanao lived just opposite Cotabato across the Pulangi. Although he had lost his hegemony over the interior, he still got some tribute from Iranun settlements around Illana Bay, especially in the southern parts. He still controlled the area between Simuay and Cotabato, including Lupanga. But the Iranun settlements of Malabang and nearby areas had started to look up to the Sultan of Ganassi in the Lake area as their overlord. In 1872, the Spaniards attempted a landing at the Iranun settlement of Parang which brought the ire of the Simuay Iranuns against them. In the case of Cagayan de Oro, the Spaniards were able to persuade the Muslim datus there to accept Spanish sovereignty. Soon, scores of colonists and missionaries came to live among them eventually dislodging the Muslims from their ancestral lands.

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[45] Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, pp. 136-137. Haji Buto revealed that the Sultan paid 23,000 pesos in cash and pearls. This so impressed the Spanish Governor that he was willing to have the tribute reduced for the following year.

With the decline of the Maguindanao sultanate, various minor sultanates sprang up along the Pulangi. Many of them looked up to the Sultan of Buayan as the paramount lord. When Sultan Marajan ud-Din, the Rajah of Buayan, died around 1865, he was succeeded by his brother Bayao, the Sultan of Kudarangan, as the Rajah of Buayan. But it soon became clear that the real power in Buayan would be Datu Utto, a son of Sultan Marajan ud-Din who, around 1875, formed a confederation of the various sultanates in the Pulangi, including those of Talayan, Kabuntalan, and Buluan. The Rajah of Buayan who was actually an uncle at once recognized the organizational qualities of his nephew whereupon he resigned in his favor. Actually Datu Utto (Sultan Anwar ud-Din) was making preparations to meet the inevitable Spanish incursion into the interior of Buayan. Married to a daughter of the Maguindanao Sultan Qudrat Untang, he felt that he was heir to the leadership of the Maguindanao struggle against Spain. To be sure, he acted as if he was the Sultan of all Maguindanao to the great displeasure and discomfiture of the Spaniards. His interference even in the minute affairs of the Maguindanao sultanate, including the succession, showed that he was determined to substantiate his claims. Since he himself could not, for various reasons, legitimately assume the title of "Sultan of Maguindanao," he tried once although with no success to have a brother-in-law, the Maguindanao datu Mamaku, proclaimed sultan. An obstacle to his designs was the Spaniards' own plans to have the sultanate pass to the Sibugay datus, who, although descendants of the old Maguindanao royal family, had already accepted Spanish sovereignty as early as 1843, and had become allies of Spain. Spanish officials feared what in effect Datu Utto stood for; they saw in him, as they themselves said, the makings of "a second Qudarat."

By 1880, Datu Utto had become the most powerful datu in the Pulangi and for some time held his capital at Bakat. From there he was able to dominate the sultanate of Talayan, exact tribute from the Tirurays in the nearby mountains, and terrorize Tamontaka, where the Jesuits had missionaries. To the Spaniards what they saw meant that Datu Utto had to be brought to his knees to convince all the datus of the Pulangi that they had lost every chance they had against Spanish arms. In this manner the Spaniards thought that the pacification of the whole of Mindanao would become a matter of time. Their immediate aim was to control the strategic area where the Pulangi forked into its two branches. To meet the challenge, Datu Utto forced his datus, who were always fearful of him, to contest every step of the Spaniards. The integrity of Buayan was to be maintained at all costs. But before the Spaniards could penetrate the interior of the lands of Datu Utto, they had to overcome the resistance of Sultan Idris of Talakuku (also called Sultan of Tumbao) who tried to block their approach at Tumbao. In 1884, after a fierce battle, Sultan Idris was decisively defeated and forced to accept Spanish sovereignty. To enable him to live up to his commitments to Spain, it was necessary to guarantee Sultan Idris Spanish protection from possible reprisals from Datu Utto. This, the Spaniards immediately attended to, since it appears that the datus of the Pulangi feared Datu Utto more than they did the Spaniards. But the fall of Tumbao was not enough to force Datu Utto to seek the peace. The Spaniards then decided to bring the war up to the Buluan area, a source of strength for Datu Utto.

The 1886-1887 campaign in Cotabato led by Governor General Emilio Terrero intended to seek the total submission of Datu Utto. On January 19, 1886, Buayan (Dulawan) was attacked, forcing Datu Utto to retreat. Rajah Putri, the wife of Datu Utto, who, like her Maguindanao relatives had become quite friendly with the Spaniards, signed a capitulation to the Spaniards. But the Datu rejected it outright while he continued the fight. Although able to contest the Spaniards at every step, the redoubtable datu was eventually forced to retreat. As he explained years later, he only fought a defensive war and never assumed the offensive. Although there is a great deal of truth in this statement, it is on record that during the start of the Spanish offensive, his men attacked Tamontaka and burned the Jesuit mission there.

On February 4, Bakat, the Datu's capital, was captured. Close to it, the Spaniards then built the Reina Regente fort. With the loss of his capital and a strategic area, the Datu went deeper into the interior. As the Spaniards advanced, they tried, by means of favors and promises of protection, to wean away many minor sultans and datus from Datu Utto. A few datus who were not quite happy with the imperious ways of the Datu and who bore some personal grievances against him, were emboldened by the opportunity before them. Some even aided the Spaniards.

The heavy rains somewhat delayed the campaign which was resumed with some vigor early in 1887. The series of Lintukan *cottas* were destroyed one by one by the Spaniards. On February 27, Datu Bayao, the Sultan of Kudarangan and uncle of the Datu (sometime earlier also called Rajah Buayan), made peace with the invaders. On March 7, Datu Tambilanang, the son and heir of Bayao, went to the Spanish camp to render his submission. Two days later, an uncle of Datu Utto, as well as some of the elders of Bakat, went to the Spanish camp with the message that Datu Utto was willing to submit. Upon acceptance by the Spaniards, a letter followed the next day signed by the Datu and his wife, as well as by the Datu of Bakat, indicating their submission to Spanish sovereignty. Finally, although Datu Utto remained unconquered, the Spaniards ended their campaign. This undertaking was severely criticized in Manila for the enormous expense it entailed. But in so far as the campaign ended Datu Utto's efforts to create a stróng confederation on the Pulangi under his rule, it was a success. The fear of Datu Utto noticeably declined along the Pulangi.

Once Datu Utto committed himself to keep the peace with the Spaniards, he did his best to keep it. On February 16, 1888, to signify his sincerity, he and his wife wrote another letter to the Spanish authorities reaffirming their loyalty to Spain. But this to him did not mean surrender to Spain but merely an expression of friendship. He meant to be independent; and woe to any of his datus who would accept Spanish visitors in their territories without his permission. In practice, no missionary or Spanish officer could enter the territory he claimed to be his, without his previous authorization. Contrary to Spanish press reports which painted him in the blackest of colors during his youth and during the campaign against him, his visitors invariably found him courteous, dignified, gentle, and utterly reasonable! By dedicating his energies to cattle raising, farming, and collecting a few more slaves, he ended a wealthy man.

General Valeriano Weyler, the Spanish Governor General (1888-1891), tried to follow up the achievements of Governor Terrero in Mindanao. One of the policies he pursued was to wean as many more datus as possible from their loyalty to Datu Utto. In this he was to some extent successful. The building of roads to facilitate a future campaign against Utto also occupied the Governor, besides the task of strengthening the fort at Reina Regente and the posting of a strong garrison at Talayan which had been one of the strongest allies of Utto.

But Weyler decided to deal with the Maranaos first. In January 1889, he ordered troops to land in Parang and Malabang and had them reconnoiter near the Lake area of the Maranaos. It was evident that he had decided to conquer the so far unconquered Maranaos. On April 20, 1891, a strong Spanish detachment landed in Parang and from there headed north to Baras which was eventually occupied by the end of May. Without actually being provoked, the Spanish troops attacked Maranao ancestral lands killing in the process a minor sultan. But the well-planned campaign had to be suspended in July on account of a strong epidemic, probably influenza, that visited the Spanish troops especially those stationed at Baras. But in spite of this epidemic, the Spaniards were able to occupy Malabang permanently notwithstanding the fierce resistance offered by Iranun *juramentados*. Leaving the Maranao area for the meantime, Weyler proceeded to further strengthen the fort at Reina Regente in the hope of blocking any possible move of Utto on the lower reaches of the Pulangi. In August, he resumed his campaign against the Maranaos. He had 1,242 soldiers in two columns. The first column started from the Malabang area to attack Ganassi, while the second column started from Iligan. This two-pronged attack on Maranao territory from the northern and western parts of Mindanao was reminiscent of the 1639 campaign against the Maranaos when two Spanish columns met in the shores of the Lake after using practically the same routes followed later by Weyler's men. In the Weyler campaign, after a few bloody clashes, Marahui was occupied on August 19. The next day the Spaniards encountered a strong resistance from the *cotta* defended by the datu Amai Pakpak, but they were able to capture it anyway. The sultans of Ganassi and Guimon came with peace offerings, and for the meantime they decided not to further harass the Spaniards on the belief that they would leave the area if left unmolested. However, what Weyler hoped to accomplish was to build a road between Parang and Cagayan de Misamis and thus keep the Maranaos permanently intimidated. Weyler finally terminated his campaign in September 1891 without, however, actually conquering the Maranaos.[46]

After Weyler had left for Manila, the Spaniards kept on trying to extend their influence in Lanao. In March 1894, they occupied Pantas, a few miles north of Marahui. In response to this, the Maranao sultans and datus began earnestly to build additional *cottas*. On June 5, the datus of Ramain, Masiu, Taraka, and Rumayan, cooperated in the fortification of sections around the Agus River for their mutual defense. Ambushes of Spanish and native soldiers became frequent and in one of them 65 Spanish soldiers were killed, including one captain. Spanish reinforcements arrived just in time to prevent a massacre. In the ensuing battle 35 Maranaos were killed, including a son of the Sultan of Masiu and four datus. In a battle on June 24, about 500 Maranaos attacked 200 of the Spanish invaders, losing however around 200 of their own warriors. The Spanish reaction to all these was to build additional fortifications while strengthening older ones. In January and February 1895, systematic Maranao attacks on these Spanish forts began. Thus another

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[46] For a Spanish version of the Weyler campaign see, Wenceslao E. Retana, *Mando del General Weyler en Filipinas* (Manila: 1896), pp. 328-374.

Spanish expedition was formed to attack and capture Marahui, once and for all. On March 10, the march to Marahui commenced. The Spaniards found themselves faced by strong *cotta* under the personal command of the same datu Amai Pakpak they had encountered before. Bravery and heroism were demonstrated on all sides, but eventually the *cotta* fell. The datu, a son, 23 other datus as well as 150 other Maranaos fell defending their *cotta*. The Spaniards lost two officers and sixteen soldiers. About twenty-one officers and 176 of the attacking troops were wounded. In this campaign against the Maranaos, which was under the auspices of the administration of Governor General Ramon Blanco, abcut 3,000 Spanish troops were involved. Helping them were countless volunteers from Zamboanga, Misamis, and Sibugay. But for all practical purposes, the Spanish garrison in Marahui was in a state of siege. Sporadic attacks on the garrison and ambushes became the order of the day.[47]

Meanwhile, in 1899, Datu Utto, feeling old age creeping on him, turned over command of his warriors to his cousin Datu ʿAli, the rajah of Tinunkup. Datu ʿAli was a rising leader who was able to take over the power of his brother, the Sultan of Tambilinan, to the extent that he came to rule over Kudarangan as well. Possessed of all the prerogatives of a legitimate ruler, Datu ʿAli came to be called the Rajah of Buayan. Datu Utto died of cholera at his residence of Salimbao on March 12, 1902. Datu ʿAli died on October 22, 1905, around Buluan, while fighting the Americans.

During the Philippine Revolution in 1898, Spanish troops started to evacuate their garrisons in the interior of Mindanao where the majority of the inhabitants were Muslims. Into such a vacuum the datus stepped in. They also began to attack other remaining Spanish garrisons. Datu Piang (Amai Mingka), a Chinese mestizo and former minister of Datu Utto, who was able to gain ascendancy over Dulawan (very close to the site of the old Buayan) attacked and captured Pikit, Reina Regente, and Tumbao. On January 6, 1899, with a thousand warriors he occupied Cotabato, and later on Tamontaka, thereby increasing his power over the two mouths of the Pulangi. Datu Piang gained stature among the datus of the Pulangi. Even the aging Datu Utto, with whom he had many differences before, and who once ordered his death, paid him a visit to encourage him to assert his leadership in order to unite the whole valley. It was in this manner that Datu Piang, who was of humble origin acquired a legitimate claim to the post of datu.

During the Philippine Revolution, Filipino revolutionary leaders tried to enlist the help of the Muslims in their struggle against Spain.

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[47] For a Spanish version of the second campaign against the Maranaos, see Benito Francia y Ponce de Leon and Julian Gonzalesz Parrado, *Las Islas Filipinas: Mindanao* (Habana: 1898), Vol. II, pp. 24-69.

The Hongkong Junta once declared that the Filipinos were forced to fight the Muslims of Sulu and Mindanao who "in reality are our brothers, like us fighting for their independence." Emilio Aguinaldo's Message to Congress on January 1, 1899, proposed that the republican government be empowered "to negotiate with the Moros of Sulu and Mindanao for purposes of establishing national solidarity upon the basis of a real federation with absolute respect for their beliefs and traditions." Earlier, in 1898, the Revolutionary Government distributed a manifesto to various datus proclaiming in effect that the Spaniards had tried to exterminate their common race and argued that the Americans were following the Spaniards' footsteps. Speaking of "our ancient liberty" and a new independence, the manifesto asserted that it was the inexorable decree of "Bathala, our God" to regain or attain them. It then appealed for unity against a possible American invasion in areas already occupied by the Filipinos.

A letter was sent to Pedro Cuevas, a native from Cavite who managed to become a datu of some importance in Basilan. It spoke of how the Igorots and Aetas had joined the Revolution to share in the victories of their brothers in the valleys. They had lived in the mountains not because of racial differences with the lowlanders but because they loved liberty. Now that there was liberty in the country, they were coming down to the lowlands. Cuevas was asked to appraise the Sulu Sultan of all these and to assure him that there would not anymore be a repetition of the bloody wars initiated by the criminal ambitions of the Spaniards who made brothers fight each other, and to warn him that another power (the Americans) was now trying to succeed the Spaniards. The letter then explained how a combination of the Sulus with the people of Luzon would make it difficult for the outsiders to dominate the Filipinos.

A letter of Baldomero Aguinaldo to the Sultan of Marangas dated May 31, 1899, spoke of one God, but that the Spaniards, especially the friars, made a distinction between the Moros who were described to have a false religion, and the Christians who were asserted to have the true religion, in order to sow religious discord among the Filipino race. Claiming that their common god Bathala would not consent to their common subjugation to a barbaric race that knew no law but only that of force, the letter expressed confidence that as brothers and sons of the same race they would join in the aspirations of independence and liberty. The letter then asked details of the forces of the Sultan and how much help he needed to fight the Americans. He was also asked to report to Emilio Aguinaldo.[48]

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[48] Copies of the above two letters as well as the above manifesto are found in the *Insurgent Records Collection* of the National Library, Manila.

Most of these appeals to the sultans and datus generally fell on deaf ears. The Muslims were determined to retain their own views of independence and liberty. The previous Spanish preachings of a crusade as well as their calculated policy of dividing the natives of the Philippines not only in terms of religion but also in terms of regions were showing their results. The Muslims in the South had learned to hate and despise the Christians of the North whom they would not allow to rule them. Actually, near Zamboanga, the warriors of Datu Mandi fought the revolutionists who aimed to control Zamboanga. Datu Piang and other datus captured many innocent Christian Filipinos and easily made them slaves since the Spaniards were no longer there to protect them.

On November 16, 1899, Zamboanga was occupied by American naval forces and one of the first things that the neighboring Muslims there did was to flock to the town to indulge in trade. Datu Mandi's offer to do away with all the revolutionists there was not accepted by the Americans. By the end of the year, Cotabato and Pollock were occupied without resistance by the Americans. Early the next year, Parang was also occupied. The Americans were already in Jolo, having concluded the so-called Bates Treaty with the Sulu Sultan. When the Sultan was apprised by the Americans regarding the struggle between the Spaniards and Filipinos, the Sultan simply remarked that what happened on Luzon had ever since been happening in Sulu between Spaniards and Sulus. For the moment there was peace between the Americans and most of the Muslims in Sulu and Mindanao. It was not to last long. But here our story ends.

IX

Sulu Political Institutions

Of the sultanates of Sulu, Maguindanao, and Buayan, that of Sulu had political institutions which were relatively the most centralized and most heavily influenced by the political institutions of older Islamic countries. Sulu's earlier Islamization as well as its closer contacts with other centers of Islam partly explains this. But the important fact was that many Sulu sultans deliberately tried to approximate some orthodox Islamic institutions and with some degree of success. During the sixteenth century, some of the features of the formal structure of Sulu's government could be traced to Brunei in contrast to those of Maguindanao and Buayan whose major influences could be traced to Ternate.

One of the earliest accounts on Sulu rulers is found in the *Ming Annals* which gives the title of "Paduka Batara" to a Sulu chief who visited the Chinese Emperor in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, just before the establishment of the sultanate. All the sultans and their close relatives, including women, used the title of "Paduka" up to the end of the nineteenth century. The Genealogy of Sulu coincides with the *Ming Annals* when it reveals that at least two of its pre-Islamic rulers were entitled "Raja Sipad" which evidently is a variation of Rajah Sri Pada or Rajah Sri Paduka. The people of Brunei were wont to refer to Sulu rulers as Batara (from the Sanskrit *Bhatara*, meaning lord) or sometimes simply as Rajah of Sulu. At least one of the early Sulu sultans was entitled "Batara" in the Sulu Genealogy; but it appears that later sultans did not care to carry this title.

The Genealogy of Sulu reveals that when the Islamization of Sulu was already well in process, although the sultanate was not yet established, the recognized leaders in the area around Buansa were the *datus, tuans, shaikhs,* and *orangkayas*. The *datus* were highest in the political structure, with *tuans* closely following. The *shaikhs* were religious personages while the *orangkayas* were commoners but men of means. There were times when some *orangkayas* were called *mantris* consequent to their holding high political offices, to distinguish them from members of the ruling class holding similar offices.

On the basis of the Genealogy of Sulu as well as a number of traditions, it can be assumed that there were chiefs entitled "datus" even before the establishment of the sultanate. Upon their Islamization, the datus seemed to have become amenable to the acceptance of the institution of the sultanate, although not without some reservation. On the basis of the foregoing, the assertion of a Sulu *tartib* that only descendants of the first Sultan could be called "datus" is questionable or should at least be qualified. Even in the last century, there were Sulu chiefs entitled "datus" but who were not eligible to the throne on the grounds that they could not claim descent from the first Sultan or produce a *tarsila* to the above effect. At most, it seems, the *tartib* was presenting a rule limiting candidates to the sultanate to royal datus, that is to say, datus who could show descent from the first Sultan. Such a rule must have originated from the descendants of the first Sultan and which could have been opposed before but in time was later on accepted as a principle or rule of succession by the people of Sulu. However, non-royal datus did sometimes marry members of the royal family thereby enabling their descendants to claim the right to be candidates to the throne.

The establishment of the sultanate at Buansa, an event estimated to have taken place around the middle of the fifteenth century, although meant to definitely institute and install Islamic political institutions, did not entirely do away with elements of the older political structure. The existing system under the old datus had to be accommodated. A continuity with the past especially with its symbolism was deemed expedient and necessary. Part of the title "Paduka Mahasari Maulana Al Sultan" given to the first Sultan, the Sharif ul-Hashim, inscribed in his tomb, and taken over by succeeding sultans, demonstrates an accommodation to older Hindu royal titles. Incidentally, the title "Maulana" signified that the first Sultan was a religious teacher. This did not however prevent later sultans who were not sophisticated on theological matters to assume the title. Concerning the use of Hindu titles among the early rulers of Sulu, this need not imply that the people of Sulu were Hindus before the advent of Islam. It might only mean the borrowing of titles commonly held among neighboring Malaysian chiefs.

About the offices that centered around the first four or five sultans, traditions do not give detailed information. They reveal the titles used by some sultans like that of "Rajah", a title shared with close relatives who were not necessarily rulers. One of the earliest sultans was called "Maharajah di rajah" (rajah of rajahs), an indication of possible increasing centralization of powers and the primacy of a chief over other less powerful chiefs or relatives. Spanish records of the last quarter of the sixteenth century mention Sulu rulers as Rajahs or *Pangirans*. Here, "Pangiran" meant a member of the royal family. In Brunei, at this same time, all close relatives of the Brunei sultan were also entitled "Pangiran." The Sulu ruler in 1578 who was entitled "Pangiran" was a brother-in-law of the Brunei Sultan Seif ur-Rijal.

Because of close political relations between Brunei and Sulu and marriages between their royal families, it may not be farfetched to assume that at the beginning of the seventeenth century these two sultanates had similar political institutions. In the absence of details about Sulu's political institutions for this time, a look into Brunei's political institutions might be of some value.

It is believed that the early sultans of Brunei had only two ministers (Arabic, *Wazir*) called the Rajah Bendahara and the Rajah Temenggong. The former served as the Chief Minister of the realm while the latter acted as a sort of Chief Justice. It was Sultan Hasan, the reputed ninth sultan, who, around 1600, in order to have four ministers, added the Rajah di Gedong, to deal with litigations regarding properties, and the Rajah Pemancha, an official who went over proposed laws to see to it that they did not violate the *adat* or tradition.[1] It appears that the Sultan directly took charge of military and naval affairs, and tradition in Brunei affirms that he was a great conqueror who consolidated the provinces of the empire. In 1685, the government of Brunei did not depart radically from the lines drawn by Sultan Hasan although by that time it appears evident that the Rajah Bendahara had already been designated as Heir Apparent. Furthermore, commoners were represented in the Sultan's council.[2] This practice of representation probably came about due partly to the fact that during the civil war that visited Brunei around the 1660's, one of the contestants to the throne appeared to have had popular support. His emergence as a victor might have led him to decide to have some *mantris* represent the commoners who had been one of his bases of support.

Assuming that during the time of Sultan Hasan, Sulu had political institutions similar to those of Brunei, nevertheless, by around the 1630's, Sulu distinguished between the Rajah Bendahara and the Rajah Muda who was the heir apparent. The Rajah Bendahara was usually an older man who was either a brother or an uncle of the Sultan, while the Rajah Muda was either a brother, nephew, or son of the Sultan. In communications with the Dutch Governor General at Batavia, the letters of the Sulu Sultan were at times signed by the Rajah Bendahara. Important to note at this point is that about the end of the seventeenth century Sulu's government not only had the equivalent of the four ministers found in Brunei's government but had added a few more. This expansion is due to the fact that at this time Sulu had enlarged its empire, having acquired additional territories on the island of Borneo, and increased its diplomatic relations with neighboring principalities. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Sulu had a well defined governmental structure and political offices which were more specialized. Fortunately, a great deal of information on them is available in treaties, letters, reports on embassies, and attempts at description of Sulu government by European traders.

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[1] Cf. Hugh Low, "Notes on the Selesilah," *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[2] Cf. An *expediente* accompanying a letter of the Spanish Governor General of the Philippines to the Spanish King dated May 24, 1688, in Legajo 14, Ramo 2, Audiencia de Filipinas, *Archivo General de Indias*, Sevilla.

The Sulu sultan occupied the highest post in the state which was solemnly asserted to constitute part of *dar ul-Islam*. This situation obtained at least from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the last days of the Spanish regime in the Philippines. The sultan was expected to provide leadership in war either by fighting outside Sulu or by defending the realm from invaders. He was also a religious leader and entitled "the shadow of Allah on earth" (*zil-lullah fil-ʿard*) in his realm, as an expression of his authority to rule over Muslims and exact obedience from them. The sultan also stood as the symbol of the unity and integrity of the State. This was a fundamental principle in Sulu political life, and it was never questioned by anyone including the personal antagonists of a particular sultan. The datus who might have fought the sultan were against his personal qualifications or were out to impugn his competence to hold office, but they never once questioned the necessity much less the sanctity of the institution of the sultanate.

The relations of the sultan to his ministers, his relations to the religious functionaries in his realm, his duties, rights, and powers, the coronation rites in all its details, and even the manner of approaching or speaking to him, were all prescribed by a *tartib*. To violate the *tartib* constituted a *lese majeste* and if it did not invite retaliation from the sultan himself it was believed to bring about bad luck or misfortune to the transgressor. However, the *tartib* was prescriptive; sometimes there were persons powerful enough to disobey the sultan with impunity. In brief, adherence to the *tartib* was a function of the personal qualities of the sultan, the resources he had at hand, and the general support he had among the *panglimas*, datus and people. It is therefore important to distinguish the claims of the sultans, the claims of the datus and people, and the resolution of conflicting claims in different epochs in Sulu's varied history. Historical data demonstrate that the formal structure of the sultan's government was often not operative in Sulu society.

It would be erroneous to view the Sulu sultan as one almost possessed of despotic powers similar to those exercised by some sultans in the more orthodox centers of Islam. But neither was the Sulu sultan, in most cases, a mere rubber stamp of his council or chief datus. Actually many sultans commanded fierce loyalty, awe, if not fear, from their immediate followers and some datus.

The *'ulama* always tended to support the sultan's move for the increase and centralization of powers. They were inclined to have the sultanate established on more orthodox lines. However, the Sulu sultans did not entirely depend on the jurisprudential views of the *'ulama* for their claims to own land and exercise greater powers *vis a vis* the datus. Their claims were often, although not exclusively, based on certain *tartib* elements, which, in turn, were founded on allegedly historical incidents connected with the proclamation of the first Sultan. In brief, Sulu sultans claimed a great deal of their political and economic prerogatives on a supposed contract between the first Sultan, their direct ancestor, and the people who invited the Sharif ul-Hashim to become their first sultan. At bottom, conflicts often arose between the sultan and the datus when the increasing claims of the former tended to reduce the time honored prerogatives of the latter.

All traditional accounts of the first Sultan agree that he had originally come to Buansa with the intention to teach. He married a daughter (or widow) of the chief (identified with Rajah Baguinda) there and after some time was invited to take over the supreme authority. The Sharif agreed to become the first sultan, but not before he had put in some conditions of his own. A traditional account, which is in reality an interpretation of a *tartib*, was given by Saleeby as follows:

> In enforcing such claims to absolute sovereignty, Abu Bakr declared to the people and their local chiefs that the widows, the orphans, and the land were his by right. This the people hesitated to submit to, and another measure was adopted which reconciled the interests of all parties. They agreed that all the shores of the island and all that territory within which the royal gong or drum could be heard should be the sultan's personal property, and that the rest of the island should be divided among the subordinate chiefs and their people. The island was accordingly divided into five administrative districts, over each one of which one *panglima* exercised power subject to the supervision and superior authority of the sultan.[3]

The above account reveals that there were already datus or local chiefs in Sulu before the establishment of the sultanate and that the Sultan wanted to bring the whole land under his name or, at least, subject to his authority. He was, however, willing to take over the obligation of taking care of those unable to support themselves, in accordance with Islamic tradition. But the datus evidently opposed the first part of the proposal because, as it may be surmised, they would in time, if such was carried out, lose all authority since one of their bases of power was actual control of territory. The compromise that was eventually worked out was for the Sultan to have direct power over a definite territory, that is, he would be a datu in a specified area, while the older datus would remain as such in other areas. However, the Sultan could appoint his personal representatives, the *panglimas,* all over the land. It is important to point out that the above traditional account represented more the view of the datus rather than that of the sultans. In it, the sultan was just a datu, like all the rest, in his own territory. However, he was a sort of *primus inter pares* among the other datus, having been granted and allowed to have *panglimas* as his representatives all over the land. *Panglimas* were usually appointed from the locality. It is believed that ✓ some of them were defeated local chiefs who accepted the sultan as their suzerain.

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[3] Saleeby, *The History of Sulu*, p. 54.

Actually, most sultans tended to respect the datus' rights over certain lands, and rarely interfered in the disciplinary action meted by datus to their immediate followers. In theory, however, some sultans claimed that the whole land was theirs but that they had given it back to the people as a loan in order that the latter may have a means of livelihood. Such a claim might appear exaggerated, but it was based on the allegation that the first Sultan completely transformed a pagan population to a community of true believers. The implication was that new rights had been acquired by the people on the basis of the new faith and that the old pre-Islamic rights had ceased to be of any account after their conversion. This claim of some sultans is not, however, supported by the majority of traditional accounts which precisely suggest that Muslims and not Pagans had invited Abu Bakr to come over to Buansa and that it was the Islamic consciousness of the people that inclined them to realize the need for a sultan.

Consistent with the claim that no person could be a datu unless he was a descendant of the first Sultan, Sulu sultans were wont to speak of an original contract between the first Sultan and the "ancient Moros," without mentioning the existence of old chiefs or datus. In a letter to General Wright around 1904, Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram II mentioned some of his claims. He began by explaining how the ancient people of Sulu worshipped stones, graves, and celestial bodies, until the Sharif ul-Hashim changed all of these by patient and deliberate teaching—a task that took about ten years. After their conversion, the elders decided to make him sultan "to uphold law and justice", and they gave him the whole land which was, however, returned to them "as a loan" provided they worked on it, but all untilled or unoccupied land reverted to the sultan. Moreover, all minerals and treasures found underground belonged to the sultan, who, nevertheless, was obliged to compensate the finders. Pearls and tortoise shells exceeding certain sizes belonged to the sultan but who was obliged to give half of their value to the finders. "Such was the agreement between my ancestor Seripul Hassim and the ancient Moros. It was agreed that this law bé not changed."[4]

When asked to make a statement about pearls, Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram II elaborated as follows:

> . . . Salips [sharifs] came from Mecca of the Arab nation; they came to Sulu to convert the people into Mohammedans, as they had no religion. And when the Sulu people, including the islanders, adopted the faith, then they agreed to have a sultan and they elected Saripul Hassim to be sultan. Saripul Hassim said: "I don't want you to make me your sultan if I do not know what the rights of the sultan are, and who I have to govern over, because this is not my country, this is your country."
>
> And this is how everybody agreed to accept him as sultan over Sulu and all the islands; this is how he became sultan and governed over all, and this is how Saripul Hassim accepted to be sultan of Sulu, to have full power over land and sea; and the people's rights, where they got their living from on land and sea, were left to them, because they were the means of getting their livelihood.
>
> But a law was made, if they found valuables in the sea, such as pearls, tortoise shells, ambal [ambergris] or anything extraordinary, they have to show it to the sultan, and if the pearls weigh six *chuchuk* or over they become the share of the sultan; if they do not have that weight, the people can do with them as they please and sell them. If the sultan wants them, he will buy them according to custom. As to the tortoise shell, if they weigh two ketties, they go to the sultan, and as to the ambal, whether it is much or little it falls to the sultan. Whoever finds it must take it to the sultan. Whoever of his subjects violates this law as agreed upon, the sultan can punish as he pleases.[5]

Regardless of the veracity of the historical events alluded to, the above account of the Sultan revealed some of his economic claims. Among other claims of the Sultan, some of which he actually exercised, was the right to have jurisdiction over domestic quarrels between spouses which involved the possibility of divorce, marriages between close relatives, marriages of members of his close family, guardianship of orphans and indigent subjects, division of a dead man's estate, and crimes involving *lese majeste.* As a religious leader, the sultan appointed all religious functionaries in the realm including the most minor officials attached to a mosque. The sultan, too, had the right to have his name included in the *khutbah* with an invocation for Allah's blessings on him and his kingdom.

The realities of Sulu's political life demonstrated that the datus tended to compete with the sultan in the exercise of power, thereby creating occasional tensions. Whereas the datus claimed certain rights based on the ancient customary law, the sultan claimed rights based on the alleged contract between the first Sultan and the ancient people, as well as on his religious leadership in a Muslim community. The datus always claimed that they had rights over certain specified territories and over their immediate followers which the sultan was to consider inviolable. As a matter of fact, there were certain datus who were so powerful that they could sometimes disobey the sultan with impunity. On the whole, this strength of a datu lay in his personal qualities, the number of his followers, and personal wealth. Actually, in an important sense, the sultan was also a datu from the standpoint of the properties he owned along with his immediate followers and slaves. Conflicts between different datus tended to increase the sultan's powers. But, it was equally true that when a few powerful datus combined to oppose the sultan himself, his position could be precarious. A technique of the sultan to the problem of strengthening his position was to get the most powerful datus, especially those closely related to him by marriage, to be members of his council, with whom he shared trade benefits. These datus were induced to live in the vicinity of the sultan's capital, in contrast to those datus who lived farther away, as they were excluded from the royal council especially if they were non-royal datus. These were the ones who were wont to act independently whenever they could. The sultan's representative, the *panglima,* although meant to collect revenues for the sultan as well as to serve as a watchdog over the datus, was ineffective without the cooperation of the datus in the territories assigned to him. The fact that in war the *panglimas* became subordinates of the datus reveal that the loyalty of the immediate followers of the datus was to their datu and not to the sultan's representative. But it is a fact of Sulu history that when Sulu was invaded, all the datus, including those who opposed the sultan, flocked to the latter's standard. It is equally significant that no datu ever challenged the sultan's position as a religious leader.

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[4] "Papers of Hugh Scott (Container 57)," *Manuscript Division, Library of Congress,* Washington, D. C.

[5] *Ibid.*

The conception of a sultan's position both from his own standpoint and those of some datus can be gleaned from a series of incidents which took place in the first few years of the American occupation of Jolo. It appeared that in 1899, the relations between Sultan Jamal ul-Kiram II and the two non-royal datus Kalbi and Julkarnain had become so estranged that their immediate followers fought a few skirmishes. It will be recalled that these two datus had once supported the pretensions of Datu ʿAli ud-Din to the throne as against those of Jamal ul-Kiram around the 1880's. This was something Jamal ul-Kiram never forgot or found reason to justify. The relation of the Sultan with the two datus deteriorated further with the arrival of the Americans in Sulu. The much depleted powers of the Sultan encouraged the two datus to act more independently. Moreover, the Sultan could no longer lead a punitive expedition against the two brothers to assert his authority, since the

American troops stationed in Jolo would have intervened to avoid any bloodshed.

On August 13, 1900, the Sultan explained to Governor Hugh Scott of Jolo that his quarrel with Kalbi and Julkarnain started when the two datus looted and robbed the home of some innocent *hajis* who were the Sultan's subjects and therefore presumably under his protection. Moreover, a slave of the Sultan who sought refuge with the datus should have been returned to him in accordance with custom, but instead the slave was allegedly killed. The Sultan also complained that the datus kept pearls that should have gone to him by ancient right.

Fearing that further deterioration of relations among all the parties might disturb the orderly and effective administration of Sulu, American officials did their best to bring about a peaceful settlement. They even persuaded the datus to return the goods taken from the *hajis*, although they suspected that the *hajis* continued to fan the Sultan's anger against the datus, thereby preventing an end to the matter. On February 8, 1901, Major O. J. Sweet, the new Jolo Governor, wrote to the Sultan counselling him not to pay attention to the *hajis* whose advice only served to obstruct efforts at settling the difficulties between the Sultan and the datus. The Sultan replied on February 13 that the *hajis* did not stand between him and the datus even as he reminded the American officials that they were the ones who worked to have the goods of the *hajis* returned to them. The American military officials then realized that it would not be prudent for them to get themselves more deeply involved in the affair unless they knew more about the prerogatives of the Sultan and his traditional relations with the datus and his subjects. The Sultan then took the initiative of asking the Americans to find out what was it that Kalbi and Julkarnain really desired in order that he might figure out for himself their claims. It was thus that the two datus presented a letter where some of the traditional claims of the datus against the Sultan were specified:

1. No one can interfere in the administration [of the sultanate] who is not fit for it and is not a chief by heredity.
2. Stolen goods and runaway slaves must be returned.
3. Sultan should not take revenues from islands belonging to datus.
4. People who commit murder to escape punishment cannot have the right to appeal to sultan or governor.
5. Land in Jolo or other islands cannot be sold or leased.
6. Sultan should not condemn a datu who protects a sultan's subject who is afraid of him and asks the datu for protection, since this is still preventing the loss of one of the sultan's subjects—settlement of such cases must be done by conference of sultan and datus.
7. If there is a difference between the datus and the sultan regarding the administration of the country then a conference of all datus must

be made with the Rajah-muda as head. If it turns against the sultan, he should not be angry.

8. If a datu's man runs to the sultan for protection, sultan must ask datus as to the guilt of the person and bring them to justice according to the laws even if the guilty party is a priest [*imam*]; sultan should also disregard bribes.
9. Sultan should deal with datus' men through the datus.
10. "The sultan must not create enmity between us and his subjects, as we all obey one ruler."
11. Sultan is not to believe ill reports of datus without previous inquiry.

"These, if followed, are the laws of our forefathers."[6]

The above assertions of the datus Kalbi and Julkarnain reveal traditional claims of datus. The first assertion showed an obvious resentment against the Sultan who appeared to have been seeking the advice of non-datus, possibly a reference to the *hajis* and other religious leaders, instead of datus. At the same time, the two datus, although not of royal lineage, in the sense that they could not claim descent from the first Sultan, implied that they were chiefs "by heredity," and consequently should have been the ones consulted by the Sultan. In effect, they claimed that their ancestors were chiefs in the land even before the establishment of the sultanate. The fifth assertion implied that the Sultan could not alienate any island of the realm since the land never belonged to him as personal property, although there appears to be no denial that he had certain rights to it. The third assertion clearly suggests that certain islands were supposed to belong to datus and that, therefore, the Sultan could not exact revenues from them. The datus also claimed that they had direct coercive powers over their followers and slaves and that the dealings of the Sultan with the latter should be through the datus. Regarding the general administration of the sultanate, what was also asked was that it be collegial in nature, with the datus playing an important part in the highest deliberations of the realm. The seventh demand that in cases of differences between the Sultan and the datus the chairmanship for the resolution of the conflict should lie with the Rajah Muda was not only an expression of the fear that the Sultan could not be impartial in an affair that concerned him, it was actually a challenge to his power. Clearly, an agreement between the Rajah Muda and the datus was something formidable which the Sultan could not lightly lay aside, since there was nothing to prevent the Rajah Muda, with the help of the datus, from assuming the sultanate.

Meanwhile, on February 13, 1901, the Sultan wrote a lengthy letter to the Jolo Governor where he stated those rules which he claimed guided his relations to his subjects:

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[6] For this letter of Kalbi and Julkarnain see "Appended Letter No. 26," Appendix P, *Annual Report of General Arthur MacArthur—July 4, 1901*. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

> 1. The Sultan is the representative of Mohammed and absolute monarch over the countries belonging to the Sultanate. He is the head of the Mohammedan religion, and his just laws must be obeyed by all his subjects.
> 2. The Sultan is all-powerful within the limits of his territory; nobody has the right to oppose him, because it is written by the Prophet that the Sultan is the shadow of God within the countries of his sultanate.
> 3. The Sultan is the right man to be looked up to for justice by all his subjects and foreign traders, it is his duty to see that no injustice is done to anyone.
> 4. The Sultan has the right to bestow any position of power to whomever he thinks fit, even should the man be of low birth, if his character and his ability are superior to persons of higher standing than himself, and if by so doing a benefit is derived for the good of the country. Such person has the right to interest himself in the affairs of the state. The Prophet sayeth and it stands written in the Koran: "Let us raise the half of his body above the other half, in whatever position he may be placed." Therefore the Sultan can do as he pleases, because he has absolute power according to law and justice in the countries under his sultanate.
> 5. The Sultan must urge his subjects to do good and forbid all crimes, because it has been said by God through the Prophet: "Order to do the righteous thing, forbid to do wrong, act justly whatever may happen to you—such must be done by all who act as judges."
> 6. The Sultan should be as a father to all his subjects; they ought to be all equal before his judgment; he must not make any difference between high or low; justice must be done without prejudice.
> 7. The Sultan should be lenient in judging his subjects because it is said in the Koran: "God is all-forgiving to all men living."
> 8. The Sultan must not act upon the advice of his ministers without consideration, because their actions are not always just. These are the rules by which all the sultans of Mohammedan religion under heaven and above earth are guided.
> 9. The Sultan must keep men well versed in the Mohammedan religion, law and custom about him, he must make them the light of his subjects, because if there is no light in the house the people inside will be in the dark; so will be a country where there are no wise men.
>
> Whatever is said above has been followed by the Sultan. He has not parted from the above rules and regulations, but his subjects are obstinate and will not be taught. If you teach them not to fall they will throw themselves down, teach them to bathe in the water and they will jump into the fire, teach them the right thing and they will not understand it. This is the reason that the country is in such a state.[7]

Regarding the claims and counterclaims between the Sultan and datus, it is important to point out that the latter never questioned the legality of the institution of the sultanate—the Islamic consciousness of the datus was enough for them to accept it. It was simply that the datus wanted greater participation in the management of the sultanate and a bigger share in the benefits of the state. Kalbi and Julkarnain remarked more than once to American officials that it was not customary in Sulu and other Muslim countries to go against their Sultan. They were simply against the particular characteristics or qualifications of the present Sultan who had ceased to consult his datus on all important affairs. Datu Julkarnain reported that he told the people of Parang when they once suggested trying the rule of the Americans instead of that of the Sultan:

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[7] *Ibid.*

> You can not try, because if you try and you ruin your Sultan you can not give him back what he has lost.[8]

Actually, the Spanish occupation of Jolo in 1876, the garrisoning of other parts of Sulu, and continuous Spanish interference in the Sultan's affairs tended to undermine the institution of the sultanate. The occupation of Jolo in 1899 by the Americans and their direct dealings with the datus, especially those not partisan to the Sultan, tended to weaken the power of the Sultan *vis a vis* his datus and subjects. This relative weakening of the Sultan was to lead many datus to assume erroneously that in view of the situation they could increase their own powers. Thus the complaint of the old Datu Pangiran in 1904 to American authorities that "now everyone wants to get big and rule himself" to the disregard of the rights of the Sultan.[9] Jamal ul-Kiram II, on the other hand, believed that with American help he would be able to control his datus and enforce obedience to the laws of the sultanate. As the Sultan put it on July 24, 1901:

> I want them [the datus] to obey my orders, which are for the welfare of my subjects. My desire is to do that which is for the best interests of the people, and therefore I cannot allow the datus to continue making trouble. Their idea is to take away the rights of persons who are greater than they are.[10]

As a matter of fact, the Sultan actually tried to cooperate with the Americans to secure peace and order in Sulu. In some instances, the Sultan even went after his own appointees who were charged with stealing cattle and breaking the new laws. The Sultan was even instrumental in the death of the celebrated Panglima Hasan in Bud Bagsak in 1904. That is why the Sultan could not understand the American abrogation of the Bates Agreement in 1904. The Sultan could truthfully claim that he had done his utmost to adhere to the treaty. The fact however was that the Americans correctly interpreted the treaty as an obstacle to their aim of fully controlling Sulu.

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[8] "Conference between General J. C. Bates and Datus Calbi and Julkarnain (August 19, 1899)," *Senate Document No. 136, 56th Congress, 1st Session*, p. 77.

[9] From a March 26, 1904 report of Dato Pangiran found in "Papers of Hugh Scott (Container 55)," *Manuscript Division, Library of Congress*, Washington, D.C.

[10] *Senate Document No. 331, Part 3, 57th Congress, 1st Session*, p. 2159.

Jamal ul-Kiram II as Sultan had no elaborate council to speak of unlike his ancestors who were relatively more independent than him. Even his father Jamal ul-ᶜAzam eventually had to have only a small council composed of the Rajah Muda, the Rajah Laut, and the Muluk Bandarasa. The fact was that this Sultan was, most of the time, so busy fighting the Spaniards or fleeing from them that he could not hold a regular court. Furthermore, the disruption of trade activities in Sulu as well as the decline of its economic prosperity, rendered unnecessary the holding of an elaborate court. At the height of its glory and economic prosperity, the Sulu court was complex and elaborate and certainly surpassed that of Brunei in its number of offices.

What follows is an attempt to describe the political institutions of the Sulu sultanate in the eighteenth century and their slight transformation up to the middle of the nineteenth century.

In 1753, when Sultan Muhammad Muᶜizz ud-Din received his niece Fatima, the following were the offices and officials of the state:

1. Datu Bendahara—Datu Salicaya
2. Datu Maharajah-lela—Muhammad Ismaᶜil and Datu Muhammad Talha
3. Datu Juhan Pahalawan—Muhammad Baquir
4. Datu Muluk Bandarasa (Bandarshah, Shahbandar)—Datu Amin Saᶜad
5. Datu Sabelmal—Datu Zein ul-ᶜAbidin
6. Datu Tumanggung—Datu Amin ᶜAbbas
7. Datu Mamamsha—Datu Amin Hasan and Datu Muhammad Hamid
8. Datu Amir Bahar (Rajah Laut)—Datu Shahab ud-Din
9. Munnabil ᶜAlam—Datu Muhammad
10. Datu Sawajahan (or Sahuwadan)—Datu ᶜAbdul Rahim

It appears that some offices were filled by more than one person, namely those of Maharajah-lela and Mamamsha.[11] However, it is quite difficult to figure out the exact official functions of all. Since it cannot be assumed that the functions remained unchanged through the centuries, some nineteenth century Spanish reports might not be valid sources of information for the eighteenth century. Fortunately, Dalrymple who was in Jolo during the reign of Muᶜizz ud-Din gave an almost identical enumeration of the above offices with some tentative descriptions of their functions. Dalrymple's descriptions will be partially adopted with some modifications.[12]

The Datu Bendahara held the position of the chief minister of the realm, and he was the Sultan's closest adviser. Invariably, the office was held by a very close relative of the sultan. During the interim between the death of a sultan and the proclamation of his successor, he served as Regent. On some occasions, he wrote in behalf of the sultan to chiefs of other principalities. He had a hand in all treaties and served as a judge in the most important cases brought to the sultan. The Datu Maharajah-lela was there to remind the other officials of their duties and bring their official lapses to the attention of the sultan. The Datu Juhan Pahalawan was a military official usually in charge of all the *cottas* and artillery, but it was the Munnabil 'Alam's concern to look after the sultan's main *cotta*. The former was usually a man known for his military exploits and personally took charge of protecting the person of the sultan in war. The Datu Muluk Bandarasa performed some of the functions of the Shahbander or Bandershah in nearby Malaysian principalities and was charged with the collection of custom duties. The Datu Sabelmal was the treasurer of the realm. The fines imposed by the sultan were in his charge. It was also his task to look after the orphans and indigent subjects of the sultan together with the duty of supervising the properties of subjects who died without heirs. The Datu Tumanggung acted as a sort of chief of police as well as a minor justice of the peace. The Datu Mamamsha stood as the guardian of the customary or traditional law (*adat*) and was, therefore, in effect, a spokesman for the ancient rights of the datus. The Datu Amir Bahar (Rajah Laut) was the highest naval official, and he was assisted by the Datu Sawajahan. Both were charged with the duty of giving clearance to all foreign vessels coming to the sultan's port.

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[11] The document where the above data was taken is found in an October 1753 letter of Sultan Muᶜizz ud-Din (Bantilan) found in the *Bureau of Records Management*, Manila.

[12] Dalrymple, "Essay Towards an Account of Sulu," *op. cit.*, pp. 546-547.

Together with the Rajah Muda, the heir apparent, these officials constituted the Ruma Bichara. However, the Rajah Muda could, as he usually did, simultaneously hold one of the above official positions. For example, Sultan Shahab ud-Din while Rajah Muda was the Rajah Laut, a title he kept even after he became Sultan. Another instance was Sultan Mu'izz ud-Din who was said to have at one time exercised the functions of the Sabelmal and Muluk Bandarasa, understandable for a sultan in dire need of financial aid.

D All regular and voting members of the Ruma Bichara were royal datus. The Ruma Bichara discussed all laws to be promulgated, fiscal policies, treaties and policies to be followed by the State, and customs duties to be imposed. Decisions were reached by taking the votes of the members, using the principle of simple majority. There were certain times when the Rajah Muda was given the privilege of two votes especially when there was difficulty of agreement with the sultan. In discussions involving trade policies or the status of the Chinese community in Jolo, the Chinese were allowed to send representatives. Although it is believed that the Ruma Bichara had the right to depose a sultan, there is no report that this right was ever exercised. It is clear, however, that the election of a sultan was not the sole prerogative of the Ruma Bichara, since the *sharifs*, *panglimas*, chiefs of the interior of Jolo, and the most prestigious *orangkayas* participated in it.

It is believed that originally the Sulu sultanate was divided into five provinces, each under a *panglima* appointed by the sultan. More *panglimas* were appointed later. Whether the appointment needed the consent of the Ruma Bichara is not known. *Panglimas* were commoners and usually held office in their places of origin. A few were former slaves, but who, on account of exploits or other personal characteristics, nevertheless became *panglimas*. Unlike the royal datus, not all *panglimas* were Tausugs, many of them were Samals. In times of war, they became subordinates to the military officers of the Ruma Bichara or at least served as aides to the datus in actual warfare. They usually recruited contingents to help in the defense of the sultan. Some officers entitled *maharajahs* were subordinate to the *panglimas*. Other aides to the *panglimas* were the *nakibs*.

The *orangkayas* were commoners who wielded enormous influence in their districts by virtue of wealth derived from their landed estates or trade enterprises. It is believed that they were represented in the Ruma Bichara by the Orangkaya Malik who was probably a commoner. Whether he had voting power in the Council is not known, but he had a say in the election of a sultan.

Most, if not all, members of the Ruma Bichara were traders who appeared to have used their official positions to look after their economic interests. This seems to be reason enough for the resentment of those datus excluded from membership in the Ruma Bichara. Besides, it is known that the Ruma Bichara had a share in the duties imposed on all trading vessels stopping at Jolo. But as membership in the Ruma Bichara progressively increased it became unwieldy for deliberations. On account of this as well as the apparent desire to limit the benefits to a smaller number, Sultan ʿAli ud-Din, around 1810, reduced the membership of the Ruma Bichara. This fact explains why some disgruntled datus supported the pretensions of his rival Datu Bantilan. Apart from the Rajah Muda and Maharajah Adinda (the second heir-apparent), what ʿAli ud-Din did was to retain only the following: Datu Bendahara, Datu Juhan Pahalawan, Datu Muluk Bandarasa, Datu Tumanggung, and Datu Amir Bahar. However, after a couple of years, he was persuaded to add the posts of Datu Muluk Kahar, who served as a sort of "governor" of Jolo, and that of Datu Nakib. With a relative increase in economic prosperity on account of more trade with the British, a noticeable number of *orangkayas* began to participate intimately in the discussions of the Ruma Bichara, at least on commercial matters. Whether they were regular members or had limited participation on all matters is problematical. When Shakirullah came to the throne around the beginning of 1822, a marked increase in the membership in the Ruma Bichara was further noted. This Sultan appeared to have been indifferent to affairs of state and economic matters but was well known for his piety and charity. Under the succeeding rule of Jamal ul-Kiram I and Muhammad Pulalun, that is, from about 1823 to 1862, the Ruma Bichara seemed to have retained practically the same formal structure and number of members as that during the time of Sultan Muᶜizz ud-Din, except that a couple of datus were added. The titles and functions of these additional datus is not clear, but they were known to be wealthy on account of their involvement in trade. At the beginning of his rule, Jamal ul-ᶜAzam retained the same system. But war with the Spaniards, continuous shifts in residence, and the dispersal of the datus while fighting the Spaniards, prevented the normal operation of the old institutions. In the Sultan's treaty with the Spaniards in 1878, only three members of the Ruma Bichara were signatories; namely, the Rajah Muda, the Rajah Laut, and the Muluk Bandarasa. The absence of the usual number of signatures in the treaty might however be due to the refusal of the other datus to sign it. But evidence points to the fact that no regular Ruma Bichara organized along traditional lines was functioning at the time of the treaty. This probably also explains why the lease to Baron Overbeck in 1878 did not have the usual number of signatures of royal datus.

Embassies to other countries invariably included members of the Ruma Bichara, whose inclusion was possibly decided upon by the body. It is a matter of record that embassies to Batavia and Manila usually included both the Rajah Muda and the Rajah Laut. Sometimes a young son of the Sultan went with embassies to other Muslim principalities to give expression to the Sultan's goodwill or to search for a prospective bride.

Under normal conditions all sultans maintained a court. There was a master of ceremonies to see that the *tartib* or protocol was observed. There was a carrier of the Sultan's weapons and another (Hameel ul-ᶜAlam) of his standard. He had scribes as well as translators. Documents of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially the former, evince Arabic calligraphic skills of the highest magnitude. When foreign visitors came to the Court, three or four of the royal datus attended the proceedings. Sometimes, the chief ecclesiastical official, the *Qadi,* was present.

The crowning of a sultan was always a grand occasion. From what can be gathered from the old datus in Tawi-Tawi, it seems that in former times, the *tartib* required that the crowning symbolize the political and religious powers of the sultan. The Datu Murat-tib was in charge of the details. This was a part of the ceremony: at a distance and carrying the royal Kris, the Datu Tumanggung (or Datu Bendahara) approached the sultan, pausing and bowing at every step of his right foot. After the sultan had accepted the Kris, the datu stood at one side of the sultan. Then the *Qadi,* carrying the royal headgear and regalia, approached the sultan, gave him these objects and then stood near him. After the Sultan had put on the royal regalia, the Datu Bendahara proclaimed the sultan but not without some prayers said by the *Qadi* for the well-being of the sultan and the success of his rule. Finally, the *panglimas, maharajahs* and lesser officials, *orangkayas,* and commoners, approached the sultan to declare their allegiance. Meanwhile, all the royal datus stood round the sultan.[13]

The sultan was expected to attend Friday prayers in state, which he often did. On Muslim festivals, especially on the birthday of the Prophet (*Maulid an-Nabi*) he distributed food and money to the poor, provided for the reciters of the Qur'an, and fed all the listeners in the chief Mosque who usually stayed on for the whole night and up to the early morning hours. During drought and famine, the sultan was expected to take care of the needs of his people.

One attribute of the Sultan which no one ever contested was his set of ecclesiastical rights. As head of the Muslim community, he appointed the chief *Qadi* (sometimes called locally *Tuan Kali*), the *Imam,* the *Bilal,* and *Khatib* of the chief Mosque. He had a hand in the choice of *imams* in other chief centers. The chief *Qadi* was always consulted in the legislation of all important laws to see to it that they did not, in any manner, run contrary to any of the fundamental tenets of Islam. In Sulu, a few foreigners took over this position. During the reigns of ᶜAzim ud-Din I and Harun ar-Rashid, Arabs held the position. During that of Muhammad Isra'il, a Turk from Istanbul held it while an Afghan performed the same task during the reign of Jamal ul-ᶜAzam. The *Qadi* was highly influential especially when the *ᶜulama* sided with him, although there was always the possibility of conflict with the upholders of the customary law. In general, the *ᶜulama* tended to support and strengthen the position of the sultan who was represented as the protector of the *Shari'ah.* On the other hand, some datus stood as protectors of the customary law, since they stood to gain most from it. However, datus are not to be looked at as petty tyrants or fanatical defenders of the customary law. Each datu was always advised by a council of *orangkayas* and elders, and among these were religious functionaries. Moreover, some datus had enough Islamic consciousness or sophistication that led them to moderate differences between the customary law and the Holy Law.

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[13] Information given by the late Datu Amir Husain Sangkula of Dungun, Tawi-Tawi, May 19, 1964.

The Sultan was likewise expected to maintain enough Qur'anic schools all over his realm, especially in the capital and nearby Buansa. In practice, the datus cooperated in maintaining the schools within their sphere of influence.

Revenues for the sultan and the realm came from various sources. However, it is difficult for want of enough data, to distinguish the income that he got as a plain citizen, from that which he received as sultan or that which he received for the administration of the sultanate. What can be gathered is that the sultan owned private property which he could dispose of as a private person. He could have come to such property by inheritance or purchase. There were properties which he administered as a sultan, and he could not bequeath these to any other person except to the next sultan. There were also Crown lands and revenues which he could not alienate without the consent of the Ruma Bichara in consultation with other leading chiefs and subjects.

The sultan as a trader could increase his personal property. Sometimes he went into partnership with Chinese merchants and had investments in certain junks. He also owned certain plantations and orchards, the proceeds of which went to his private coffers. There was nothing to prevent him from alienating such private properties which he may have inherited from close relatives, possibly even before he became sultan.

By virtue of his office, the sultan received revenues from Crown lands, custom duties, licenses for trade, and the payment of personal taxes from his subjects. Added to these were money contributions from the datus as well as fines paid by erring subjects. Although it is clear that the right to the above revenues could not be bequeathed to his children or to his relatives, it has yet to be ascertained as to whether all the above revenues were earmarked solely for specific governmental expenditures or whether they could be disposed of by the sultan for the governance of the realm as he pleased as long as he was the ruler. In any case, some revenues, such as those referring to custom duties were disposed of only after consultation with the Ruma Bichara, which in the first place fixed the amount to be paid by trading vessels. It is also possible that the 10% tax which Chinese merchants paid for the purchase of pearls from the sultan's subjects as well as the revenues from licenses issued to Chinese traders for going to some islands of the realm were to be used for the governance of the realm. However, those pearls and tortoise shells of certain sizes as well as ambergris found in the sultanate belonged to the sultan by ancient right and automatically went to his private possession to be disposed as he saw fit. After all, he usually gave some compensation to the finders. Again, in any expedition authorized by the Ruma Bichara, the Sultan got 30% of the booty, although no information apparently exists on how much of this he could dispose of by himself and how much he could expend with the consent of the Ruma Bichara. All large artillery pieces captured belonged to the sultan by right, and these were used to protect his *cotta.* These artillery pieces then devolved to the care of the succeeding sultan. Presumably, consumer goods like clothes and certain food products captured in a raid and given to the sultan were to be considered as personal gifts. It may be assumed that a great deal of discretion over the use of state revenues was left to the sultan, since he had a court to maintain, schools to take care of, indigent citizens and orphans to feed, and other things to spend for like expeditions and embassies. It is, in any case, necessary to qualify the report that in the trade of 1876 between Labuan, Singapore and other parts of Borneo, and Sulu which amounted to one half million pesos, the Sultan got fifty thousand pesos or ten percent of it. Certainly part of this amount went to the State treasury while the remainder went to the Sultan's private coffers.[14] It may also be surmised that the personal characteristics and power of individual sultans must have determined, to a large measure, the final disposition of most of the revenues that properly accrued to the State. Some sultans left many pearls as an inheritance for their favorite daughters or relatives; a pious sultan is reported to have died so poor that his shroud had to be contributed by friends. Admittedly, the nature of the sultan's revenues, their sources, and disposition requires much more study.

The Ruma Bichara played an important role in the election and proclamation of a sultan, although, by no means to the exclusion of everybody else, as though the task were a monopoly of the Ruma Bichara. For, when a sultan died, datus from outlying districts including the chiefs of the mountain peoples in the interior of Jolo island participated in the deliberations. It was also usual that two *mantris* representing the *orangkayas* were present. The will of the late sultan was taken seriously, but even without a will, it was presumed that the Rajah Muda was the chosen successor. Technically speaking, the datus and other chiefs could set aside the Rajah Muda for another one according to certain limitations set forth in the choice of a candidate for the sultanate. First of all, no datu could be a sultan unless he was a royal datu, that is, someone descended from the first Sultan, the Sharif ul-Hashim. Second, it was preferable to have a mature datu for sultan. No one could be a sultan unless he was at least fourteen years of age. Between two candidates both of whom were royal datus, if their fathers were about equal in standing, say, their fathers were brothers, the status of their mothers was taken into consideration. The datu whose mother was a princess or a daughter of a previous sultan had an edge over the datu whose mother was a commoner. If both mothers were not daughters of a previous sultan, then the qualifications of the father-in-law were considered. More precisely, what is meant is that a famous or powerful royal father-in-law could be a big help. In the absence of this, another link to royalty can be invoked: that of the datu's wife being the grand-daughter of a sultan. It is believed that the daughter of a sultan could by this very fact enable her husband to become sultan provided he was a royal datu. Another principle would give the son of a sultan a chance to assume the position though not immediately after his father.

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[14] Cf. a letter of Carlos Cuarteron, Apostolic Prefect in Labuan, to the Governor General of the Philippines dated March 31, 1876. *Bureau of Records Management*, Manila. Cuarteron was suggesting that with the capture of the Sultan the above amount could go to the Manila coffers.

The linear pattern of succession was not in accord with the spirit of succession to the Sulu sultanate. If this, however, took place in the nineteenth century it was either on account of strong sultans who would have only their sons succeed them or the sheer weakness of the other contenders. When the pattern of linear succession was disregarded, the sultan's position tended to pass on to either a brother or nephew. A variation of this was to have a cousin succeed another. In any case, it was desirable to have as sultan one who was the son of a previous sultan although the succession was not to be a direct or immediate one. A general rule would be as follows: If A_1 is succeeded by his brother B_1, then the successor of B_1 would be A_2 (the oldest living son of A_1). Here a nephew directly succeeds his uncle. Another variation is as follows: If A_1 is succeeded by his brother B_1, and B_1 is succeeded by another brother C_1, then the successor of C_1 can be either a son of A_1 or B_1. Here again, a nephew succeeds his uncle. Closely similar to this is the following variation: If A_1 is succeeded by his brother B_1 and, for some reason or another B_2 (a son of B_1) became sultan, then A_2 (a son of A_1) is given a chance to succeed B_2. In this case, the son of a previous sultan succeeds his cousin. Should A_1 leave no son qualified to succeed B_2 for the post, then there is the possibility that C_1 (a brother of A_1 and B_1) might succeed B_2. This is the case of an uncle succeeding his nephew.[15]

Given due recognition in all the above variation is the principle that at least one of the sons of a sultan should eventually assume the post held previously by his father. The rejection of the linear pattern of succession was not only evident in the Maguindanao succession but also in those of the neighboring Muslim principalities of Pahang and Perak in the Malay Peninsula. That the linear pattern is unwelcome is evident in the present rivalry between the so-called House of Kiram and that of Shakirullah in Sulu. Isma'il Kiram (a fifth generation descendant of 'Azim ud-Din III) and Jamal ul-ʿAbidin (a fifth generation descendant of Shakirullah) had been rivals to the Sulu sultanate, causing a division even among datus. It will be recalled that ʿAzim ud-Din III and Shakirullah were brothers who reigned in the first half of the nineteenth century.

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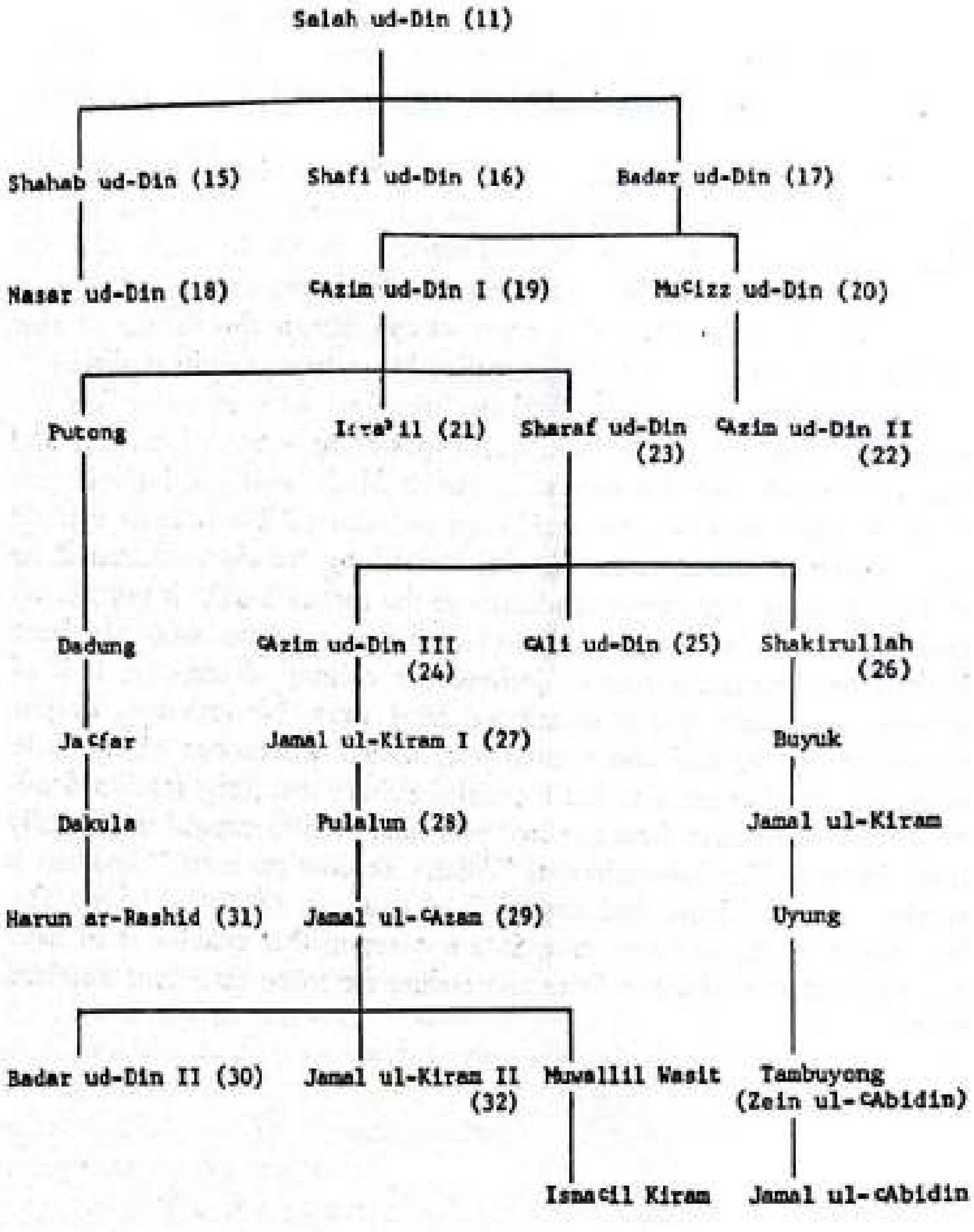
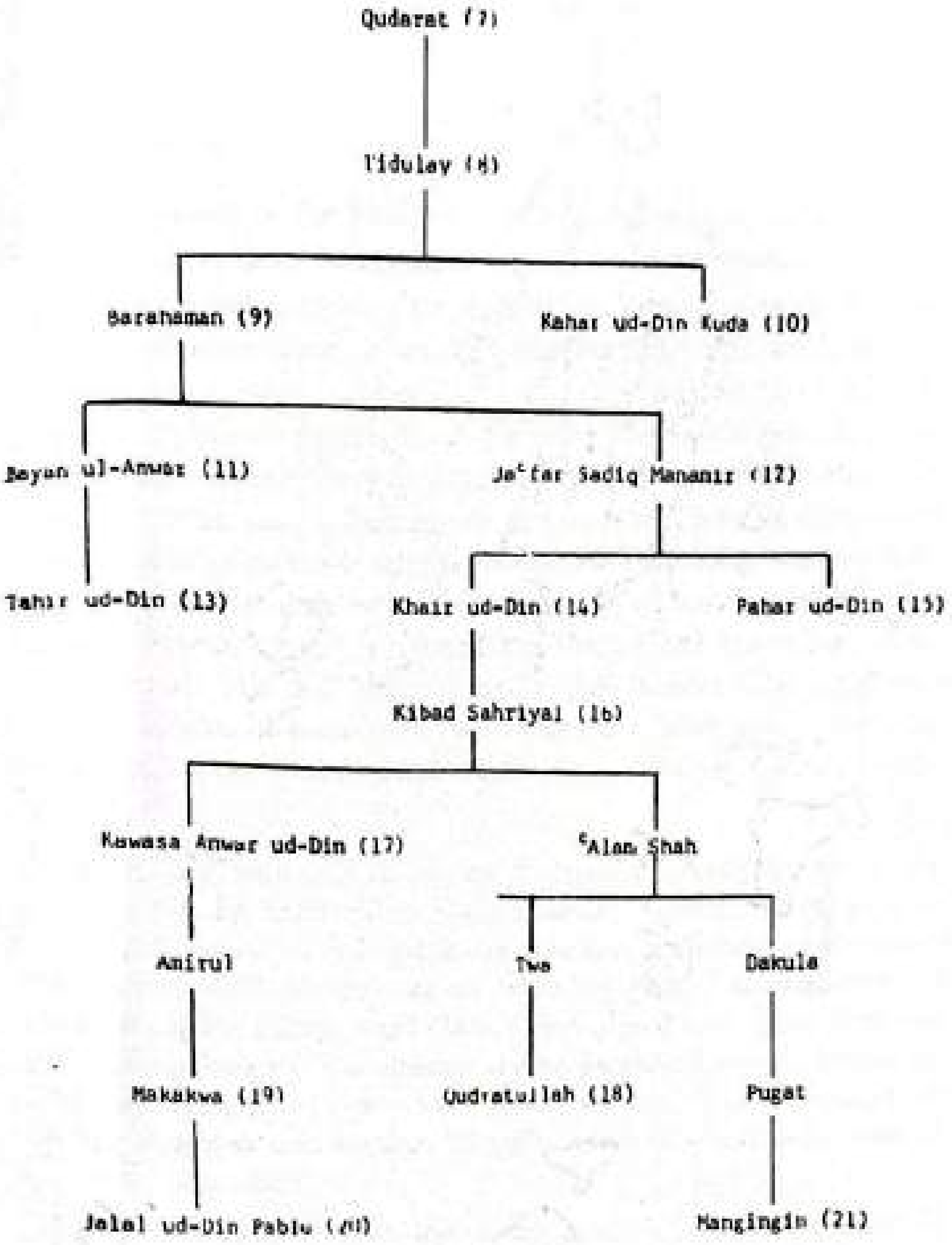
[15] This problem of succession with numerous historical illustrations is thoroughly discussed in the author's "Succession in the Old Sulu Sultanate," *Philippine Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 1, 1965, pp. 252-271.

It is curious to note that while some Sulu traditions say that the Sharif ul-Hashim was succeeded by his son Kamal ud-Din and not by ʿAla ud-Din, the other son, some *khutbahs* specifically state that the descendants of ʿAla ud-Din, are "proper heirs to the throne." This suggests a *tartib* to the effect that nephews can inherit the throne or that the linear succession was not necessarily always true in Sulu tradition.

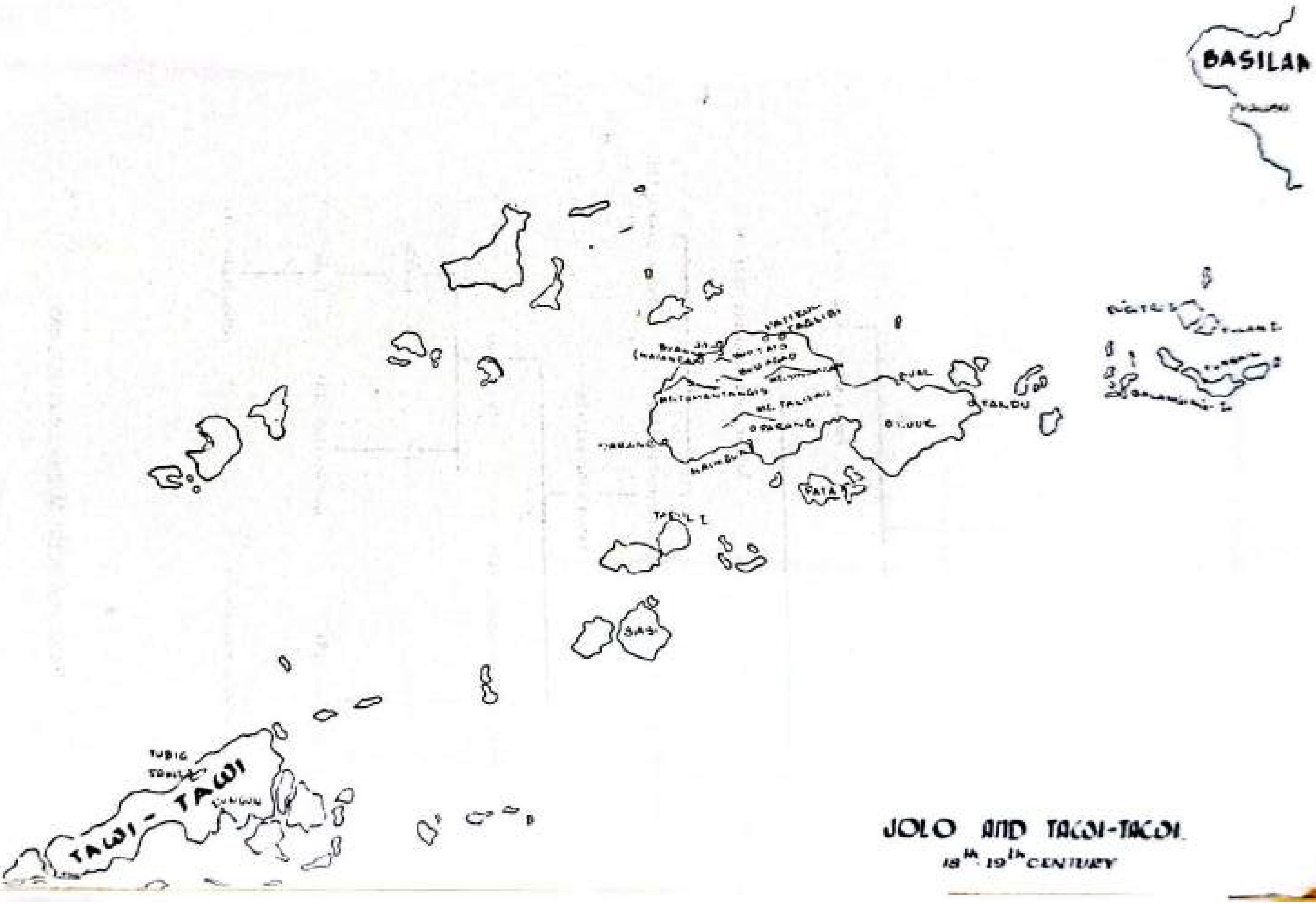
In the long run, when royal qualifications were more or less the same, the candidate with the greatest power in terms of wealth and followers would win the contest. A Rajah Muda who got himself proclaimed sultan must have possessed some personal qualifications or enjoyed the support of strong datus. No one could long remain as sultan if he was a weakling. Sometimes candidates to the throne fought it out among themselves. It also happened, however, that some datus who had been invited to assume the throne, declined for reasons of old age, lack of wealth, or simply that it constituted hard work. Nevertheless, despite whatever can be said about some institutional weaknesses of the Sulu sultanate, the fact remains that it enabled Sulu to withstand foreign domination for more than three hundred years and even to expand territorially into Borneo. The Sulu sultan as "Allah's shadow on earth" stood as a symbol of the Islamic integrity of Sulu as a part of *dar ul-Islam*. The institution of the sultanate gave Sulu a cohesion that enabled it to have all the characteristics of a State and endure for more than four hundred years.


Salah ud-Din (11)
Shahab ud-Din (15)
Shafi ud-Din (16)
Badar ud-Din (17)
Nasar ud-Din (18)
ᶜAzim ud-Din I (19)
Muᶜizz ud-Din (20)
Putong
Ismaʾil (21)
Sharaf ud-Din (23)
ᶜAzim ud-Din II (22)
Dadung
ᶜAzim ud-Din III (24)
ᶜAli ud-Din (25)
Shakirullah (26)
Jaᶜfar
Jamal ul-Kiram I (27)
Buyuk
Dakula
Pulalun (28)
Jamal ul-Kiram
Harun ar-Rashid (31)
Jamal ul-ᶜAzam (29)
Uyung
Badar ud-Din II (30)
Jamal ul-Kiram II (32)
Muwallil Wasit
Tambuyong (Zein ul-ᶜAbidin)
Ismaᶜil Kiram
Jamal ul-ᶜAbidin

Succession in the Sulu Sultanate


Qudarat (7)
Tidulay (8)
Barahaman (9)
Kahar ud-Din Kuda (10)
Bayan ul-Anwar (11)
Jaᶜfar Sadiq Manamir (12)
Tahir ud-Din (13)
Khair ud-Din (14)
Pahar ud-Din (15)
Kibad Sahriyal (16)
Kawasa Anwar ud-Din (17)
ᶜAlam Shah
Amirul
Twa
Dakula
Makakwa (19)
Qudratullah (18)
Pugat
Jalal ud-Din Pablu (20)
Mangingin (21)

Succession in the Maguindanao Sultanate


BASILAN
PATIKUL
BUD DAHO
MT. TUMANTANGIS
MT. TALIPAO
PARANG
MAIMBUNG
BUAL
LUUK
TANDU
PATA I.
TAPUL I.
SIASI
TUBIG
DUNGUN
TAWI - TAWI

JOLO AND TAWI-TAWI

18th-19th CENTURY